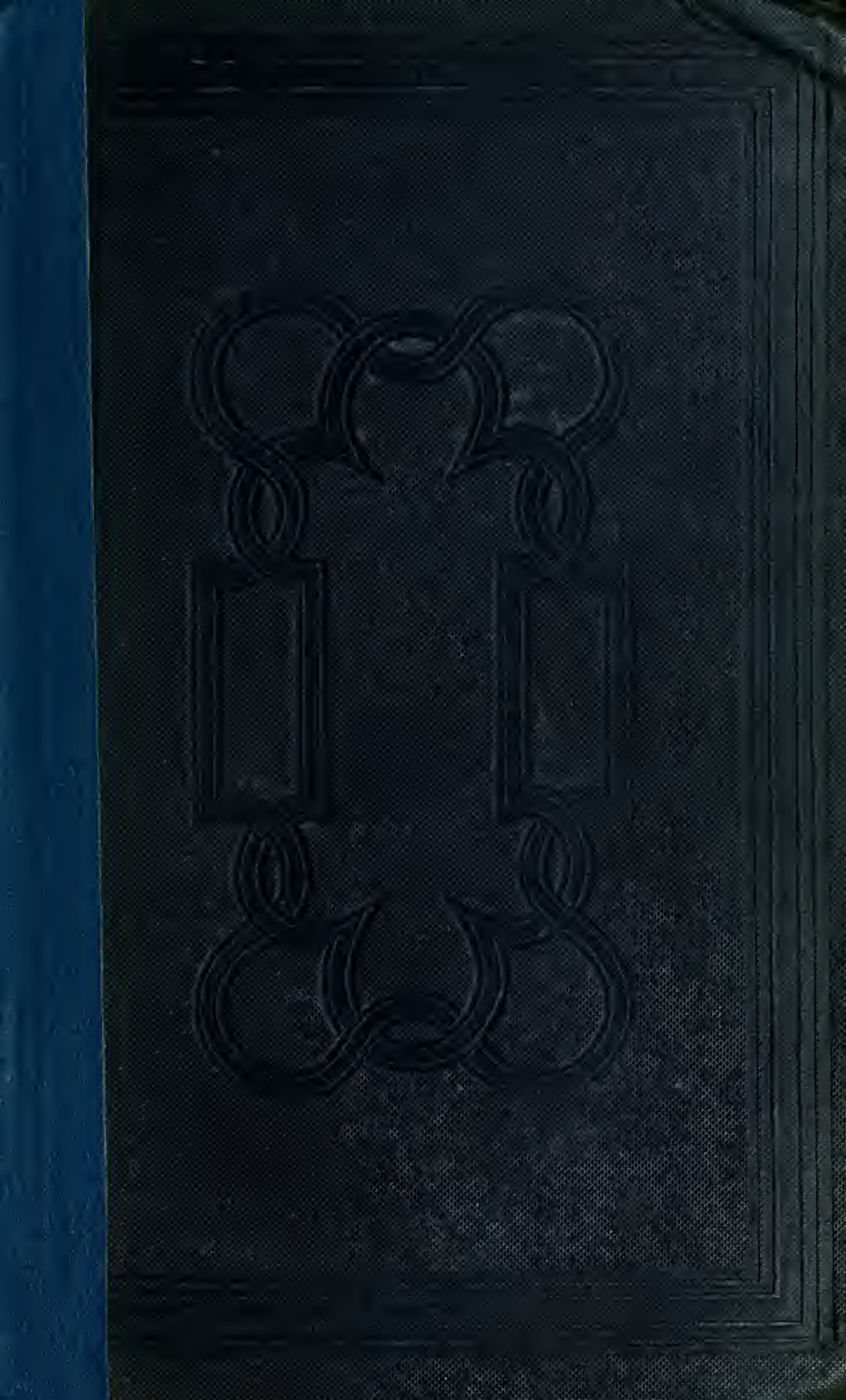








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CALLED on to prepare a new edition of Jeremy Collier's Ecclesiastical History, its editor is conscious that he is undertaking a task of great national interest. It is this reflection which tends to sweeten the severe and scrupulous toil of correcting the press, which might otherwise seem harsh and ungenial. Of all labours, the *labor limæ*, the *labor ineptiarum*, the *labor de minimis*, which fall to an editor's share, are at first sight the least fascinating or stimulating. But when he has the happiness to know that the work on which he expends his solicitude is essentially a noble work, when he remembers that it is a work which illustrates and ornaments its age and country, then he indulges a more cheery estimate of his literary undertaking ; he elicits a delight from the very arduousness of the enterprise—the danger's self becomes his lure and excitement. There is "a natural and prompt alacrity which he finds in hardness," and his conclusion is satisfactorily summed up in the Latin paradox, "*labor ipse voluptas*."

Such, at this moment, is the sentiment predominant in the editor of the present work. He regards it with a deep rever-

ence, affection, and love, as one of the proudest monuments of the literature of our national Church. That which Bingham's *chef-d'œuvre*, the *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, is to the Catholic Church universal, is Collier's Ecclesiastical History to our national Church in particular. It is the grand officina and magazine, whence the friends of our ecclesiastical constitution are to fetch their weapons to defend her—an inexhaustible armoury of many-linguaged learning, to which her advocates may apply without fear or anxiety.

The full value of Collier's Ecclesiastical History can be fairly appreciated by those only who have compared its relative merits with the merits of its competitors, if competitors they may be called. On such a comparison, it will be found to contain infinitely more extensive and exact information concerning the historic antiquities of the British Church, than any other work in existence. It presents as a whole, and entirety, what they discuss merely in fragments and scattered reflections.

The spectator sees more than the actor. At this remote distance of time, we can easily take a calmer and juster view of Jeremy Collier and his works, than was possible for his contemporaries or immediate followers. Such a view, therefore, we shall now endeavour to take and give; and if we succeed in rescuing a great name from unjust and ungenerous aspersions, we shall not lose our reward.

In perusing Collier's life and works in the silence of the passions that convulsed the age in which he lived, we are forcibly impressed with a conviction of his sincere piety and philanthropy. He seems steadily, conscientiously, and right practically to have promoted what he conceived to be the cause of God and man. By noble means, he strove to compass noble ends; and if he sometimes was betrayed into errors of judgment, we may safely assert in his favour, that "even his frailties leaned to virtue's side."

The great leading principle that most influenced Collier's mind was that of *Catholicity*. The grand theory of a catholic

and universal Christianity, which he supposed to be the true foundation both of the Roman and the British Churches, he constantly aspired after.

We wish to state this clearly, as it forms the key to most of his writings. He pre-supposes an absolutely orthodox primitive Catholic Christianity, prevalent in the Apostolic periods. He considers this one absolute Catholic Christianity as forming alike the true basis of the Roman Church and the British Church. He therefore contends, that inasmuch as true Catholicity forms the essential central element of the Roman Church and the British Church, which sprung from it, this Catholicity is the common bond of union and sympathy between them.

He then goes on to argue, that as this perfect Catholicity, or Catholic orthodoxy, got gradually overlaid in the Roman Church by numberless excrescences of error and corruption, so the same Catholic orthodoxy of doctrine and discipline had been likewise overlaid in the British Church, though not to the same degree, by various perversions and abuses.

In this brief statement will be found the key to the entire reasoning of Collier, and the Non-jurors in general. Supposing that Catholicity, or Catholic orthodoxy, was always one and the same homogeneous essence, they affirmed that all which was truly Catholic in the Roman Church perfectly united and corresponded with all that was truly Catholic in the British Church. On the strength of this all-pervading Catholicity, they argued that the Roman Church, so far as it was Catholic, and so far only, had a legitimate connection with the British Church, so far as that was Catholic, and so far only.

Thus the Non-jurors asserted, that in virtue of a common Catholicity, the Catholic proportions of the Roman Church should be connected with the Catholic proportions of the British Church, and that they should mutually influence each other.

This reciprocal connexion and influence between the Churches as parts of one whole, were stated, by the Non-jurors, to exist without any impeachment of rightful Christian liberty, and

by no means implied despotic authority on one side, or base servility on the other.

And while the Non-jurors argued so strenuously that Catholic truth was the just bond of union between the two Churches, they no less fervently asserted, that partial error was the just wall of separation between the two Churches.

They said, "Romanists can only harmonize and correspond with Protestants, so far as they are Catholic or orthodox—and Protestants can only harmonize and correspond with Romanists, so far as they are Catholic or orthodox."

Hence the Non-jurors, in consistency with their own principles, were very severe against what they conceived to be the errors of the Romish Church, or its aberrations from primitive Catholic orthodoxy. In such errors and aberrations, they recognised legitimate causes of alienation and separation.

While therefore the Non-jurors supposed that there still subsisted an eternal and essential Catholicity, which could not be destroyed or obliterated, and which bound the Roman and the British Churches together by a divine and celestial sympathy, they were no less severe on the abuses of Romanism than were their Orange antagonists; nay, they were more so, just because they conceived that these abuses hindered a general communion of saints, which they so warmly desiderated, and which Burnet's party viewed with some indifference.

Here then resides the precise anomaly and apparent paradox of the Non-jurors. We now see the reason why they on the one hand so much insisted on certain essential relations which they supposed to bind the Roman and British Churches, as harmonic parts of one whole, and why, on the other hand, they stoutly maintained the arguments, why the British Church should maintain her independence.

This very same theory of *Catholicity* induced the Non-jurors to praise or censure the Protestants with the same impartiality as they did the Romanists. They asserted that the British Church was a great branch of the Catholic Church, from the earliest periods downwards. They maintained that her essen-

tial being or subsistence was ever Catholic, and that Protestantism was merely one development and one phase of her progress.

Assuming this high standing as the ministers and representatives of a national Ecclesia, subsisting complete and entire before the name of Protestantism was ever heard of, they took a lofty and prerogative estimate of the relative merits and defects of Protestant mutations, that considerably astonished and displeased the Orange advocates.

The views that the Non-jurors as a body cherished were rather referable to the Erasmian system than the Lutheran. The writings of Erasmus were highly popular, especially his New Testament with Annotations, and were warmly cherished by Latimer and Ridley before the Lutheran system came into fashion. It has been said by Melanethon, that Erasmus laid the egg of reformation that Luther hatched. In this country Erasmus laid one egg of reformation and Luther another. And to the Non-jurors, if not to our English ecclesiastics in general, the episcopal system of Erasmus, founded on the Fathers of the three first centuries, was far dearer than the Lutheran Presbyterianism, which, like that of Calvin, derived its main stay from certain dogmas of Augustine.

Be this as it will, the Non-jurors did not conceive themselves bound in conscience or fealty to swear to the *ipse dixit* of the Reformers. They knew how to value them as noble and disinterested truth-searchers, who had perilled and sacrificed their lives for the promotion of Church reform, and whose writings were full of admirable strains of devotion. But they could not forget that these same Reformers had often made very absurd blunders and very mischievous innovations; that their judgments were often warped by passion and prejudice, and that several of their strongest measures had after all been little better than the accidents of accidents. While the Non-jurors, therefore, heartily and honestly praised many of the Reformers for wise and philanthropical conduct, they as often censured others for crude and jejune proceedings, that had tended

to foment the disastrous animosities subsisting between the Roman and British Churches, and to give the latter an oblique and perilous bias towards sectarian divisions.

Having said thus much respecting the theory of the Non-jurors, we may clearly understand how they incurred the name and the character they have since borne. Caring far more for what they conceived to be Catholicity and Orthodoxy than they did for Romanism or Protestantism, they refused to renounce their fealty to the Stuarts, whom they considered their lawful monarchs, and objected to take the oaths of allegiance to king William. If they erred in judgment or in sentiment, they evinced a sincerity that savoured nothing of selfishness or hypocrisy. They gained nothing by their steadfastness to the ancient dynasty, but the approbation of their consciences and the slander of their enemies, who stepped into their vacant preferments. *Victrix causa Diis placuit, victa Catoni.*

We shall also more clearly understand the principles of Collier when he wrote this illustrious history, which is a brilliant memorial of his talent and diligence. In learning he was excelled by none, even of his own body, which is paying him no niggard compliment, since the Non-jurors were the most learned men of their age. For honesty he has received the testimonies even of his foes, and for philanthropy the plaudits of all posterity.

Citing a passage of the Prospectus announcing this new edition, we may add, that Collier's Ecclesiastical History was originally published in two volumes, folio, between the years 1708 and 1714. As a vast treasury of interesting information respecting the rise and progress of our British Church, it stands unrivalled. It has been extolled by divines of all orders, for its immense compass of investigation and its nice minuteness of detail. Like the celebrated work of Bingham, this elaborate composition of Collier must be regarded as a grand national monument of ecclesiastical learning. To quote the words of a quaint writer, "Bingham and Collier are the sun and moon of ecclesiastic erudition." The fact is, however, too well known

to need quotations to support it. Our best Church historians have borrowed largely from their pages, but too often without acknowledging the extent of their obligations.

There have been plenty of the highest testimonials in favour of this work. If we were to cite them all, we should swell this preface to an extravagant length.

Collier sets out with showing that there ever had existed, during the earlier periods of history, a certain relation and correspondence, according to a law of ecclesiastical precedence, between the patriarch of Rome and the kings of Christendom. It was just because the Non-jurors supposed the kings to be divine links in the great chain of heaven-appointed powers, connected with all sacred authorities above and below them, that they paid the kings such unbounded reverence. They strenuously maintained that our kings were such *jure divino*, by a divine and indefeasible right, which earthly agencies could neither confer nor take away. But they did not conceive this right in our monarchs to be a right segregate and independent, but a right essentially involved with the series and order of apostolical successions in general,—a part of a vast whole, acting and acted on by reciprocal forces, all of which were necessary to the universal welfare.

The Jurors, on the other hand, took the view that has been so boldly stated by Stillingfleet and Prynne, of the absolute independent supremacy, both ecclesiastical and civil, of the British monarchs within the realms of Britain. They endeavoured to show that our early kings had always denied and resisted the interference of the Roman patriarch within the limits of their own prerogative domination; and that, however supreme the pope might be in the Italian states of the Church, the kings of Britain were no less supreme within their rightful empire, acknowledging no superior, and brooking no rival, in the management of ecclesiastical and civil affairs in their own hereditary islands.

The Jurors knew that if they could establish this absolute independence of our kings, they would do much to aid the

cause of Protestantism, to which they were deeply attached. They were loth to grant the doctrine of the *de jure*, and generally maintained that kings were to be revered on the plea of *de facto* authority. But they were anxious that our monarchs should be considered as absolutely independent of all foreign interference.

In this opinion many of the presbyterian and puritanic writers, who were just as exclusively attached to Protestantism, coincided. They could not bear the idea that foreign pontiffs should touch the supremacy of our kings by the least hint of surveillance. But the authority they took from the pope they kept in their own possession, and nursed it into a potent engine of political innovation; an engine which enabled them to depose and create kings *de facto*, whenever the popular suffrage demanded change and revolution.

Having said thus much, the reader will pretty clearly understand the relative merits of these two great sections of the British Churchmen in the days of Collier. On one hand, were the Stuartists, Non-jurors, or High Churchmen; on the other side, were the Orangeists, Jurors, or Low Churchmen. The truth lay somewhere between these contending parties, and is only to be recovered by listening to both candidly and fairly. Of all the non-juring divines, none more ably defended the High-Church theory of those times than Collier: of all the juring divines, none so ingeniously pleaded the Low-Church system as his antagonist Burnet.

Believing that the cause of truth is mainly advanced by the attentive investigation of both sides of an argument, we are rejoiced that Collier's scarce and expensive work is now to assume a popular and accessible form, like that of his rival. The parties of High Church and Low Church which they severally represented, are neither dead nor sleeping. On the contrary, they are still replenished with a strong and mantling vitality, and are daily putting forth new developements with astonishing energy and rapidity.

The present period therefore is singularly opportune for the

republication of Collier's Ecclesiastical History. He will now be read, both by his friends and opponents, with the keen and vivid interest which the revival of the questions he discusses will naturally attract to his work. On the relative truth or falsehood of that work, must in a great measure depend the result of several important controversies exercising the minds of ecclesiastics. The respective merits of Collier and Burnet enter into the very marrow of the discussion, now ruffling the spirit of the religious world. The battle is to be fought on the very grounds that these illustrious authors have pre-occupied by their learning and eloquence. Let them have an open field, and may God favour the right!

The editor has merely to add a word respecting this edition. It will contain a Life of Collier, principally formed from the biography drawn up by Dr. Campbell, the various controversial tracts connected with the History, occasional notes, and an enlarged index. It will be completed in nine volumes, the contents of which will be arranged with due regard to order.

According to the suggestions of a correspondent, a table of contents is prefixed to each volume, and the original pagination has been added for the convenience of reference.

As to the notes, it is perhaps necessary to remark that they occur only where the text appeared to demand them imperatively. To have written notes under any limitation less strict, would have been to swell the volumes to an extravagant size, by superfluous matter. There would have been no end, for instance, to the comparative notes that might have been formed, had we ventured to cite the various opinions of Dodd, Lingard, Warner, Sharon Turner, and the numerous antiquaries of recent date who have thrown light on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Britain. We were therefore compelled to impose a tight rein on any discursive criticism; and the candid reader, under the circumstances of the case, will pardon us for not having done more of that which his own reading will best accomplish: he will forgive us for not having hung a note on every peg that presented itself for the purpose.

It is not however to be denied, that the text of Collier needs frequent emendation on certain points of archaiology. As a literary friend has well observed, in reference to this edition, "Collier is perfect as to matters of Church government, councils, and canons, but he wants information on points of English antiquities; and this has led to some mistakes in matters of fact: *e. g.*, he speaks of the old Saxon or early Norman minster of York, as standing in his time by the present building; whereas, its foundations were buried 400 years before, under the choir as it now stands, and were not discovered till the late fire. He might have found out his mistake, if he had only written to any person who had seen York, so far as to know that the old Minster was not standing; though, as to church architecture, probably none of his contemporaries could have told him whether the present minster was built by Norman, Saxon, or ancient Briton. All was blissful ignorance of such Gothic architecture, in his time, and long after."

We would conclude by expressing our thanks to the various literary friends who have kindly contributed their advice and assistance during the progress of this work.

The editor has purposely retained, in most instances, Collier's orthography of proper names. It seems to have been his design to give these names according to the diverse spellings that prevailed in the records he examined; and it would often have been too great a liberty to have erased these authentic variations, in order to accord with comparatively recent historians.

THE LIFE
OF
JEREMY COLLIER.

THE following life of Jeremy Collier is principally abstracted from an article of Dr. Campbell's, in the *Biographia Britannica*, and other miscellaneous works treating of the lives of the Non-jurors.

Jeremy Collier, our author, was the son of a clergyman of the same name, who was a considerable linguist, and for some time master of the free school at Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk. His grandfather likewise was a clergyman, who settled at Bradford in Yorkshire, where he lived in esteem for his function. His native place was Yeadon, near Bradford, and his descent was derived from a gentleman's family of that name, seated at Thirsk¹ in the same county, in the reign of Henry VIII.

Our author's mother was Elizabeth Smith, of Qui, Quy, or Quire, in Cambridgeshire, where her family were possessed of considerable interest, and related to the Sterns of that town, being by her mother descended from the Keys, or Cays, of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

In this place, Stow Qui, or Quire, in Cambridgeshire, the subject of our memoir was born, September 23, 1650. He was educated under his father at Ipswich, from whence he was

¹ Alias Thursk, or Thrusk.

sent to Cambridge, and admitted a poor scholar of Caius College, under the tuition of Mr. John Ellys. His admission bears date April 10, 1669, in the eighteenth year of his age. He took the degree of bachelor of arts, in the year 1672, and that of master of arts, in 1676, being ordained deacon on the twenty-fourth of September, the same year, by Dr. Peter Gunning, bishop of Ely; and priest on the twenty-fourth of February, 1677, by Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London.

Having thus, in his twenty-eighth year, entered into priest's orders, he officiated for some time at the Countess Dowager of Dorset's, at Knowle in Kent; from whence he removed to a small rectory at Ampton, near St. Edmund's-Bury, in Suffolk, to which he was presented by James Calthorpe, Esq., and instituted by Dr. Anthony Sparrow, bishop of Norwich, September 25, 1679. After he had held this benefice six years, he resigned it, and came to reside in London, in 1685, and was sometime after made lecturer of Gray's Inn. But the revolution coming on, the public exercise of his function became impracticable. (Thus far this statement, with the exception of some dates, was drawn up by Mr. Collier himself.)

He did not, however, think it compatible with his principles, at that critical juncture, to sit down contentedly and say nothing; but, finding on the confusion which arose upon king James's going to France, that the convention was in a great measure influenced by the papers written by a clergyman, who came over with the prince of Orange: he thought the same liberty might be taken by a clergyman, who conceived differently from him. Accordingly, he broke the ice, and published the first pamphlet which appeared in defence of the cause which he espoused. And a very sharp piece it was.

As this biography cannot be rendered perspicuous without explaining these political and literary controversies, in which Collier was engaged, we shall endeavour to give as clear and concise an account of them as possible.

In the month of December, 1688, the famous Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, sent abroad a very

succinct and well-written pamphlet, under the title of “ *An Inquiry into the present State of Affairs, and in particular whether we owe Allegiance to the King in these circumstances, and whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him back again or not. Published by authority.*” In this piece the Doctor gives his opinions very freely, as to the behaviour of king James, and the conduct that was to be observed towards him, as the reader will see from the following short quotation:—“ In all that I have said concerning his desertion, I limit my reflections to his first leaving of Whitehall ; for the accident at Feversham, and what followed after that, cannot be called a return to his people. And since the seals never appeared, and the king never spake of a parliament, nor altered his measures in any thing, but still prosecuted his first design by his second escape ; his deserting is still to be dated from his first going from Whitehall. And he having given that just advantage against himself—which came after all that series of injustice and violence that had gone before it, no man can think that it was not fitting to carry it as far as it would go, and not to treat with him any more upon the foot of acknowledging him king.”

It was in answer to this treatise, and particularly to the argument insisted on in this passage, that Mr. Collier wrote the piece above-mentioned, which was entitled, “ *The Desertion Discussed, in a Letter to a Country Gentleman.* Lond. 1688, 4to.” He labours in this short pamphlet to show, that the king, before his withdrawing, had sufficient grounds to be apprehensive of danger ; that his leaving any representative behind him was impracticable at that juncture ; and that there were no grounds, either from the laws of the realm, or of nature, to pronounce the throne void from such a retreat.

To this pamphlet of Mr. Collier’s, an answer was written by Edmund Bohun, Esq., in which he gives him the following character:—“ The author of it is my acquaintance, and a person for whom I have a great esteem, both on account of his profession, and of his personal worth, learning, and sobriety ;

so that I cannot believe he had any ill design, either in the writing or the publishing of it. His zeal for the Church of England's loyalty, and the difficulty and unusualness of the present case, have been the occasions, if not the causes of his mistake ; and therefore, I will endeavour to show him, and all the world, his error, with as much candour and sweetness as he himself can wish, because I have the same design in the main as he had ; namely, the honour of the Church of England, and the safety of our government, and especially our monarchy."

When the government was settled by placing king William and queen Mary upon the throne, Mr. Collier remained firm to the principles he had embraced as a Non-juror, and continued not only to abstain from taking the oaths which the new legislature had imposed, but laboured all that in him lay to prevent others, more especially such as were zealous members of the Church of England, from owning, or so much as complying, with them. It was to this end that he wrote several warm and bitter pieces, which in those days had their effect, and, consequently, procured their author,—in the opinion of those, at least, who were of his own party,—the character both of a solid and a shining writer.

These literary performances gave so much offence to his opponents, that, after the government was settled, Collier was seized and committed to Newgate, where he continued a close prisoner for some months ; but was at length discharged without being brought to trial.

He afterwards wrote the following pieces :—" *A Translation of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Books of Sleidan's Commentaries.* Lond. 1689, 4to."—" *Vindiciæ Juris Regii; or, Remarks upon a paper, entitled 'An Inquiry into the measures of Submission to the Supreme Authority.'* Lond. 1689, 4to." The author of this Inquiry was also Dr. Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury.—" *Animadversions on the modern explanation of the Statute 11 Hen. VII. cap. 1 ; or, a King de facto.* 1689, 4to."

As Mr. Collier now embarked in an avowed opposition to

government, he laboured as much as he could to enlarge the strength of the Non-jurors, the party to which he joined himself; and with this view he continued to write, as the reader will see in the following catalogue of his works, during the space of less than two years, these treatises:—"A *Caution against Inconsistency; or, the connection between Praying and Swearing, in relation to the Civil Powers.* 1690. 4to." This discourse is a dissuasive from joining in public assemblies.—"A *Dialogue concerning the Times, between Philobelgus and Sempronius.* 1690. 4to."—There was another dialogue, with much the same title, printed in 1692, and called a *second part*; but it was not Mr. Collier's, being a narrative of the Revolution; whereas, Mr. Collier's relates chiefly to the authority of the convention.—"To the right honourable the Lords, and to the Gentlemen convened at Westminster, October, 1690. Half sheet." This is a petition for an inquiry into the birth of the prince of Wales.—"Dr. Sherlock's *Case of Allegiance considered; with some Remarks on his Vindication.* Lond. 1691."—"A *brief Essay concerning the Independency of Church Power.* 1692. 4to." The design of this essay is to prove the public assemblies guilty of schism, on account of their being held under such bishops as had assumed, or owned such as had assumed, the sees of those who were deprived for not complying with the government.

There is no doubt that Collier's literary conduct caused the authorities to keep a sharp watch over his proceedings; nor could it be supposed that any government would neglect the first opportunity that occurred of giving some check to so active, so industrious, and so dangerous a man. It was not long before such an occasion offered itself. Information was given to the earl of Nottingham, at that time secretary of state, that Mr. Collier, with one Mr. Newton, another non-juring clergyman, was gone down to Romney Marsh, which was enough to fix a suspicion that they were either endeavouring to send intelligence to, or were labouring to receive it from, the other side of the water. Upon this, about the latter end of the year 1692, messengers were sent down into Kent to apprehend

them ; which they accordingly did, and brought them to London, where, after a short examination before the earl of Nottingham, who charged them with being in a design against the government, they were committed to the Gate-house ; but as no evidence of any such design could be found, they were admitted to bail.

So strict, however, were Mr. Collier's principles, that he had not been long at liberty before he began to question the consistency of his own conduct in giving bail. Upon this he went before the lord chief justice Holt, surrendered in their discharge, and was committed to the King's Bench prison ; but upon application of some of his friends to that most upright and impartial judge, he was discharged in a week or ten days.

Yet even this did not content him, as appears by several pieces of his written upon this subject. It seems that Mr. Collier had occasionally read law, and this it was that induced him to make a scruple of remaining upon bail ; because he apprehended that the very recognizance by which bail was taken, carried in it an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the court in which the bail was taken, and, by consequence, of the power from whence the authority of that court was derived. In support of these principles, and in justification of his own conduct, he wrote the following pieces, of which it is said there were only five copies printed :—*“The case of giving Bail to a pretended Authority examined, dated from the King's Bench, November, 23, 1692 ; with a Preface, dated December, 1692 ; and a Letter to Sir John Holt, dated November 30, 1692 ; and also a Reply to some Remarks upon the case of giving Bail, &c., dated April, 1693.”*

He wrote, soon after this, *“A Persuasive to Consideration, tendered to the Royalists, particularly those of the Church of England. Lond. 1693. 4to.”* It was afterwards reprinted in 8vo., together with his vindication of it, against a piece entitled *“The Layman's Apology, &c.”* written in confutation of that part of the *“Persuasive”* which relates to the controversy about frequenting assemblies. Another of his works of the same period

was entitled "*Remarks upon the London Gazette, relating to the Straits Fleet and the Battle of Landen, in Flanders.* 1693. 4to."

In the space of some years following, there happened nothing that so far engaged Mr. Collier's attention as to induce him to write against the transactions of the State, which was, generally speaking, the subject which employed his pen. But upon the breaking out of that which was called the Assassination Plot, and the conviction of sir John Friend and sir William Perkins, an incident happened which made a very great noise, and deeply affected Mr. Collier his whole life after. The fact was this: Mr. Collier, with Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt, both non-juring clergymen of his own opinion, attended those unhappy persons at the place of execution, where Mr. Collier solemnly absolved the former, as Mr. Cook did the latter, and all three joined in the imposition of hands on them both. This, as might be very well expected, produced a public sensation, and was looked upon as a high insult on the ecclesiastical and civil government. For this reason they fell under a severe prosecution; in consequence of which, Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt were sent to Newgate, but afterwards were released without being brought to a trial; and Mr. Collier, having still his old scruple about putting in bail, absconded, and was outlawed, under which incapacity he remained as long as he lived.

Besides this political penalty, he had to endure the literary lash of his opponent divines. Both the archbishops, and eleven of their suffragans, viz., the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Coventry and Lichfield, Rochester, Hereford, Norwich, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chichester, and St. Asaph, published a very strong declaration of their sense of this scandalous and outrageous proceeding. This declaration is to be found at large in the Appendix to the third volume of the State Tracts, in the time of king William. To this our author wrote an answer with his usual vigour; and, after that, several other pieces in support of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair.

In order to convey a correct notion of this transaction, it

will be necessary to quote that part of the prelates' declaration which relates to the conduct of these clergymen, and in which they show that their proceeding was not to be justified by the doctrines or practice of the Church of England. Their words are these :—

“ For those clergymen that took upon them to absolve these criminals at the place of execution, by laying, all three together, their hands upon their heads, and publicly pronouncing a form of absolution—as their manner of doing this was extremely insolent, and without precedent, either in our Church or any other that we know of—so the thing itself was altogether irregular. The rubric, in our office of the Visitation of the Sick, from whence they took the words they then used, and upon which, if upon anything in our liturgy, they must ground this their proceeding, gave them no authority nor pretence for the absolving these persons—nay, as they managed the affair, they acted in this absolution far otherwise than is there directed. That rubric is concerning sick persons, and it is there required—first, *that the sick person shall be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter ; and then, after such confession, the priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it.* But here they absolved, and that publicly, persons condemned by law for execrable crimes, without so much as once moving them, at that time, to make a special confession of their sins, at least of those sins for which they were condemned. And, on the other side, here were persons absolved that did not humbly desire absolution, as feeling any such weighty matter to trouble their conscience, but, on the contrary, in sir John Friend's paper it is declared, that he had a great deal of *satisfaction in suffering* for that cause which he firmly believed to be the cause of God and true religion. If these ministers knew not the state of these men's souls before they gave them absolution, as it is manifest two of them, Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt, did not, as to sir William Perkins (they having since declared that they had not spoken to sir William till they were

at the place of execution), how could they, without manifest transgression of the Church's order, as well as profane abuse of the power Christ hath left with his ministers, absolve them from their sins? If they were acquainted with these men's sentiments declared in their papers, then they must look upon them either as hardened impenitents, or as martyrs. We are so charitable as to believe they would not absolve them under the former notion, for that had been, in effect, sealing them to damnation. But if they held these men to be martyrs, then their absolving them in that manner was a justification of those grievous crimes for which these men suffered, and an open affront to the laws both of Church and State. Upon consideration of these things, and for the doing of right to our Church, which may otherwise suffer among such as are strangers to our constitution, by the evil principles and practices both of the aforesaid criminals and the three clergymen that assisted them, who all pretended to be members of the Church of England; we do declare, that we disown and detest all such principles and practices, looking upon them as highly schismatical and seditious, dangerous to the Church and State, and contrary to the true doctrine and spirit of the Christian religion. And we also take this occasion to warn and exhort all the people committed to our charge to beware of such seducers, and to avoid them, lest, as the Apostle St. Peter speaks, they be led away by the error of the wicked, and fall from their steadfast adherence to the principles of the true Church of England, as it was established at the blessed reformation of religion, and as, by God's special providence, it continues to this day."

What was further done in this matter, will best appear from bishop Kennett's account, which runs thus: "On April 27, 1696, the lord chief justice Holt, of the King's Bench, did likewise represent to the grand jury the shameful and pernicious practice of those three absolving priests. Whereupon the jury made a presentment to the court, that Collier, Cook, and Snatt, clerks, did take upon them to pronounce and give

absolution to sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, at the time of their execution at Tyburn, immediately before they had severally delivered a paper to the sheriff of Middlesex, wherein they had severally endeavoured to justify the treasons for which they were justly condemned and executed. And that they, the said Collier, Cook, and Snatt, had thereby countenanced the same treasons, to the great encouragement of other persons to commit the like treasons, and to the scandal of the Church of England established by law, and to the disturbance of the peace of this kingdom. Upon this, the court ordered an indictment to be preferred against them; and, on May the 8th, Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt were committed to Newgate, for suspicion of high treason and treasonable practices. But such was the lenity of the government, that no manner of punishment was inflicted on them; and Mr. Collier, with great assurance, published several papers to justify his practice."

The writings to which bishop Kennet referred, as published by Mr. Collier, were these:—" *A Defence of the Absolution given to Sir William Perkins at the Place of Execution, April 3d, with a further Vindication thereof, occasioned by a paper entitled, 'A Declaration of the sense of the Archbishops and Bishops,' &c.;* the first dated April 9th, 1696, the other April 21st, 1696. To which is added, a Postscript in relation to a paper, called an Answer to his Defence, dated April 25th. Also, a Reply to the Absolution of a Penitent according to the Directions of the Church of England, dated May 26th, 1696. And an Answer to the Animadversions on two pamphlets lately published by Mr. Collier, &c., dated July 1, 1696. 4to."

The wise lenity of the government suffered our author to remain unmolested, notwithstanding the outlawry: and content with having reduced him to a state of legal incapacity, his opponents ceased to persecute him. Mr. Collier, therefore, took advantage of the calm that succeeded these political tempests, and employed himself in reviewing and retouching several of his miscellaneous pieces, to which he added some

others, and published them in a volume of Essays. These were so well received, that about seven years afterwards he published a second volume, and several years after that, a third. Collier's *Essays* were written upon religious, moral, and entertaining subjects, with such a mixture of learning and wit, and in a style so easy and flowing, that notwithstanding the prejudice of party, which could not but be strong against him, they were generally well received, and have run through many editions since. One must indeed allow that very few books bid fairer for universal approbation in an age which, if not strictly virtuous, was at least highly decent, and when every body affected a concern for promoting whatever had a tendency to make men wiser, better, or more polite; all which ends were prosecuted with great effect in this collection of essays.

The reader must not understand that this work of Collier's was composed in the same manner as other books of this kind. Instead of being made up of elaborate formal discourses, it rather consists of a variety of small pieces on different topics, which fell from the author's pen at a great distance of time; and after wandering most of them singly through the world, were at last drawn thus into a body to prevent their being lost.

The title given to them in their last edition is, "*Essays on several Moral Subjects, by Jeremy Collier, M.A.* In three volumes 8vo." In order that the reader may gain a clear idea of the contents of these volumes, which are not commonly understood to comprehend so large a part of their author's works as they really do—it is necessary to enter a little into particulars. The first volume is divided into two parts, which were published separately. The first part consists of six essays, viz., upon Pride, Clothes, Duelling, General Kindness, Office of a Chaplain, and the Weakness of Human Reason. The first four are written in the way of dialogues, and with great spirit and vivacity: the last two are continued discourses. That on the Office of a Chaplain is particularly laboured, and has long been looked upon as the author's masterpiece; the reasoning being

more close, the language more exact, and the thread of the argument better preserved than in many of the rest. His essay on the Weakness of the Human Understanding (the title likewise of a celebrated work of Huet) is in some measure a declamation, but it ends with a moral reflection of great importance, and which, perhaps, this gentleman did not always keep in his mind. The passage alluded to is this:—"We may plainly perceive that the prejudices of education have a great stroke in many of our reasonings, and that the sentiments of men discover the colour of their original tinctures. And as there are some inbred principles impregnable against custom, so there are some customs which nature finds very difficult to deal with."

The second part contains seventeen discourses upon Fame, Music, the Value of Life, the Spleen, Eagerness of Desire, Friendship, Popularity, the Immateriality of the Soul, the Entertainment of Books, Confidence, Envy, the Aspects of Men, Despair, Covetousness, Liberty, Old Age, and Pleasure. Several of these are written in dialogue, but most of them are set discourses, and they are all of them calculated to inform the understanding, correct the manners, and give a right turn to the thoughts of the reader.

The second volume contains the third part, in which the author discourses of Pain, Revenge, Authors, Infancy and Youth, Riches and Poverty, Debauchery, Drunkenness, Usury, the Character of an Apostle, and of Solitude. Then follows a translation of St. Gregory's Oration in praise of the Maccabees, of the unreasonableness of ill-timed diversions, St. Cyprian's discourse upon the Plague, his description of the manners of the age in which he lived, and his discourse on Patience. It is closed by the author's Essay on Discontent, written in dialogue. There is usually annexed to this volume (though it was printed separately) an Essay upon Gaming, in a dialogue, which is at once an useful, entertaining, and most instructive performance.

The third volume and the fourth part consists mostly of religious subjects, and was written after he had published the

first volume of his Ecclesiastical History. In this he treats of Goodness, Fortitude, Honesty, Religious Temper, Lying, Flattery, Theft, Peace, and the Resurrection. All these topics are treated with very great plainness and freedom, and many of the thoughts are new and singular. Such as are written in dialogue are well sustained, and if we abate the floweriness of the language, which was the fashion, I will not say the fault, of that time, it will be difficult to find any essays more capable of affording rational pleasure than those of our author.

These commendations, which Dr. Campbell has so liberally bestowed on Collier in the *Biographia Britannica*, are considerably qualified by Dr. Kippis, in his enlarged edition of that noble work. It was not to be expected that Dr. Kippis, a Non-conformist and Dissenter, whose views were either extremely Low-Church, or altogether hostile to the ecclesiastical establishment, should justly or generously appreciate the merits of Jeremy Collier. The High-Church tenets of the Non-jurors were doubtless particularly offensive to Dr. Kippis, and in the notes he subjoins to Dr. Campbell's article, he does what he can to obscure the fame of Collier, which is happily too well established to be injured by his sarcasm.

That the reader, however, may have the advantage of hearing the arguments on both sides, we have not hesitated to insert the remarks of Dr. Kippis into this biography. Such as they are we shall quote them literally, introducing them into their appropriate places, along the line of the narrative; and we have not the slightest fear of their prejudicing the minds of our readers against the subject of our memoir, as the sectarian venom which they manifest carries its antidote in its very nauseousness.

Thus, then, writes Dr. Kippis:—

“Though out of regard to our ingenious predecessor, Dr. Campbell, we have retained his article on Collier without alteration, and have done the same with relation to his other articles, we cannot avoid, nevertheless, expressing our dis-

approbation of several things which are here advanced. Respect is undoubtedly due to men of ability, character, and learning, of every party; but yet a distinction ought to be made between those who appear in the cause of absurdity, bigotry, and slavery, and those who distinguish themselves on the side of reason, moderation, and liberty. The former, however upright they might be in private life, and however honest in their intentions, cannot be entitled to the esteem and applause which belong to the latter. They ought not to be spoken of in the same terms of approbation, or treated as if their writings were equally just and meritorious. It might be imagined, from the general tenor of Dr. Campbell's article, that Collier deserved to be ranked among the principal ornaments of his country; and yet, whoever attends to the incidents of his life, and considers the list of his works, will perceive that he was engaged in defending the most flagrant absurdities, and in exercising the most determined hostilities against the civil and religious interests of these kingdoms. The very mention of several of the subjects he wrote upon would be sufficient in the present age to expose the extreme narrowness of his mind. His treatment of the most respectable characters can never be justified. In a pamphlet of his, entitled 'Remarks upon some late Sermons,' he reflected on the excellent archbishop Tillotson with uncommon bitterness and indecency, and when properly animadverted on by Dr. John Williams, persisted in defending his conduct.

"Collier's Essays may be reckoned among the most valuable of his writings, but yet they do not by any means deserve the praises which Dr. Campbell has bestowed on them. Though not destitute of ingenuity, they are composed in bad taste. The author is fond of point and antithesis, and his language is quaint and affected. This part of his works was, indeed, much admired and extolled for a time, but could not stand the test of just criticism. The improprieties of composition with which the Essays abound were well and amply exposed in a book now

little known, though of considerable merit, written by a Mr. Constable, and the title of which is 'Reflections on the Accuracy of Style.' The reputation of Collier as a polite author quickly subsided. Dr. Campbell, therefore, was particularly unfortunate in saying of his Essays, that very few books bade fairer for universal estimation." So much for Dr. Kippis' criticism. "Who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

Let us return to the text of our narrative.

The very next year after the publication of the Miscellaneous Essays, Mr. Collier made an attempt to reform the stage, which involved him in a very brisk controversy with the greatest wits and ablest writers of the age. In this he acquitted himself with so much force and vivacity, that the most considerable of his antagonists were obliged not only to quit the field of battle, but to confess that they were vanquished. And though some of them did not do this with the best grace, yet as their failing in point of manners ought to be attributed to the smart of their wounds, it is very far from reflecting on the merit of our author, whose animadversions actually produced both repentance and amendment, and were the original cause of that decorum which has been for the most part observed by the subsequent writers of dramatic poetry.

It was certainly a very bold thing in Mr. Collier to attack at once the wits and witlings of those times. Among the first were Dryden, Congreve, and Vanbrugh; among the latter were Tom Durfey and many more. But he is decidedly to be commended for forming so good a design as that of reducing the stage to order, and thereby preventing the morals of mankind from being corrupted, where they ought to be amended.

Mr. Collier considered the stage in its original and proper nature as a grand moral institution, which ought to subserve and co-operate with the pulpit in correcting national manners. As the pulpit was in his estimation to be regarded as the main enforcer of the true religion, so he conceived that the stage should be the main enforcer of the true morality. That it

should perpetually illustrate the highest ethical principle by practical examples. He knew that, as Homer sings,

*Example is a living law, whose sway
Men more than all their written laws obey.*

And therefore he was particularly anxious that the whole energy of dramatic example should be directed to philanthropical ends.

He sought rather to reform the stage than to destroy it. He regarded it as a noble and necessary institution which ought to be maintained, but maintained for the national benefit, not injury. He wished it to exhibit virtue in her heroic and triumphant struggles before the people, that they might thereby be incited to a stirring emulation for her highest achievements. He wished to see vice and folly exposed in all their baseness, anguish, and absurdity, that the spectators might be saved from the personal experience of their bitterness. It is no wonder that a man who cherished views of the stage and the drama, so holy and so pure, should have been infinitely scandalized at the numberless monstrosities and obscenities that were spawned by the play-writers of the time. He gallantly attacked them and defeated them, and to him posterity are indebted for the comparative integrity and propriety of modern theatricals. Even in the height of his indignancy, Collier never forgot that his purpose was rather to reform than to destroy, and his treatises on the subject are distinguished by a very different spirit from that which animates Mr. Low's book, entitled "The Absolute Unlawfulness of Stage Entertainments."

A new reformation of the stage and drama is now demanded, and we trust a new Collier will arise with the same noble energy to carry it into execution. Meantime, the history of Collier's controversy will be found highly instructive and entertaining, and it will serve to prepare the way for those that wish to follow in the same track.

The first treatise published by our author on this topic, was

entitled "*A short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage, together with the sense of Antiquity upon this Argument.* Lond. 1698, 8vo." It is a very methodical and learned work. He begins with shewing the immodesty and indecency of the stage, and the ill consequences that attend it. He proves next, that the Greek and Roman theatres were much more inoffensive than the English; and then produces the authorities of Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and the French poet, Corneille, against the modern stage. He proceeds to open the indictment by a charge of profaneness, which he supports by instances, from several pieces of Dryden, Otway, Congreve, and Vanbrugh. His second charge is the abuse of the clergy. His third relates to immorality, encouraged by the stage. He then descends to some remarks on *Amphitryon*—exposes the horrid profaneness of the comical history of *Don Quixote*—then criticises the "*Relapse, or Virtue in Danger.*" He concludes with producing the opinions of the heathen philosophers, orators, and historians; the restraint imposed on the stage by the laws in several countries, and the sentiments of the Fathers of the Church.

In answer to this, Mr. Congreve published a little piece, entitled, "*Amendment of Mr. Collier's false and imperfect Citations from the 'Old Bachelor,' the 'Double Dealer,' &c.*" It must be allowed, that in this piece, the ingenious author is very hard put to it, and struggles with infinite difficulty to give a fair gloss to passages, that in the natural sense of the words convey a very different meaning. And besides this, there is an air of anger and resentment running through the whole piece, which plainly shows how much the author felt the weight of that censure he endeavours to ridicule, and would be thought to despise. Mr. Vanbrugh, afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh, likewise published a small piece in support of his own performances, under the title of "*A short Vindication of the 'Relapse' and the 'Provoked Wife;'*" but this was very far from dejecting or silencing our author. He thought that he had a good cause, and that he was able to manage it with as much

sense and spirit as any of his adversaries. And he found by experience, too, that he was as well heard as they were by the public. All these considerations encouraged him to return to the charge, and defend what he had written, not only against these, but against several other authors, who thought fit to enter the lists on the side of the poets against the priest.

His pieces in reply, were entitled "*A Defence of the 'Short View,' &c., being a Reply to Mr. Congreve's 'Amendment,' &c., and to the Vindication of the Author of the 'Relapse.'*" Lond. 1699, 8vo."—" *A Second Defence of the 'Short View,' &c., being a Reply to a book, entitled 'The Ancient and Modern Stages Surveyed,' &c.* Lond. 1700, 8vo." The book here replied to was written by Dr. Drake.—"*Mr. Collier's Dissuasive from the Playhouse, in a Letter to a Person of Quality, occasioned by the late calamity of the Tempest.* Lond. 1703, 8vo."—" *A further Vindication of the 'Short View,' &c., in which the Objections of a late book, entitled 'The Defence of Plays,' are considered.* Lond. 1708, 8vo."—This "Defence of Plays" has Dr. Filmer for its author.

We have already stated what was the event of this long dispute, in support of which, we shall adduce what Mr. Dryden says on the subject, in the preface to his Fables. "I shall say the less of Mr. Collier (writes Dryden), because in many things he has taxed me justly, and I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expressions of mine, which can be truly arraigned for obscenity, profaneness, and immorality, and retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, and I have given him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it for a good one. Yet, it were not difficult to prove that in many places he has perverted my meaning by his glosses, and interpreted my words into blasphemy and bawdry, of which they were not guilty. Besides, that he is too much given to horseplay in his raillery, and comes to battle like a dictator from the plough. I will not say that the zeal of God's

house hath eaten him up, but I am sure that it has devoured some part of his good manners and civility. It might also be doubted, whether it were altogether zeal which prompted him to this rough manner of proceeding. Perhaps it became not one of his function to rake into the rubbish of ancient and modern plays. A divine might have employed his pains to better purpose, than in the nastiness of Plautus and Aristophanes, whose examples, as they excuse not me, so it might possibly be supposed that he read them not without some pleasure. They who have written commentaries on those poets, or on Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, have explained some vices, which, without their interpretation, had been unknown to modern times. Neither has he judged impartially between the former age and us. There is more bawdry in one play of Fletcher's, called 'The Custom of the Country,' than in all ours together; yet this has been often acted on the stage, in my remembrance. Are the times so much more reformed now than they were twenty-five years ago? If they are, I congratulate the amendment of our morals. But I am not to prejudice the cause of my fellow-poets, though I abandon my own defence. They have some of them answered for themselves, and neither they, nor I, can think Mr. Collier so formidable an enemy, that we should shun him. He has lost ground at the latter end of the day, by pursuing his point too far—like the prince of Condé at the battle of Seneff. From immoral plays to no plays *ab abusu ad usum non valet consequentia*. But being a party, I must not erect myself into a judge."

The first part of this Mr. Dryden's apology is so very decent, and withal so very just, that one cannot help being sorry he did not rest it there. But as to what follows, it is little to the purpose. He has owned that Mr. Collier has shown him his faults, and yet he is out of humour that they were shown. Was it in his power to prove his charge against the stage any other way than he has done? Did not the quibbling and prevarication of his antagonists compel him to explain things so broadly? And might not any criminal at the bar charge the

attorney-general with being a traitor in his heart, for setting forth, and insisting on his own treasons, with the same force of argument that is used in retorting upon Mr. Collier. The truth is, that men offend with gaiety of fancy, but repent with bitterness of soul. And this is the reason, that though they cannot help owning the physic has done them good, yet they cannot avoid bearing ill-will to the doctor.

To these remarks of Dr. Campbell's, Dr. Kippis adds the following notes.

The work of Mr. Collier that has been the most celebrated, and which has produced the greatest effect, was his "View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage." Dr. Johnson's account of the attention it excited, and the controversy occasioned by it, is too interesting to be omitted. We therefore quote the following passages from his "Lives of the Poets."

"About this time (says Dr. Johnson), began the long-continued controversy between Collier and the poets. In the reign of Charles the First, the Puritans had raised a violent clamour against the drama, which they considered as an entertainment not lawful to Christians—an opinion held by them in common with the Church of Rome. And Prynne published *Histriomastix*, a huge volume, in which stage-plays were censured. The outrages and crimes of the Puritans afterwards brought their whole system of doctrine into disrepute: and from the Restoration, the poets and the players were left at quiet—for to have molested them, would have had the appearance of puritanical malignity.

"This danger, however, was worn away by time: and Collier, a fierce and implacable Non-juror, knew that an attack upon the theatre would never make him suspected for a Puritan. He therefore, in 1698, published '*A short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*;' I believe with no other motive than religious zeal and honest indignation. He was formed for a controversialist, with sufficient learning, with diction vehement and pointed, though often vulgar and incor-

rect, with unconquerable pertinacity, with wit in the highest degree keen and sarcastic, and with all those powers exalted and invigorated by just confidence in his cause.

“ Thus qualified and thus incited, he walked out to battle, and assailed at once most of the living writers, from Dryden to Dufey. His onset was violent. Those passages which, while they stood single, had passed with little notice, when they were accumulated and exposed together, excited horror. The wise and the pious caught the alarm, and the nation wondered why it had so long suffered irreligion and licentiousness to be openly taught at the public charge.

“ Nothing now remained for the poets but to resist or fly. Dryden’s conscience or his prudence, angry as he was, withheld him from the conflict: Congreve and Vanbrugh attempted answers. Congreve, a very young man, elated with success, and impatient of censure, assumed an air of confidence and of security. His chief artifice of controversy is to retort on his adversary his own words; he is very angry, and hoping to conquer Collier with his own weapons, allows himself in the use of every term of contumely and contempt. But he has the sword without the arm of Scanderbeg; he has his antagonist’s coarseness, but not his strength. Collier replied, for contest was his delight; he was not to be frightened from his purpose or his prey.

“ The cause of Congreve was not tenable: whatever glosses he might use for the defence or palliation of single passages, the general tenor and tendency of his plays must always be condemned. It is acknowledged with universal conviction, that the perusal of his works will make no man better. And their ultimate effect is to represent pleasure in alliance with vice, and to relax those obligations by which life ought to be regulated.

“ The stage found other advocates, and the dispute was protracted through ten years. But at last comedy grew more modest, and Collier lived to see the reward of his labour in the reformation of the theatre.

“Of the powers by which this important victory was achieved, a quotation from ‘*Love for Love*,’ and a remark upon it, may afford a specimen.

“‘Sir Samson. *Samson is a very good name, for your Samsons were strong dogs from the beginning.*

“‘Angelica. *Have a care. If you remember, the strongest Samson of your name pulled an old house over his head at last.*’

“Here (says Collier) you have the sacred history burlesqued, and Samson once more brought into the house of Dagon to make sport for the Philistines.”

The author of the Supplement to Mr. Dodsley’s Preface to his Select Collection of Old Plays, has likewise given a short account of this controversy, which deserves to be inserted, as it contains two or three curious facts not hitherto noticed.

“While the rival theatres (says he) were contending against each other with inveterate malice, an enemy to the very toleration of dramatic entertainments appeared, who with considerable ability, and with all the rigid puritanical maxims of a severe sect, attacked the stage on account of its profaneness and immorality. This was the celebrated Jeremy Collier, who, in 1698, published a book containing a sharp invective against the acting of plays, the profligacy of performers, and the licentiousness of the poets. Having some truth and justice on his side, the advocates of the theatre found themselves hard pressed to answer the charges brought against their favourite diversion. It cannot be denied but that many authors, and some in great favour with the public, had written in a manner which warranted the censure of every person who professed the least regard to piety or decency. Mr. Collier was opposed by Congreve, Vanbrugh, Dryden, Dennis, and others, with wit and humour, but without confuting the objections which had been started either against themselves individually, or against the stage in general. The public opinion ran so much against the defenders of the theatre, and in favour of their enemy, that king William considered Mr. Collier’s book as a work which

entitled the author of it to some lenity in a prosecution then carrying on in consequence of errors in his political conduct. This controversy produced as much as could have been wished for from it. Mr. Cibber observes, that the calling our dramatic authors to this strict account, had a wholesome effect on those who wrote after this time. They were henceforward, a great deal more on their guard; indecencies were no longer wit; and by degrees the fair sex came again to fill the boxes on the first day of a new comedy, without fear or censure.

“To forward the stage’s reformation, prosecutions were commenced against some of the performers for repeating profane and indecent words. Several were found guilty, and Betterton and Mrs. Bracegirdle were actually fined. These severities were not entirely thrown away. From this period may be dated the introduction of that more refined taste which hath done so much credit to the British theatre.”

To this eulogy Dr. Kippis adds, as usual, one of his disparaging annotations in these words: “An author who seems to inherit Mr. Collier’s principles concerning passive obedience and non-resistance, as well as his aversion to theatrical entertainments in general, has lately given the following high character of his attack on the stage. ‘I question (says the writer we refer to,) whether any man can read Swift’s *Tale of a Tub*, or Don Quevedo’s *Visions*, without finding himself the worse for it. In regard to all such indiscreet applications of wit, every young student should guard his mind and rectify his judgment by reading Mr. Collier’s *View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage*; a book which brought Dryden himself to repentance, and does indeed beggar every work upon the same argument. It is the triumph of wit over scurrility, of piety over profaneness, of learning over ignorance, and of Christianity over Atheism.’ (Letters from a Tutor to his Pupils.) This encomium (adds Kippis) is carried too far, and especially the assertion that Collier’s book beggars every work upon the same argument. It is not to be compared with Rousseau’s famous treatise in answer to D’Alembert, concerning the

question whether there ought to be a theatre at Geneva. Rousseau, in his reasoning against dramatic entertainments, particularly in small cities, is profound, philosophical, and discriminating; whereas Collier is harsh and violent, and does not make the proper distinction between the use and abuse of plays."

Mr. Collier's abilities and industry were next exercised in a much larger work than any he had hitherto undertaken, which was that of making Moreri's celebrated French Dictionary of Biography and History useful to the English nation, by a translation with additions. In this undertaking he laboured for many years with great success, taking all the precautions possible to be well informed as to the new articles he published. So well were his endeavours in this respect received by the public, notwithstanding some exceptions that were taken to them, that few books have met with a better fate, or longer maintained their credit.

This work was entitled, "*The great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical, and Poetical Dictionary, &c.* four volumes, folio." We shall give a brief account of the different times in which the several parts of this Dictionary were published, and of other circumstances relating to them that may be worth the reader's knowing. The two first volumes were printed in the year 1701, and the author gave notice in his preface, that such of the articles as were of a later date than the year 1688, were composed by another hand. The third volume was published under the title of "*A Supplement, &c.*" in 1705, and was reprinted in 1727. It is in the preface to this, that he answers the objections made to his conduct; and to prevent those articles being taken for his, which in this volume also were written by another hand, they are placed under another alphabet. The fourth and last volume, which, in the title-page is called "*An Appendix, &c.*" as in reality it is to the other three, was printed in 1721.

The spirit and temper of this Dictionary is very fairly stated by Mr. Collier himself: "In relating the history of men, (says he,) I have not been swayed by any bias of principles or fancy, nor ever flourished nor depressed any character, out of par-

tiality or disgust. I am much better pleased with commendation than satire, and therefore I have rather chosen to sink and soften the hardest part of a narration, than set it out in terms of vehemence and aggravation. The dead are under sentence in the other world, and therefore should not be prosecuted here without necessity. It is true, the public interest is sometimes an exception to this charitable rule, for in such cases, those who have done great mischief, and been a nuisance to mankind, ought to have their memory branded and executed, as it were, in effigy."

This Dictionary is fairly entitled to be classed among the great national works of literature which distinguished the eighteenth century. It far excelled any thing of the kind that had been executed in our own language before, and in its appropriate sphere has been surpassed by none of its competitors that have appeared since. "It is certainly (says Dr. Campbell) a great treasure of historical, geographical, and poetical learning, and is not only very useful and entertaining to young scholars, who may by the help of it acquire much knowledge, and enter thoroughly into the meaning of the books they read on any of these branches of literature, but even to persons of the greatest abilities and most comprehensive science, who have but small libraries, and live at a distance from London and the two Universities. Yet this work is certainly capable of great improvements, and these might be made without enlarging the bulk, for it might be reduced under one alphabet: whereas, at present there are four or five. And as by this means a multitude of repetitions, alterations, and corrections might be thrown out, so this would make room for new articles, which might easily be found in the last edition of Moreri's Dictionary, now enlarged to seven volumes folio. The learned reader will easily discern that this is no reflection either upon Mr. Collier's memory or his performance, since he did all that was possible to be done at the time he wrote; and the inconveniences before mentioned were unavoidable, from his manner of publication, as that, too, with respect to him, was a matter, not of choice, but of necessity."

This praise is again diluted by Dr. Kippis in an annotation, which runs thus:—"Mr. Collier's writings have their merit and utility. He was a diligent and laborious compiler; but his Historical Dictionary does not seem at present to be much in use and estimation. It is very little service that we have hitherto been able to derive from it in the prosecution of the *Biographia Britannica*."

After the accession of queen Anne to the throne, great endeavours were used to recover Mr. Collier to the Church, by inducing him to comply with the terms prescribed by the State. All efforts of this kind, however, though supported not only with general promises of preferment, but with more particular assurances, were ineffectual; and Mr. Collier remained among the non-juring clergy, as seeing no reason to alter his sentiments from any change that had happened, and being incapable of dissembling an alteration for the sake of temporal views.

About the same time that he published the first volume of his Dictionary, he likewise obliged the world with a very elegant translation from the Greek of that famous book of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, which has done more credit to his memory than even his excellent administration of public affairs, during a reign which does honour to the Roman history. (See the Life of this emperor, translated from the French of M. Dacier, prefixed to that work.)

Mr. Collier's translation was universally well received on its first appearance, and continues to be read with all the applause that so well-written and so useful a treatise of moral philosophy deserves. This work has since borne three impressions, all of them under the following title:—"The Emperor Marcus Antoninus, his Conversation with himself; together with the Preliminary Discourse of the learned Gataker, &c.; to which is added, the Mythological Picture of Cebes the Theban, &c., translated into English from their respective originals. London, 1701. 8vo."

This is one of the best collections we have in the English tongue of the morals of the ancients; and in conjunction with the works of Plutarch, Epictetus, Seneca, and Cicero, will

make an admirable library of that kind. The pieces of which it is composed are very well chosen, and illustrate each other perfectly, so as to render all the passages in them clear and intelligible; and yet it is of a very moderate size, and has nothing in it redundant or foreign to the purpose.

We now come to treat of a far more important work, on which the fame of Collier is mainly founded. The situation of those times, and many worthy and generous patrons of whatever regarded the honour of this kingdom who then flourished, encouraged Mr. Collier to hope that the Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, which in the extent he intended it had never been attempted by any Protestant writer before, might meet with general acceptance. Accordingly, proposals were published for sending abroad such a work, and the offer very well received, and such encouragements given, as induced him to prosecute with diligence the great design he had formed, and at length finished, of a copious History of Church Affairs, from the first entrance of Christianity into this island to the end of the reign of Charles II. This all parties allowed to be a work of great labour and learning, methodically and elegantly written, but in other respects they differed, as might be well supposed, in their judgments concerning its merits.

The first volume of this work was published in 1708, and after the pains it had cost him, our author thought a season of repose necessary, or, as he himself expresses, judged it convenient *to breathe a little after a folio*, yet without dropping, or so much as discontinuing, his former design. But knowing that it required not only assiduity and vigilance, but the utmost prudence and circumspection likewise, he chose to act cautiously, and rather to apologize to the public for his delay, than to precipitate matters in order to hurry his work through the press.

In the year 1713, Jeremy Collier was consecrated a bishop by Dr. George Hickes, who was himself consecrated suffragan of Thetford by the deprived bishops of Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough, February 23, 1694.

In the succeeding year, 1714, came abroad Collier's second volume of his *Ecclesiastical History*, which met with a different reception from persons of different sentiments, being applauded by some and censured by others. Of the latter, there were those who made a considerable figure in the learned world, against whose objections our author thought it incumbent on him to write.

This great work was published in two volumes, folio. It was entitled, "*An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, chiefly of England, from the first planting of Christianity to the end of the Reign of King Charles II., with a brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in Ireland; collected from the best Historians, Councils, and Records.* London. 2 vols. folio. 1708—1714."

As the scheme of this work (says Dr. Campbell) was in itself of large extent, it required a great knowledge of divinity, history, and antiquity, and a very assiduous application to the perusal of records and manuscripts, as well as a vast variety of ancient and modern authors; so the performance itself demonstrates very great care to have been taken in all these respects. The method in which this History is written is very clear and exact; his authorities are constantly cited by the author; his remarks are short and pertinent; and with respect to the dissertations that are occasionally inserted, they are such as tend to illustrate and explain those perplexed points of which they treat, and contribute thereby to the clearer understanding of the narration. The style is very uniform and grave, which is the more remarkable, because the author in other writings has shown as lively a fancy, and as much quickness of wit, as any writer of his own times; but he knew that this would be improper here, and therefore it is with great judgment avoided. He speaks modestly and respectfully of most of the historians that went before him; and if he is any where severe, he takes care that his reason shall go along with his censure. His own peculiar sentiments, with respect to religion and government, may in some places be discerned; but taking the whole together, it will be found as judicious and impartial a work as

the world, in doing justice to his talents, could have expected it.

Yet, as we have already hinted, it was far enough from escaping the censure of the critics, though the first volume was much happier in this respect than the second—in speaking of which, we shall show who those critics were, as well as the titles of the pieces written by our author in his own defence, and in justification of his History.

As the second volume of his Ecclesiastical History, commencing with the reign of Henry VIII., took in the entire account of the Reformation, and the struggles with the Puritans, from their first appearance to the overturning our constitution, in Church and State: so it must naturally be supposed, that a man of Mr. Collier's principles could never treat these delicate subjects without affording some room for such as were desirous of criticising him to take offence. Dr. Nicholson, bishop of Derry, has treated him with great severity, not to say more, in the character he has given of his works. Bishop Burnet and bishop Kennet, who were infinitely better judges, as well as writers, have corrected him with great decency. Mr. Collier defended himself against them all, in the pieces of which we shall presently speak. But before we come to them, it may not be amiss to remark a shining instance of his impartiality, and that is in disculpating the Presbyterians from the false and scandalous imputations that have been thrown upon them, as if they consented to, or at least temporized in the murder of king Charles I. From this he has vindicated them with equal perspicuity and justice, and has fully shown, that as they only had it in their power to oppose, so, to the utmost extent of that power, they did oppose and protest against that bloody fact, both before and after it was committed.

The pieces written by Collier, in defence of his History, are these:—" *An Answer to some Exceptions in Bishop Burnet's third part of the History of the Reformation, &c. against Mr. Collier's Ecclesiastical History; together with a Reply to some*

Remarks in Bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library, &c. upon the same subject. Lond. 1715, fol."—" *Some Remarks on Dr. Kennet's second and third Letters, wherein his Misrepresentations of Mr. Collier's Ecclesiastical History are laid open, and his Calumnies disproved.* Lond. 1717, folio and octavo." In the octavo edition it is called, "*Some Considerations,*" &c.

But Collier's Ecclesiastical History scarcely needs such defences. Its fame is too well established by that best of critics, Time, to require adventitious support. The experience of all scholars who have carefully and impartially examined it, attests its superiority. It is, in fact, the only work entitled to class as the *text-book* of our Church Antiquities. It is, emphatically, *the* Ecclesiastical History of Britain—to which all similar works must be referred as to the legitimate centre, from which they radiate, and to which they must contribute their scattered illustrations.

This is the opinion of no less a man than bishop Warburton, a scholar singularly well qualified to form a fair judgment on such a subject. In his directions as to the best method of studying our Church history as a science, he names Collier as the *facile princeps*. "We have only two historians," says he, "of our national Church worthy of the title,—Collier the non-juror, and Fuller the jester." Fuller's history is indeed a capital work, but it is far less complete and exact than Collier's, which succeeded it, including its best information, and adding a vast multitude of original details.

In conscientiously bestowing these commendations on Collier's Ecclesiastical History, we by no means wish to imply that the work is perfect. Pope's verses are too true, too self-evident, to admit of refutation.

*"The man who hopes a perfect work to see,
Hopes what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be."*

This History is occasionally too deeply coloured by its author's party prejudices, and sometimes carelessly composed in point of style and expression.

Dr. Kippis, however, is certainly too severe in this note which he subjoins to Dr. Campbell's remarks: "Collier's Ecclesiastical History," says Kippis, "is not destitute of ability and learning, but it is written on such narrow principles as must ever detract from its reputation." Bishop Burnet's character of it, we apprehend to be too just to be reasonably called in question. "I shall say no more of this work," says the bishop, "but that there appeared to me, quite through the second volume, such a constant inclination to favour the Popish doctrine, and to censure the Reformers, that I should have had a better opinion of the author's integrity, if he had professed himself not to be of our communion, nor of the communion of any other Protestant Church."

The impartial readers of the nineteenth century will form a somewhat different estimate of Collier. In him they will recognise a man who strove gallantly, and not unsuccessfully, to emancipate his mind from the various prejudices of the sects, so outrageous and virulent in his unhappy age. If, in his endeavours to work out this psychological freedom, so necessary for one who seeks to attain the divine and Catholic orthodoxy, shared among all Churches, and monopolized by none, Collier seems occasionally to have leaned with too favourable an inclination toward the Roman doctrine and discipline, we must not forget that his antagonists of the Low Church, Orange, and Presbyterian party, were still more culpable, in their exclusive partiality for everything called Protestant. They too often forgot that Protestantism was valuable so far only as it was a just development of divine truth and philanthropy; and that whenever it impeded their progress, it was chargeable with numerous evils and calamities.

Not that Collier, in his heart, did not prefer the Protestant system to its rival. We sincerely believe that he did. All the tendencies of his education and connexions doubtless induced him to this preference. We believe he would have laid down his life, as readily as any martyr in the page of Fox, for the defence of Protestant liberties and privileges within their

proper sphere. From his several writings, it appears that he detested the bigotry and superstition that had gradually overlaid the original glories of the Roman Church as cordially as any man alive. But he was not the less conscious, but rather the more so, that Protestantism likewise had exhibited her own forms of ultraism, extravagance, and oppression. And therefore he could not be exactly what his antagonists and detractors too often were—the thick-and-thin defender of everything Protestant, good, bad, and indifferent.

It is too clear, however, that Collier's judgment was, in these ecclesiastical disputes, sometimes warped by polemical passions. In Mr. Gutch's *Miscellanea Curiosa*, (vol. ii. p. 186,) are preserved, "Observations upon the Remarks of Mr. Collier, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, on several passages in Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*," by the learned Mr. John Lewis, of Margate. It is apparent, from these observations, that Mr. Collier's dislike of that excellent prelate rendered him guilty of grossly misrepresenting him in a variety of instances.

Between the years 1716 and 1720, Mr. Collier appears to have waged another sharp controversy. The nature of it may be judged from the title of a volume now lying before us: "*A Collection of Tracts, written by the late reverend and learned Jeremy Collier, A.M., for restoring some Prayers and Directions as they stand in the Communion Service of the first English Reformed Liturgy, compiled by the Bishops in the second and third years of King Edward VI., containing the following pieces: viz. 1. Reasons for restoring the said Prayers and Directions; 2. A Defence of the said Reasons, being a Reply to a Book entitled, 'No Reasons for restoring them' (by Spinkes); 3. A Vindication of the Reasons and Defence, part 1; 4. The Vindication of the Reasons and Defence, part 2; 5. A further Defence of the said Reasons.*" These liturgical tracts evince Collier's profound acquaintance with ecclesiastical learning. They evince also, what we before remarked, the tendency of his mind to a certain Catholicity, which he preferred both to Romanism and Protestantism. In

these tracts he loudly declares his preference for the Anglican Church and Liturgy, as they stood under the Tudor dynasty, to what they became afterwards. He conceived—whether justly or not, it is not for us to determine—that many of the reforms of the Protestants had been carried too far ; and he wished to restore several of the more ancient Anglican customs which had been expelled from the sanctuary.

These tracts treat principally of the four following points, which are certainly of much importance, and have given rise to much dispute. As the volume which contains them is very interesting and exceedingly scarce, we will specify a few of the particulars.

The first question discussed is, Whether the old rubric was right in ordering that a little pure water should be mixed with the sacramental wine? Collier argues that it was, by numerous testimonies derived from antiquity.

The second question discussed is, Whether the old liturgy was right in recommending prayers for the dead? “In the first reformed liturgy (says Collier) the priest says, *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church*, without the addition of ‘militant here on earth :’ which latter words, in the Common Prayer now used, seem inserted to exclude prayer for the dead. Whereas the first book in the prayer for Christ's Church has these words : ‘We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord ! all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace ; and that, at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be the mystical body of thy Son, may all together be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, “Come unto me.”’ This recommending the dead to the mercy of God, (continues Collier,) is nothing of the remains of Popery, but a constant usage of the primitive Church ; and, for this point, we shall produce the most unexceptionable authority.”

The third point is the propriety of invoking the descent of the Holy Spirit on the sacramental elements.

The fourth point is the propriety of the oblatory prayer, which supposes that the eucharist is a proper sacrifice.

As Mr. Collier grew in years, that great share of health which he had enjoyed was interrupted by frequent attacks of the stone, to which there is no doubt that his sedentary life might much contribute; so that, from this time, we hear of nothing that he published further, excepting a collection of Sermons. These came abroad under this title: "*Several Discourses upon Practical Subjects*. London, 1725, 8vo." The last discourse of this collection had been printed separately in 1723, with the following title: "*The Comparison between Giving and Receiving, with the Reasons for Preference, stated in a Sermon preached at Whitehall, April 19th, 1687*. 4to."—"God not the Author of Evil, being an Additional Sermon to a Collection of Mr. Collier's Discourses, &c. London, 1726. 8vo." These Discourses have been allowed, by the most competent judges, to possess great merit. They excel in originality and strength of thought, a pointedness of style, and a variety of illustration, not often surpassed.

After living several years in an indifferent state of health, sometimes tolerably free from suffering, and at others grievously afflicted, his old distemper brought him to the grave, April 26, 1726; and, three days afterwards, his body was interred in the churchyard of St. Pancras. He was in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and preserved the use of his senses to the very last.

As to Mr. Collier's character, we have already given it in the impartial history of his works. We shall, therefore, only add, that his morals were unexceptionable; and that, as his conduct had in it all the regularity becoming a clergyman, so his behaviour had nothing stiff or pedantic, but all that life, spirit, and innocent freedom, which constitute the good breeding of a gentleman.

His reputation as a man of letters extended beyond the bounds of his own country: for the learned and ingenious Father Courbeville, who translated into French the "Hero" of Balthazar Gracian, in the preface of that work speaks in the highest terms of praise of our author's miscellaneous works, which, he says, set him on a level with Montaigne, St. Evremond, La Bruyere, &c. The same reverend and learned person translated into French Mr. Collier's "Short View of the Stage;" and thence takes occasion to speak of him again, with the warmest expressions of admiration and esteem.

It is necessary to add, that Mr. Collier wrote a few small pieces, which were published in connection with other men's works. He composed an "*Advertisement against Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time*," which was printed on a slip of paper, and dispersed in all the coffee-houses, in 1724, and is to be seen in the Evening Post, No. 2254. Besides this, he wrote several prefaces, &c.: as (1) "*An Advertisement concerning the Author and the Translation of Maxims and Reflections on Plays, in answer to a Discourse on the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of Plays, printed before a late Play, entitled 'Beauty in Distress,' written in French by the Bishop of Meaux*. London, 1669." (2) "*A Recommendatory Preface to Tully's Five Books, De Finibus, &c., done into English by S. P. (Samuel Parker), gent.; together with an Apology for the Philosophical Writings of Cicero, in a Letter to the Translator, by Mr. Henry Dodwell*. London, 1702." (3) "*A Recommendatory Preface to 'Human Souls naturally Immortal,' translated from a Latin manuscript, by S. E.* London, 1707." Of this preface Mr. Norris makes honourable mention in his letter to Mr. Dodwell, concerning the immortality of the soul of man; and says, that Mr. Collier's single remark against Mr. Locke is, in his opinion, worth all the book besides. It is also, upon good grounds, believed that he was concerned, among others, in collecting the passages referred to by Dr. Henry Sacheverell, in the answer to the articles of his impeachment.

Such is the most authentic biography we could compose

from preceding writers of Jeremy Collier. From it the reader will perceive that Collier was no ineffective cipher in our national records, but rather a man of immense energy and influence, who forced himself into indissoluble connexion with the greatest spirits of his time, and by his courage and talents gave impulse and direction to the most important events of our history. He possessed a vehemence and resolution of temper, which could neither be depressed by opposition nor broken by disappointment. The very impediments and vexations which would have altogether extinguished less dauntless aspirants, only served to quicken and stimulate Collier to dare and to conquer.

After having said thus much respecting Collier himself, it will not be improper to add a few words respecting the Non-jurors, or High Churchmen, then known by the political epithets of Jacobites and Stuartists, to which he so firmly and consistently adhered. The passions and the prejudices which have thrown so deep a cloud over the memory of these Non-jurors, are now fast dispersing, and many of our worthiest scholars are arising to do their names the justice which was withheld by their jealous contemporaries.

We by no means wish to defend all the tenets and practices of the Non-jurors. In several points they seem to have deviated from the line of that perfect orthodoxy which all should endeavour to retain. But we believe that he who carefully attends to their history, will find that the principal crime charged home upon them was a stedfast adherence to what are called the High-Church principles. Their main fault, in the eyes of their antagonists, was not a pertinacious attachment to a banished dynasty of kings: they knew that such an error, if error it was, was but the accident of a political dilemma, and would die off with the transient causes which gave it birth. No; they chiefly disrelished the Non-jurors because, in their entire estimate of the constitution, they differed from the friends of the Revolution.

Here was a broad and palpable distinction, which had de-

scended from the eldest periods of ecclesiastical history; a distinction which, being founded on the immutable relations of truth, could not be solved except by a solution of the hardest problems of dialectics.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Non-jurors, or High-Church party, were warmly and incessantly opposed to the Jurors, or Low-Church party. Their opinions came into necessary and unavoidable conflict at every page and passage of our ecclesiastical and civil policy. And the Church Histories of Collier and Burnet respectively are the authentic symbols of the views of these polemical parties.

Divine and Catholic truth, all transcending and all embracing, was shared and divided between these two vast and imposing sects. Each of them pretended in turn to a sort of monopoly of orthodoxy, but the pretence was a delusion. Each had its own verities and its own errors, its own merits and its own defects. Alternately they oscillated to the boundaries of good and evil with ceaseless and anxious motion, and rose and fell through numberless gradations of light and shade, which defy definition or classification.

If, however, the High-Church party was not all that it should have been, it was, perhaps, on the whole considerably nearer the centre of orthodoxy than its powerful antagonists. The just reputation of the Non-jurors, too long overcast by their enemies, is now recovering its true sphere of elevation. And though it will not reach the serene altitude of perfection, it will regain a great proportion of the panegyric lavishly bestowed on the Jurors. "This was sometime a paradox, but now the time gives it proof."

Those who would study the history of the Non-jurors with minute and scientific precision, will find ample information in the following works, to which we would refer the reader: The "Life of Archbishop Sancroft," by the Rev. G. D'Oyley, 1818, 2 vols. 8vo.; with that of Bishop Hiekes and Nelson. Rye's "Treatise against the non-conforming Non-jurors, in

answer to the objections which Mr. Dodwell, Dr. Hickeys, Dr. Simon Lowth, Mr. Collier, Dr. Howell, Mr. Earbery, Mr. Whiston, Dr. Brett, and others have brought against the Church of England," 1719, 2 vols. 8vo. Bennet's Treatise, entitled "The Non-jurors' Separation from the Public Assemblies of the Church of England examined and proved to be schismatical on their own principles," 1716, 8vo. Dr. Hoadly's Treatise, entitled "A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Non-jurors," 1716, 8vo. Dr. Brett's Treatise, entitled, "A Review of the Lutheran Principles, showing how they differ from those of the Church of England." Dr. Bennet's "Concession to the Non-jurors proved destructive to the Cause he endeavours to defend," 1717. Dr. Pierce's "Letter to Dr. Bennet, occasioned by his Treatise concerning the Non-jurors' Separation," &c. Dean Stanhope's Discourse, entitled, "The Church of England not guilty of the Schism charged upon her by the Non-jurors," 1717. Cosin's "Names of the Roman Catholics, Non-jurors, and others, who refused to take the Oath in George the First's time," 1745. Magnise's curious work, entitled, "The Reformation of Law, Physic, and Divinity, with arguments to prove that their spirit should be the basis of our social contracts, and that, to establish universal peace and happiness among all parties in Great Britain, Ireland, and America, they must all be linked in a chain of one common interest, and that the penal laws made against Papists, dissenting Non-jurors, &c. must be repealed," London, 1778.

Such were the treatises published on both sides. Two or three of the main points at issue seem to demand more specific notice.

For instance, the Non-jurors cherished a very different idea of ecclesiastical supremacy from that of the Jurors. The Non-jurors asserted that the essential head of the Church was a divine and celestial one, namely, Christ himself, and that he being indissolubly connected with his body, the Church, that Church could never perish, though all its earthly official

heads, patriarchs, popes, emperors, kings, &c. should be swept away.

In stating this theory, the Non-jurors intended to do no dishonour to the pope or the king. They considered that, as a terrestrial head of the Church general, the patriarch of Rome had just claim to a certain precedence. They sometimes asserted, in connection with this opinion, that the pope was not to be confounded with the Lateinos Secularity, or Antichrist, against whom he, in common with other Christian bishops, had to maintain incessant antagonism. In like manner, as a terrestrial head of the Church national, they subscribed the most devout allegiance to the king as an ecclesiastical no less than civil superior. But inasmuch as they held these heads of the Church to be terrestrial, and therefore non-essential, they held that no defalcation on the part of such heads would affect the indestructible vitality of the Church itself. "While," said they, "the Church adheres to Christ, its living and celestial sovereign, it will still support a charmed and imperishable life, though every earthly potentate should fall away." Just as the army of a prince would still be a royal army, though all its generals should be slain. It would still subsist by virtue of its connection with royalty, even though the offices of its generals remained vacant and unoccupied.

Accordingly, the Non-jurors stated that every member of the Church of Christ had a direct communication with him, as well as an indirect communication through the intervention of its appointed ministers, whether kings as supreme, or bishops and priests, and subordinate authorities. And they argued that this direct communication would not be destroyed or impaired by the accidents that might change the channels of indirect communication. The direct and essential communication would still go on, and the indirect would remain as it were in abeyance till its legitimate channels were once more opened.

On the whole, Collier made a far closer approximation to true Catholicity and impartiality, than could have been expected in a writer of so eager and polemical a spirit. Whether a portion of this impartiality is not to be traced to the view the Non-jurors cherished of our monarchical constitution, we know not; but probability leans to the affirmative. The Non-jurors regarded the British monarchs as Catholic heads of the Church universal, whether Roman or Protestant, within these realms. They stated that the grand excellence of a monarch consisted in this very Catholicity of religious character, which enabled him to act as the common defender of the faith, and the nursing father of all ecclesiastical developements of various denominations, within the four seas. It was in this regard that they so warmly protested that the conscience of the king, as a divine representative, should be left free and unbiassed; that of all men in the realm, the king's conscience should rise most superior to the prejudices of the age, and that he should be at liberty to patronise all sects and parties, according to their desert. Adopting this theory, which is intimately connected with their notion of the divine right and office of kingship, the Non-jurors vehemently opposed the doctrine of the Jurors; they denounced the idea of destroying the king's catholicity of character and freedom of conscience, by binding him under any exclusive ties to the Protestant or any other prevailing sect or party. They imagined that most disastrous consequences would issue from such an attempt to make the kingship, which should be the universal bond of union and liberty, a thing of partiality and limitation. How far their prophecies have been fulfilled by the subsequent experience of Great Britain and Ireland, it is for our readers to judge.

The best test of the essential impartiality of Collier's Ecclesiastical History, is the well-known fact, that it has been praised with equal eulogy, both by Roman and Protestant scholars. He aimed at the supreme and aboriginal truth, which precedes all, and embraces all. *Juvat integros accedere*

fontes, atque haurire, is the motto of his first volume. But he knew that this truth can only be attained by a loving and unembarrassed equanimity: and therefore, his second volume commences with this other motto, *Nec studio, nec odio*. It is because he faithfully adhered to this principle, that Collier is now to be considered as a sort of umpire between the ecclesiastical historians of contending sects and parties. As such he will guide the reader's judgement, amid the hostile arguments of Baronius, Bossuet, Lingard, Dodd, Butler, Heylin, Fuller, Mosheim, Milner, Southey, and their followers.

These views entered into the very heart of the disputes that the Non-jurors waged with the Jurors. The latter, in their zeal for the prince, seemed almost to identify the existence of the Church itself with its terrestrial head; no doubt they carried their argument in this respect too far, and by attempting to prove too much, proved nothing. Their reasoning, followed out, would have betrayed them to the false conclusion, that the destruction of the prince would be the destruction of the Church, which God had placed under his superintendence.

Another favourite idea of the Non-jurors was the Catholicity of the Anglican Church. They wished to set her forth as a branch of the pure Apostolical Ecclesia, which existed before the terms Papal and Protestant were ever heard of, and which will still go on flourishing when such sectarian epithets have passed away. This view they carried out into many of their polemical writings. In our own time, we find a similar opinion often eloquently pleaded. The following passage from a recent work is an illustration of it:—

“Who,” says the writer, “has just reason to complain of the Church of England, either in faith or doctrine? Where is the Christian who dares charge her with essential error? Is he found in the Papalist?—No. In the Calvinist?—No. In the Arminian?—No. In the Independent?—No. What causes this wonderful silence in her implacable enemies—those who are so anxious for her destruction? They cannot

make the charge, without being at once convinced of falsehood from the Bible: the confession is therefore extorted from them, that she is right in essentials. Standing amidst such enemies, she is only assailed on non-essential points of rite and regulation. What does this denounced Church of England give us in that matter of incalculable importance—form of worship? One unrivalled among human compositions—the first of books next to the Bible; one not more distinguished for beauty, simplicity, pathos, and adaptation to all ranks and circumstances, than for being the essence of the Holy Scriptures, and one which infinitely transcends any to be found among the Dissenters. We have, therefore, in this Church of England, sinking as she is under accusation and malediction, a faith unequalled, a form of worship unequalled, and ministers, on the whole, unequalled. The main pillars, at any rate, are sound. Such a fabric may need repair, but it is not to be pulled down, unless its opponents can supply a better.”

The Catholicity of the Anglican Church was a doctrine far less warmly asserted by the Jurors or Low Churchmen, unless, indeed, Catholicity is precisely synonymous with Protestantism. The followers of Burnet, and many of the Orange politicians, were so enthusiastic in the notion of Protestantism, that as long as our Church could be declared Protestant, and any point of her doctrine and discipline could be proved Protestant, they were quite satisfied, and went no farther in their inquiries. In this view the Jurors carried most of the Dissenters along with them—and many indications of the same opinion remain to this day, among several classes of society.

The sublime spirituality of true religion was, we fear, somewhat lost sight of amid these conflicts of the Non-jurors and Jurors—the High Churchmen and the Low Churchmen. They too often forgot that the spirit was the essence, of which the form was no more than an external symbol. They considered not that the true spiritual Church alone is the only one truly entitled to the title catholic and universal; that this alone is

the *Ecclesia in ecclesiâ*, the Church of churches—the whole, of which they are parts. It was of this spiritual Church that the Established Churches for which they severally pleaded were no more than sensible types. “All things spiritual (as an eloquent writer remarks) have their types in things natural, which present them to the fullest possible, short of identification. Even to this extent the historical symbolizes the mystical Church; but seeing how inadequate the whole of history is to represent the idea which it is evolving, let us be careful to make our induction as extensive as it may be. What a miserable limitation of the argument it is to confine the history of the Messiah’s dispensation to a single society or two out of many! The Romish Church presents one class of historical facts, the Greek Church another class of historical facts, the Anglican Church another, the Presbyterian Churches another, and the Dissenting Churches another. The different spheres and relations of one universal spiritual truth are represented by them in their several typifications, all of which form but one *system*, consisting of many components, as in the firmament of heaven a solar constellation is composed of many stars.”

It was, we say, owing to an unhappy oblivion of this essential spiritual harmony, that the High Church laid too much stress on High-Church formalities, and the Low Church on Low-Church formalities; as if formalities of any kind could rise above the quality of non-essentials. By leaving spirituality, they left the sphere of union and harmony; and by gravitating to formalism, they became involved with the elements of division and strife.

The inspired writers most earnestly insisted on this doctrine, and warned the Church to beware of splitting on the rocks of form and ceremony. They warned her of the perils that would attend her every attempt to make forms usurp the place of essences. The Church hath not always attended to this apostolic counsel; frequently has she given too ponderous an importance to forms, and laboured to make them fixed and defi-

nite ; “ bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move,” when heaven intended them to be free, and plastic, and malleable, so that they might adapt themselves to all the emerging requirements of ecclesiastical polity.

This consideration, which inseparably connects itself with the true Catholicity, was overlooked alike by the Non-jurors and the Jurors. Both insisted too eagerly on their respective formalities, and as action and reaction are equal, widened the breach that has never since been closed.

In order that the reader may understand somewhat more fully the relative positions of the Non-jurors and Jurors at the time when Jeremy Collier wrote his *Ecclesiastical History*, we shall proceed to make a few extracts from the writers who have noticed these topics.

Here is what Mosheim says on the subject, “ In the reign of king William, and in the year 1689, the division among the friends of episcopacy ran high, and terminated in that famous schism of the Church of England, which has never hitherto been entirely healed. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other non-juring bishops, (viz. Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, Dr. Turner of Ely, Dr. Kenn of Bath and Wells, Dr. Frampton of Gloucester, Dr. Thomas of Worcester, Dr. Lake of Chichester, and Dr. White of Peterborough,) all of whom were eminently distinguished both by their learning and their virtue, looked upon it as unlawful to take the oaths of allegiance to the new king, from a mistaken notion that James the Second, though banished from his dominions, remained nevertheless their rightful sovereign. As these scruples were deeply rooted, and no arguments nor exhortations could engage these prelates to acknowledge the title of William the Third to the crown of Britain, they were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and their sees were filled by other men of eminent merit. The deposed bishops and clergy formed a new episcopal Church, which differed in certain points of doctrine, and certain circumstances of public worship, from the Esta-

lished Church of England. This new religious community were denominated Non-jurors on account of their refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and were also called the High Church on account of the notions they entertained of the dignity and power of the Church, and the extent they gave to its prerogatives and jurisdiction. Those, on the other hand, who disapproved of this schism, who distinguished themselves by their charity and moderation towards dissenters, and were less ardent in extending the limits of ecclesiastical authority, were denominated Low Churchmen. The bishops who were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and those who embarked in their cause, maintained openly that the Church was independent of the jurisdiction of king and parliament, subject to the authority of God alone, and empowered to govern itself by its own laws; that consequently the sentence pronounced against those prelates by the great council of the nation, was destitute both of justice and validity, and that it was only by a decree of an ecclesiastical council that a bishop could be deposed. This high notion of the authority and prerogatives of the Church was maintained and propagated with peculiar zeal, by the famous Henry Dodwell, who led the way in this important cause, and who by his example and abilities formed a considerable number of champions for its defence. Hence arose a very nice and intricate controversy concerning the nature, privileges, and authority of the Church, which has not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion.”—Vide “Whiston’s *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*,” Lee’s “*Memoirs of John Kettlewell*, compiled from the Collections of Dr. George Hickes and Robert Nelson” (a valuable work, which contains a catalogue of all the ejected Non-jurors); “*Lives of Eminent Non-jurors*,” &c.

The Memoir of John Bowdler, Esq., one of the last of the Non-juror persuasion, published 1824, likewise contains considerable information. We shall quote a passage or two from its pages. “The elder Mr. Bowdler (says the biographer,) lived in habits of great intimacy with Dr. Hickes, dean of

Worcester ; whose life is a desideratum in literature, since he was famous for his piety, his orthodoxy, his deep and extensive erudition, and particularly his skill in the northern languages. Bishop Burnet, in that style of rude and flippant censure, which is unhappily too common in his work, throws out a charge against Hickes and others, who had adopted the same principles, of attachment to Popery. This is one of those loose accusations, which it is convenient to publish without investigation, because no man can investigate it without being convinced of its falsehood. Hickes was deeply read in the writers of the primitive Church, and well versed in its constitution and doctrines. When any subject is brought forward and recommended on the ground of conformity to the practice of that Church, a cry is raised that this is Popery ; when those that thus cry out do not reflect that they thereby pay a compliment to Popery which it ill deserves, and give it an advantage, which if it could maintain, it would be insuperable. For, *id verius quod prius*, the nearer we approach the fountain-head, the purer will be the stream ; and one of the heaviest charges brought against the Romish Church is, that it has departed from that authority which it professes to admire, and has palmed on us the corruptions of a later age for the pure apostolical doctrines and discipline of the earliest. We do not complain that Popery is too old, but that it is not old enough. To quote the words of the able writer whose name has occasioned this digression, “The Protestant religion of the Church of England is but another name for primitive Christianity, and a Protestant for a primitive Christian, who protests against all the corruptions of the Gospel by Popery.” This was written in the reign of Charles II. ; but his “Letters to a Popish Priest,” at a much later period, show with how little reason bishop Burnet accused him of approaching to that Church.

The right rev. Robert Gordon, who died in November, 1779, at a very advanced age, was the last in the succession of English Non-juring bishops, which had been continued from

the Revolution. The death of prince Charles, in 1788, put an end to political differences—and the points in debate, on religious topics, were not of sufficient importance to prevent an union where the validity of the ordinations in the Established Church was not disputed. There were very few, therefore, who continued in a state of separation after this time. Mr. Bowdler, one of whose leading maxims through life was *moderation*, while he admired the principles of the Non-jurors, and held their memory in great veneration, was never disposed to follow them to the extent to which some of them carried those principles. He communicated conscientiously with the Established Church, and continued through life devoted to its service,—yet he ever retained a solemn feeling of regard for the memory of those whom he had loved and honoured. He exercised charity towards some poor members of Mr. Gordon's congregation, and his regard for the English Non-jurors had no small influence in producing the strong interest he afterwards took in behalf of those who were similarly situated in Scotland.

Having so minutely specified the various sources of information which have been consulted in preparing this short sketch of the Non-jurors, we need add little more. Many of their opinions which savoured of exaggeration and extravagance, are now rendered obsolete, or at least ineffectual, by the great leveller, Time; while all that was “wisest, virtuous—est, discreetest, best,” in their multitudinous writings, will be justly cherished by our fellow-countrymen.

Of late years, many of the ablest works of the Non-jurors have been resuscitated from invidious obscurity by those scholars of the High Church party, who are best capable of appreciating their merits, and defending them against uncandid and ungenerous aspersions.

And if we have not miscalculated the liberal and impartial temper that now signalizes our ablest critics, these works will no longer meet any bigoted and morose censure, even from

the Low-Church clergy, the Presbyterians, and Dissenters, on whom they might bear more hardly. These gentlemen need not fear the encounter of sincere investigators, however oppositely their opinions may seem to lean. It is just by such encounters that the noblest illustrations of truth are scattered over the world. And he who cares more for truth than party will not regret its triumph, even at the expense of his dearest delusions.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

iii.

To enlarge upon the usefulness of history would have little discovery in it: to show how it opens a communication with the dead, and revives the ages past for the benefit of the present,—how it marks out the occasions of miscarriage, and gives us rules for conduct without the hazards and fatigue of experience,—how it acquaints us with the original of nations, the variety of customs, and the fate of empires—to do this, I say, would be to spend time upon an obvious topic, and deliver a truth of which few people are ignorant ¹.

To dismiss the argument, therefore, I shall only observe, that an account of the rise and progress of Christianity in any country must be allowed a preference to other historical relations. The dignity of the subject, the interests of eternity, and the unusual interpositions of Providence, are such distinguished advantages, that none but Infidels can dispute them. To insist a little upon the last circumstance, of which we have a remarkable instance in our own nation: we would ask, when Augustine the monk undertook the conversion of the Saxons, was any thing, humanly speaking, more unlikely to succeed? He had neither fleet nor army to back the enterprise, and none but a few naked men to attend him: he had no worldly motives to recommend him to king Ethelbert; he had no powerful alliances to offer; no new countries (like Columbus) to discover. We do not find him furnished with any rich presents, with any inventions for the polishing of life, with any curiosities of art or nature, to make way for his design. On the other side, the proposals of these holy men must needs be shocking

¹ “The usefulness of history is admirably described by Philo-Judæus and Origen. These two great lights of the Jewish and Christian Churches, ought long ago to have been translated into English. We once perused the main part of their writings with strong satisfaction, and will lend every assistance to scholars who possess patronage or leisure enough to publish a complete translation of them.”

to a pagan court: their doctrine laid new restraints upon pride and pleasure, and was unfriendly to the interest of flesh and blood; and, as for the happiness they promised, it was mostly out of sight, and not to commence till after death.

Notwithstanding these seeming impossibilities, they were blessed with surprising success: the sanctity of their lives and the force of their miracles broke through the difficulties of the enterprise. The Saxons were quickly prevailed on to part with their old idolatry, and resign their manners and belief. The practice of their converts was wonderfully changed, and a glorious revolution made in the moral world: they had now no delight in barbarity and bloodshed; the ruggedness of their temper was smoothed, and they grew much more just and benevolent than formerly; their pursuits were of a different kind; their affections regular and raised; and every thing so brightened within, as if nature had been melted down and re-coined. In short, the "*quatuor novissima*," death and judgment, heaven and hell, took such hold of their hopes and fears, that they sometimes stood off from the more innocent satisfactions of life, threw up the advantage of their condition, and removed from company and business.

iv. The other world sat so powerfully upon their spirits, that the entertainments of this grew flat and insipid. It was upon these thoughts that several of our princes resigned their government for the cloister; and those who did not conceive themselves obliged to such lengths of self-denial, laid out part of their revenues in the building and endowing of churches, in founding houses for learning and education, and for the benefit of retirement and devotion.

Some of these pious benefactions have a very unhandsome construction put upon them by Mr. Prinn. He takes the freedom to say, they were thus liberal for the expiation of their murders, rapines, adulteries, whoredoms, perjuries, or other crimes. What an unbenevolent censure is this! what coarse usage of the dead! what outrage of the royal character! Were all our princes thus wicked and licentious? this cannot be affirmed. To speak only of the Saxon reigns, and give some few instances out of many: were not Oswald and St. Edmund, Alfred and Edward the Confessor, remarkably regular and religious? Why are they not, then, distinguished from the rest, and rescued from so foul an imputation? And,

Prinn's
Records,
tom. 3.
Epist. to the
Reader.

granting they were all as bad as a gloomy imagination can paint them, I hope it is no harm to retrieve a false step, and give proof of reformation : now to “honour God with our substance ;” to “make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness ;” and go as far towards an atonement as we are able : to do this is a very commendable recollection, and a fair indication we repent in earnest.

If these princes, instead of assigning part of their fortune to religious uses, had invaded the altars, squandered away the patrimony of the Church, and spent the consecrated revenues upon their vice, their case would have been much worse.

But Mr. Prinn seems to grant all our ancient kings and great men were not thus obnoxious and immoral. He insinuates some of them might be more unblemished ; that the design of their bounty was for the salvation of their own and others' souls ; to entitle them to the benefit of the fasting, alms, and prayers of the religious, and give them a share in their merits. Notwithstanding his satire upon their conduct, alms, prayers, and fasting, are, without doubt, much better merits than ill language. And if they were mistaken in some things, their good intention ought to have had an allowance ; their character might have screened them from rough usage : they should, at least, have been treated with regard, and interpreted to the fairest sense.

Now, to make the munificence of our princes better understood, and offer some justice to their memory, I must bring Mr. Prinn towards a test, examine the strength of his authority, and inquire whether he has credit enough to bear up his censures, and make himself taken upon trust. The trial shall be made on his two volumes of Records, where he treats of the Saxon and English kings' supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And here, if we find him light upon the scale,—if there lie strong presumptions, either against his skill or integrity, or both,—it may serve us for a caution in other matters.

In examining this point, I desire the reader would take notice the dispute is only with Mr. Prinn, and not understand me as if I had any design to state the extent of the regale, or pronounce upon the supremacy. Having premised this, I shall proceed to a brief essay.

To begin ; one of his arguments for the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the crown is drawn from king John's

Matt. Paris,
Hist. Angl.
p. 90.
Hoveden,
fol. 793.
Prinn's
Records,
tom. 2.
p. 227.

coronation oath ; in which the king swears, "*Quod sanetam ecclesiam et ejus ordinatos diligeret, et eam ab incursione malignantium indennum conservaret, et dignitates illius bona fide et sine malo ingenio servabit illasas.*"

But it is plain from the citation, that here is nothing of ecclesiastical jurisdiction so much as implied ; the king's oath amounting to no more than a promise of allowing the clergy the benefit of the constitution, and protecting them in their civil privileges.

Prinn,
tom. 2.
p. 381.

His instance, in the reign of Henry III., is as little to his purpose ; where, from the king's sending a writ to the sheriff to shelter the bishop of London's estate from violence and intrusion, he infers his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over bishops and bishoprics ; that is, because the king, as the head of justice and sovereign of the state, guards the property of the subjects ; therefore he is the fountain of spiritual authority. Can any thing be more foreign than such a consequence ? His urging the writ *de vi laica amovenda* for this point is altogether as inconclusive ; and therefore I shall consider it no farther.

Prinn's
Records,
tom. 2.
p. 229, 230.

He takes notice of king John's sending a prohibition to the chapter of Lisieux not to elect a bishop without his assent ; and his appealing to the pope in defence of his right. He brings another resembling case in this reign : it is the king's seizing the temporalities of the archbishop of York, and appealing to the pope for his justification. The clause in the first record relating to this matter runs thus : "*Ad Dominum Papam solemniter appellavimus, et per presentes literas et earum latores, appellationem illam innovamus.*" The words in the second record are these : "*Nos autem contra eundem archiepiscopum ad Dominum Papam appellavimus pro nobis et nostris, et pro statu regni nostri.*"

Now an appeal, in the common notion of it, as every body knows, imports an application to a superior authority ; and yet Mr. Prinn is so unlucky as to cite these two instances among his records for the king's ecclesiastical supremacy.

In the page last cited, he makes a lamentable misconstruction of Innocent the Third's letter to king John, and has so little judgment as to make the pope acknowledge the king's supreme ecclesiastical power. That the court of Rome has challenged a temporal jurisdiction over princes we have too

much proof: but that they ever owned kings for the spiritual heads of the Church, was never heard of till Mr. Prinn's discovery.

This collector affirms the freedom of elections to bishoprics, inserted in king John's charter, was altogether new, and never insisted on before. He likewise pretends, that this branch of the charter gave a great wound to the king's ecclesiastical supremacy. But this assertion is a great mistake; for bishops were chosen by the chapters in the Saxon reigns. And after the Norman conquest, canonical elections were secured to the Church by king Stephen's charter: and in this charter of king John's, drawn up by the bishops and barons, the freedom of elections to bishoprics and abbeys is called a necessary and fundamental privilege of the Church.

Mr. Prinn pretends, that before 16 Johan. the king used to confer bishoprics without *congés-d'élire*. This is another misrepresentation of matter of fact: for after the investitures were given up, the chapters and convents were restored to their former privilege of elections. To instance only in the see of Canterbury; where, of all other places, we may imagine, the kings of England would not have suffered their prerogative to have been wrested from them. To instance, I say, only in this see; from the time the ring and pastoral staff were laid aside, in the reign of king Henry I., we shall find the archbishops of Canterbury always chosen by the convent of Christ's Church. Thus, the elections of Ralph, successor to Anselm; of William Corboil, of Theobald, of Becket, Richard, and Baldwin, were all governed; not to mention any others.

And here we are to observe, that when the *congés-d'élire* were sent, the king did not use to nominate any person to the chapter or convent, but only require them to choose one qualified for such a station.

Mr. Prinn affirms, the king granted archbishop Langton the patronage of the bishopric of Rochester, to him and his successors. But this, as appears from history, was no more than what anciently belonged to the see of Canterbury. Thus Eadmer, who died in the reign of king Henry I., tells us, the bishops of Rochester were nominated by the archbishops of Canterbury, and did homage for their temporalities to that see. But this is not all: the very charter cited by Mr. Prinn sets forth, that the king, in granting the patronage of the

Ibid. tom. 2.
p. 336, 338.
Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
l. 3. fol. 157.

Matt. Paris,
p. 261.

vi.

Prinn's
Records,
vol. 3. p. 30.

Eadmer,
Hist. Nov.
l. 5. p. 169.
Continuat.
Florent.
p. 669.
Chronic.
1348, 1425.
Hoveden,
fol. 355.
Prinn's
Records,
tom. 3.
p. 328.

Eadmer,
Hist. Nov.
p. 96.

bishopric of Rochester, only restored the archbishops of Canterbury to their former right. The words of the charter are these :—

Pat. 16, Jo-
han. n. 11.

“Rex Priori et Monachis Roffensibus ac libere tenentibus de episcopatu, salutem. Sciatis quod reddidimus venerabili patri nostro Domino Sancto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo patronatum episcopatus Roffensis, cum omnibus pertinentiis, tanquam jus suum,” &c. Mr. Prinn therefore had no reason to make this invidious remark, that the archbishop was created a petty king; and that king John had, in some sort, unkinged himself. For here was only restitution in the case, and nothing of new privilege conveyed.

Prinn's
Records,
tom. 3. p. 24.
Ibid. tom. 2.
p. 339.

In the course of his argument, he asserts the bishopric of Carlisle was erected by king Henry I. He must mean, it was solely erected by him in virtue of his regale; otherwise the case is foreign to his purpose. In proof of this, he cites a letter of king Henry III. to pope Adrian. But here is no mention made of king Henry I.'s founding the see, but only that he endowed it with several livings when it was founded. It is true the see of Carlisle was endowed and partly founded by king Henry I., but then this was not done without an authority from the pope procured for this purpose. And that this was the custom of that age, appears by a precedent in the same reign. For some years before, when the bishopric of Ely was founded, pope Paschal II. and the English bishops gave their consent to the foundation, as appears by a charter cited by the learned Selden.

Clause 3.
H. 3. M. 11.
dors.
Prinn,
tom. 2.
p. 375.

Godwin in
Episcop.
Carleolens.

Selden in
not. ad Ead-
mer, p. 211.

Upon a dispute in Ireland, whether the tithe of fish should be paid in ponds, especially such as belonged to the king? the king declared for the affirmative. This order Mr. Prinn makes an instance of the king's ecclesiastical sovereign power. By this remarkable inference, we may perceive how entirely he wrote upon fancy, and to what degree his judgment was governed by his prejudice: for the record is point blank against him, and sets forth, that the king commands them not to detain the tithes, for fear of running a hazard in his spiritual interest: “Rex non vult in periculum animæ suæ hujusmodi decimas detineant.”

Pat. 14.
H. 3. M. 4
Prinn's
Records,
tom. 2.
p. 424.

Mr. Prinn, in pursuit of his design, asserts, that the king, as supreme ordinary, has a right to exempt chapels and churches from episcopal jurisdiction; and yet the three records

which he cites in proof of this point plainly declare these privileges of exemption were all granted by the see of Rome. The first and last run in the form of prohibitions against the encroachments of the ordinaries upon the king's free chapels. The second is a petition to the king, drawn up for the same purpose.

“Edvardus, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, et Anno 7. E. 1.
Dux Aquitaniæ, dilectis clericis ejus magistro Thomæ Beck, et Johanni de Kirkeby, salutem. Cum quidam Galfridus le chapeleyn quondam provisionem in ecclesia Sancti Martini Magni, London, quæ est libera capella nostra, de quadam prebenda in eadem sibi ad executionem Venerabilis Patris J. London. Episcopi, quam cito ad hoc se offerret facultas conferendi, a sede apostolica impetraverit; propter quod idem episcopus de prebenda quæ fuit Johannis le Fauconer defuncti in eadem ecclesia quam dilectus clericus noster magister Johannes de Cadomo vendicat ex collatione decani ecclesiæ memoratæ prædicto capellano, ut accepimus providere intendit, et per diversa privilegia nobis a sede apostolica sit indultum, ut capellæ nostræ liberæ ab hujusmodi provisionibus penitus sint exemptæ: unde posset nobis et hæredibus nostris futuris temporibus magnum præjudicium generari, si dicti capellani provisio in hac parte sortiretur effectum. Vobis mandamus quod prædicto magistro Johanni, vel nuntio suo, tam pro jure nostro, quam ipsius clerici nostri salvando, brevia competentia de magno sigillo nostro, eis quorum interest dirigenda super premissis in forma debita faciatis. Teste meipso apud Card. 8 die Junii, anno regni nostri septimo.”

“Excellentiæ vestræ, si placet, monstravit Willielmus de Ibid.
Lewis et Walterus de Tothylle, capellani et canonici vestræ liberæ capellæ de Hastings ibidem residentes, quod Dominus Episcopus Cicestrensis et ejus officiales non cessant eis graviter et injuste molestare, videlicet, ad synodum suam citando, ecclesias suas ad prædictam liberam capellam vestram spectantes interdicendo; ita quod mortuos sepelire, et infantes baptizare, nec missas in eisdem ecclesiis celebrare non possunt, ad eorum damnum non modicum, et gravamen, et ad maximum præjudicium et contemptum prædictæ capellæ vestræ, ab hujusmodi molestiis auctoritate apostolica immunis existentis. Super istis petivit remedium, &c.”

“Rex magistro Olivero de Sutton, decano Lincoln, ac omni- Pat. 7. E. 1.
M. 13. intus.

viii.

bus et singulis canonicis, capellanis et ministris ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum Derb. salutem. Cum ipsa ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum cum prebendis et aliis pertinentiis suis, sit libera capella nostra, et ab omni jurisdictione ordinaria exempta, ac Domino Papæ immediate subjecta, et ex donatione prædecessorum nostrorum regum Angliæ, ad decanatum ecclesiæ Lincolnæ pertineat; ac magister Jordanus de Wynburn, archidiaconus Derb. jurisdictionem ordinariam pro libito sibi vendicet, et multipliciter usurpare contendat, sententiam excommunicationis in quosdam ipsius ecclesiæ Derb. ministros de facto, cum de jure non posset, temere proferendo, in grave prejudicium libertatum nostrarum, et regię dignitatis, nec non et sedis apostolicę contemptum manifestum, ut intelleximus. Nos, ne nobis prejudicium in hac parte generetur, providere cupientes, vobis mandamus, firmiter inhibentes, sic ut alias per literas celebris memorię Domini H. Regis Patris vobis inhibutum fuisse comperimus, ne Coventrens. et Litchfield. Episcopo, archidiacono Derb. vel eorum officialibus, decanis, vel aliis quibuscunque jurisdictionem ordinariam in dicta ecclesiā Omnium Sanctorum sibi vendicantibus, aliquo modo pareatis, vel intendatis, contra libertates et privilegia nostra prædicta.—In eujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Westm. 28 die Aprilis.”

Prinn's
Records,
tom. 3.
p. 223, 229.

From this view, the reader will perceive Mr. Prinn's inference is a downright contradiction to the evidence produced by him; and, which sits harder upon his integrity, the sense of the records is clear and determined, and has nothing of ambiguity to give occasion to a mistake. Here he discovers a great want of care or Latin, or at least of somewhat else which is more to be lamented.

Prinn's
Records,
tom. 3.
p. 405.

Ailred, Rie-
val. p. 388.

Mr. Prinn has the misfortune to miscarry in another instance upon this head; it is the case of the prior of Trinity and Bogo de Clare, who served a citation from the archbishop of Canterbury upon the earl of Cornwall, in the king's palace at Westminster, as that earl was going to the parliament; for which they were both prosecuted at the suit of the king: the earl of Cornwall and the abbot of Westminster deeply fined and committed to the Tower. But if Mr. Prinn had considered his record, he might have found it counter to his purpose; for, according to the doctrine then current, the main reason why the archbishop's citation could not run within the king's court was, because his palace stood within the precincts of West-

minster Abbey. Now, this monastery was exempted by pope Nicholas II., from archiepiscopal and episcopal jurisdiction. And therefore it is declared in the record, that the serving Ibid. p. 406. this citation was, “in læsionem libertatis ecclesiæ abbatis Westmonasteriensis concessæ per curiam Romanam, cum prædictus locus sit omnino exemptus a jurisdictione archiepiscoporum, seu episcoporum quorumcunque, per libertates sibi et ecclesiæ suæ Westm. concessas.”

It is somewhat surprising Mr. Prinn should overlook these matters, considering he has printed three letters of king Edward I., in which he writes to the pope, to request him to confirm the exemption of the chapel at Bosham, to give him leave to choose a confessor for himself, and to grant one of his clerks a dispensation for pluralities. Now all these, one would think, are very slender signs of an ecclesiastical supremacy. To proceed: He maintains the election of a bishop without the king's Prinn, tom. 3. p. 1160. 1266, 1267. license was absolutely void; but the writ throws in this abatement to his assertion, that it was “nulla quantum ad nos;” that is, the king thought himself not bound to restore the temporalities upon such an election.

To go on: King Henry III. being displeased with the monks of Ely, for electing Hugo de Balsham to that see, appeals to the pope, who confirming this Hugo, the king acquiesced; from whence it is evident the king did not lay claim to a spiritual supremacy in this point. And to confirm this matter farther, Ibid. tom. 2. p. 922, 923. Pat. 56. H. 3. Mr. Prinn furnishes a letter of this prince to the pope, to request a revocation of the constitutions of archbishop Boniface. Can any thing bear harder upon Mr. Prinn's principles, or be more unfriendly to an Erastian scheme, than such evidence as Prinn's Records, tom. 2. p. 990. this?

However, if he is farther examined, we shall find him reporting and arguing with his usual fidelity and success. The instance is this: William, archbishop elect of Tuam, resigns his election into the pope's hands, who gives him a provisional title. The king, at the pope's request, issues a writ to restore the temporalities. Mr. Prinn affirms, the king does not allow the pope's provision in his writ; but the record shows evidently the contrary. I shall transcribe it for the reader.

“Rex venerabili Patri J. eadem gratia Dublin. Archiepiscopo, Justitiario suo Hiberniæ, vel Escactori suo ibidem, salutem. Cum summus pontifex dilectum nobis in Christo

Willielmum rectorem ecclesiæ de Athnorwy, electum in Archiepiscopum ecclesiæ Tuamensis, cui prius regium assensum adhibuimus et favorem, ejusdem ecclesiæ præfecerit in Archiepiscopum et pastorem, sicut per literas dicti summi pontificis bullatas accepimus; nos præfectionem illam acceptantes, cepimus fidelitatem ejusdem Willielmi et temporalia archiepiscopatus prædicti, prout moris est, restituimus eidem."

Pat. 27.
E. 1. M. 6.
intus,
Prinn's
Records,
tom. 3.
p. 384, 385.

He calls the clergy's being acquitted by their ordinaries of the crimes laid to their charge by the temporal courts, "delusory and false purgations." But, notwithstanding this censure, these canonical purgations were a branch of the liberties of the Church, and secured, among the rest, by Magna Charta; and—which falls more severely upon Mr. Prinn—the king's writ, cited by him, declares the clergy, thus discharged by their ordinaries, legally acquitted. I shall transcribe part of it.

Clause 22.
E. 1. M. 2.
intus Prinn's
Records,
tom. 3.
p. 609.

"Cum Willielmus de Wabrunne, Thomas de Bayfele, &c. Clerici ——— juxta privilegium clericale pro ut moris est liberati, innocentiam suam super eodem crimine sibi imposito, legitime purgaverint," &c. Thus Mr. Prinn has the courage to arraign the constitution and fall foul upon the law, when it happens not to suit with his fancy.

7. E. 1.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 2.
p. 33.
Hoveden,
fol. 458.
Bishop
Wake's
State of the
Church.
Prinn's
Records,
vol. 3. l. 230.
Ibid. p. 252.
9. E. 1.

He takes notice of archbishop Peckham's summoning a provincial council by his metropolitanical authority: this he calls a presumption; though, at that time of day, it was a known privilege of the see of Canterbury. Thus the archbishops William Corboil, in the reign of king Henry I., and Hubert, in the reign of Richard I., summoned their suffragans by their own mandate: which liberty held on, in the English Church, till the reign of Henry VIII. This practice was so plain, that Mr. Prinn himself comes towards a confession, and owns that the council of Lambeth, held two years after, seems to have been summoned without the royal writ.

Prinn's
Records,
tom. 2. p. 4.
10. E. 1.
M. 10.
Prinn's
Records,
tom. 3.
p. 235.

To dismiss this argument with one instance more concerning excommunication. This essential branch of ecclesiastical jurisdiction Mr. Prinn makes part of the prerogative royal. This is very extraordinary, considering he has printed a letter of king Edward I. to the archbishop of Canterbury, in which the king declares the power of "the keys" lodged with the Church, and that the discipline of excommunication is the business of the spiritual authority. But, notwithstanding this counter

evidence, and a great deal more of this kind which must have lain in his way, he seems resolved to maintain his error. To this purpose, he insists upon the certificates of the bishops of Chichester and Durham: these prelates pray in aid the king's writ, "de excommunicato capiendo," against those who contemned the censures of the Church. 17, 18. E. 1.

The bishop of Chichester's certificate, which is penned to the same sense with that of the bishop of Durham's, is as follows:

"Excellentissimo Domino suo E. Dei gratia Regi Angliæ, &c. ——— Cicestrensis episcopus, salutem. Excellentie vestræ ejus est sponsam Christi in suis juribus et libertate tueri, et in gladio punire justitiæ quos in ipsius ecclesiæ injuriam, opprobrium et contemptum, invenerit machinantes, presentibus innotescat, quod frater Radulphus de Baldoch, canonicus de Begeham, prædictæ Cicestrensis diocœsis, est per nos excommunicationis sententia autoritate ordinaria innodatus. In qua sordescens per quadraginta dies et amplius adhuc perseverare indurato animo non formidat, claves ecclesiæ damnablem contemnendo, in animæ suæ periculum et scandalum plurimorum. Cum igitur ultra non habeat ecclesia quod faciat in hac parte, vestræ Celsitudini regiæ supplicamus, quatenus juxta regni vestri consuetudinem contra dictum excommunicatum extendere dignemini brachium sæculare; ut quem timor Dei a malo non revocat, corporalis pœna cohibeat a peccato. Dat. 4 Cal. Decemb. anno 1289."

From this certificate, given into the court of Chancery, in order to a significavit, no more can be concluded than this: that since the excommunicated person had taken no notice of the ordinary's censure, and continued in his contempt for more than forty days, for this reason the bishop moves for the king's writ, and applies to the relief of the secular magistrate; that by this means, those who have no conscience to take hold of might be reached in their liberty and fortune, and brought to recollection by a more sensible penalty. Notwithstanding this is the plain meaning of the application, yet Mr. Prinn, against the tenor of the record, and all rational inference, concludes from hence the insignificance of the bishop's ecclesiastical censures, and the king's supreme spiritual authority over the clergy. I could easily go farther; but this may serve for a sample of Mr. Prinn's collections. Prinn's
Records,
tom. 3.
p. 1298.

To proceed, and touch briefly upon part of the doctrine, worship, and government of the Church within the Saxon period :

Private confession to a priest seems to have been enjoined, or, at least, strongly recommended.

Bede,
Eccles. Hist.
l. 5. p. 422.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 21. l. 5.
c. 4.

Relics were valued, and holy water used, in the consecration of Churches.

Images were retained for instruction and memory, but nothing of worship allowed them. The Saxon Homilies, where they mention the different conditions of people in the other world, speak only of heaven and hell, and take no notice of any place

for temporary punishment.

Bede, p. 420.
et deine.

It is true, one Homily declares for a purging fire, to burn off the blemishes of sin, to purify the faithful, and refine them to a glorified body.

Whelock's
Præfat. ad
Lambard's
Archaion.

But then this fire is not to be kindled till the day of judgment, which is the old notion of purgatory we meet with in St. Cyprian ; and it is probable their prayers for the dead were put up for relief at the resurrection, and that those who died under some inequalities of conduct, some abatements of virtue, might be more gently corrected, and have a merciful deliverance through the last conflagration. Though, after all, it must be granted, the modern doctrine of this article had gained some belief in Bede's time, as appears by Drithelmus's vision.

xi.

Bede, l. 5.
c. 13.

In the Homily upon St. Etheldrith, or St. Audrey, the departed saints are said to intercede for us : but the prayers of the Church are addressed to none but God for his benefit.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 20. p. 313.
446, 447.

What was the sense of the Saxon Church concerning the corporal presence in the holy eucharist, the reader will see in the course of the history. And here I shall only add, that the laity communicated in both kinds for about 200 years after the Norman conquest.

In their public office of the canonical hours, translated by Mr. Elstob, the collects and lessons are in Latin : the Lord's Prayer and Creed are likewise in this language. But then, after a petition in the Lord's Prayer, or an article in the Creed, there follows a Saxon translation in a copious paraphrastical way. So, likewise, upon a verse of the Psalms, a commenting translation is subjoined.

About the beginning of the Norman conquest, I have cited a passage from Malmesbury, to show that few of the Saxon clergy of that age understood grammar. From hence I infer, it is probable the Church service was in English: and, indeed, king Alfred's preface to Gregory's Pastoral seems to import no less. However, it is certain Leofric's Missal, used in the Confessor's reign, is all Latin, and that above mentioned is intermixed with it.

Spelman,
vol. 1.
p. 379.

In the Norman reigns, there were three distinct liturgies: that of York, that of Bangor, and that more general one, *secundum usum Sarum*.

To speak a word or two concerning Ireland, with reference to this matter.

The Irish liturgy was brought into that country by St. Patrick, who is said to have received it from Germanus and Lupus, two famous French bishops. A manuscript in the Cotton library, nearly 900 years old, makes it the same with that of St. Mark, and vouches St. Hierom for the point: but since the testimony of this Father is not extant, and the liturgy attributed to St. Mark liable to exceptions, we can infer nothing certain, excepting the antiquity of the office.

But how uniform soever their liturgy might be at first, time altered the case: the prelates of succeeding ages did not think themselves confined to the usages before them. They took the liberty to add, throw out, or abridge, as they thought convenient. Thus the rituals and public offices were different till the twelfth century. They were then brought up to the Roman standard by Gillebertus and Malachias, two Irish bishops, and legates to the pope. Gillebertus, an acquaintance of archbishop Anselm, in his preface, *De Usu Ecclesiastico*, gives an account of his performance in this kind. He tells the Irish bishops and priests, in his dedication, "that at the instance and command of many of them, he had drawn up a form for Divine service, and gone through all the offices of the Church: that he engaged in this undertaking to put an end to the different schismatical usages: that his design was to settle an uniformity of worship, and make all disagreeing compositions give way to the Catholic and Roman office. For what looks more like indecency and schism than such foreign unressembling liturgies; where the diversities are so remark-

Anselm.
l. 3.
epist. 143.

Prolog.
Gilleberti
Lanicensis
Episc. de
usu Eccle-
siast. in
Colleg.
S. Benedict.
et Publica
Academia
Cantabrig.
Bibliotheca.

Bernard in
Vita Mala-
chie.
Usher's
Religion
of the an-
cient Irish,
p. 25.

able, that a priest, who is perfectly master of the service in one diocese, knows nothing of it in another?"

What was thus begun by Gillebert was carried on by Malachias, as we may learn from St. Bernard, who wrote his life. He tells us, Malachias introduced the Apostolical constitutions, the decrees of the Fathers, and especially the customs of the holy Roman see, into all the Irish churches. That, by his industry and zeal, he prevailed with the island to imitate the Catholic manner, and conform to the rest of Christendom: whereas, before, the usages were much otherwise; and even the city of Armagh was not without singularities in the divine service.

The government of the Church was always and everywhere episcopal, for the first 1500 years. And thus the reader will find the matter settled from the beginning, in Great Britain and Ireland. As to the exception of the Culdees, I have shown it altogether unserviceable: so that neither the model of Geneva, or the Kirk of Scotland, can make any advantage by it.

If it is inquired how the bishops were brought to this supreme station: to this it may be answered, when the Saxons were newly converted, the prelates were sometimes nominated by their predecessors. Thus Laurentius succeeded to the see of Canterbury by the appointment of Augustine the monk. And thus an overture of the same preferment was made to Wilfrid, by archbishop Theodorus. Afterwards the elections were managed by the chapters: from hence they passed to the court, where the claim was kept up for some time. As for primitive practice, it was different from the methods last mentioned, as will appear from a short view of the case.

In the primitive Church, when a see was vacant, the provincial bishops used to meet: and when they had examined the morals and sufficiency, and approved the qualifications of the person to be promoted, they ordained him by imposition of hands. This was done in conformity to the Apostles' precedent. And therefore, while the election was under debate, it was the custom to consult the clergy and laity of the place: this was done both for a fuller inquiry, and that a bishop might not be put upon them against their inclination. Thus the recommendation of the clergy and people was requisite to

prevent disaffection and complaint: but then the authority of the choice, the overruling votes, and the conveying of the character, were lodged with the bishops of each province. And to guard against dishonour in this affair, the circumstances were afterwards reduced towards a form, and settled by the canons. And because the absence of some of the bishops might delay the proceedings, it was thought fit to let the clergy and people who were upon the spot go through with their share of the election in the first place; and when the matter was thus far advanced, they applied to the bishops of the province, who either confirmed or annulled the choice. And because the meeting of the synods grew less frequent, this power was afterwards devolved upon the metropolitan.

That the business of elections was thus transacted, appears by the testimony of the ancients. St. Cyprian has a passage full to this purpose: it is in his epistle to the Spaniards, who wanted a bishop. He tells them, "Divine tradition and apostolic practice must be their rule in this affair. That when a bishop was to be chosen, it was the general custom in Africa, and elsewhere, for the neighbouring bishops to repair to the vacant see; to convene the people; and make the choice of a public assembly: for none can be supposed to understand the conduct and behaviour of the candidates so well as those who live amongst them. This method, you know," says he, "was lately practised in your country at the ordination of our brother, Sabinus: he was chosen by the whole body of the faithful; the bishops ratified the election by an instrument under their hands, and then consecrated him to the jurisdiction of Basilides." Epist. 68.

xiii.

St. Cyprian grounds this custom upon Scripture authority, and cites Moses for an instance. He observes, "that when God commanded this prophet to strip Aaron of the pontifical habit, and put it upon Eleazar his son, the ceremony was to be performed before all the congregation, as the Septuagint has it. God," continues this father, "commands that the high priest should be called to his office before all the congregation: instructing us by this precept, that the ordination of bishops ought to be made under public notice and inspection: that the people being thus present at the solemnity, is the likeliest way to discover the faults, and do justice to the merits of such as are

recommended : and that an ordination, to make it unexceptionable, ought to be carried on by general suffrage and authority."

Lampridius, in the Life of Alexander Severus, may serve to illustrate this matter, and show what sort of interest the people had in the elections. The historian reports, "that when this emperor designed to make any officers for the exchequer, any ministers of state or justice, he used to publish their names beforehand : and if any person could charge them with foul practice, they were encouraged to appear, and make evidence. He puts them in mind, this scrutiny was customary among the Christians when they chose their priests ; and that it would be a blemish upon the government to be less circumspect."

To proceed, Origen gives the same account with St. Cyprian, and makes use of an instance in the Old Testament. His words are these : "Though God had given order for the making a high priest, and pitched upon the person himself, yet the congregation was assembled upon this occasion : for it is fit the people should appear at the choosing a priest, that every one may be satisfied about the learning, piety, and discretion of him that is promoted ; that there may be no distrust of merit, nor any pretence for re-examining the matter. That this method is prescribed by the apostle in the choice of a bishop : for we are told, he must have a good report of them that are without." And if of those that are without, as St. Chrysostom argues, how much rather ought he to stand in the good opinion of the brethren ?

Orig.
Homil.
Sext. in
Levit.

But then as to the force of the election, the pronouncing upon the merits, and the decisive judgment, this belonged to none but the bishops. Thus much we may infer from the precedents and reasoning of the two Fathers last mentioned. The point may be likewise farther made good, by the testimony of Clemens Romanus, contemporary with St. Paul. This holy bishop, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, informs that Church, that the apostles were forewarned by our Saviour of the disputes which might happen about making way to the episcopal chair ; and being enabled to see through events, and look into the ages to come, they made bishops themselves, leaving this for a standing rule, that when they happened to die, others should succeed them in their office : and that these last should be promoted by the appointment of their predeces-

sors, or else by other persons of the same eminence, *συνευδοκήσεως τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης*; the whole Church of that precinct being satisfied with the persons and method. Thus, by the apostles' order, the chief governors of the Church, that is, the bishops, were commissioned to secure the succession, and provide for the perpetuity of their order: but then they were to have a regard to the approbation of the faithful, and not make choice of disagreeable persons; that is, of such against whom there lay any reasonable exception: and unless the matter had been thus settled, unless the last resolution, and the casting voice, had been entrusted with the bishops, the apostles foresaw the Church would break into factions, and the business of elections be unhappily perplexed.

And thus in the third century we find elections governed by the bishop's authority: for when Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, had retired to a desert, and was not to be heard of, the neighbouring bishops met to provide for the see, and ordained Dios in his place.

Euseb. Hist.
Eccles. l. 6.
c. 10.

The general council of Nice, which kept close to ancient practice, confirms this privilege to the bishops, and takes no notice of any other interest.

Can. 4.

But though the inferior clergy and people are unmentioned by this council, they were still left to the customary usage, and concerned themselves in elections as formerly. And for this we have sufficient evidence in the case of St. Athanasius and St. Basil; not to mention many others. For when these holy men were chosen bishops, the clergy and laity appeared in great numbers. They appeared to recommend the person, and acquaint the bishops which way they were inclined.

Athan.
Apol. 2.
Gregor.
Nazianz.
Epist. 22.

Constantine, the first Christian emperor, left the Church to her original liberty, and acknowledged her right, as we may learn from his Letters to the Church of Nicomedia, and to the bishops convened at Antioch, about filling that see.

Theod.
Hist. Eccles.
l. 1. c. 20.
Euseb. de
Vita Con-
stant. l. 3.
c. 62.

And when upon the death of Auxentius, the diocese of Milan wanted a bishop, the emperor Valentinian put the provincial prelates in mind of choosing another: and when some of them, out of ceremony, referred the choice to his majesty, he told them, that business was too big for his management; and that they were much better qualified: upon which, they proceeded to the choice of St. Ambrose.

Theod.
l. 4. c. 6, 7.

And thus, in the reign of Theodosius the Great, we find

Flavianus and Nectarius set over the sees of Antioch and Constantinople, by the second general council; the clergy and people of the respective cities concurring in the choice.

Theod.
l. 5. c. 9.

De Marca,
De Concord.
Sacerd. et
Imper. l. 3.
c. 11.
Ibid. lib. 3.
c. 12, 13.

In after ages, princes sometimes interposed the regale, and overbore the canons. And upon this score, the French court is much complained of by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz. Charles the Great took off this pressure (as it was then accounted) in a great measure; and Louis the Godly, his son, restored the elections to their ancient freedom. And how this affair was formerly managed in England, has been hinted already, and will be further discovered in the following history.

xv.

To go on with a word or two concerning the English Church within the Norman reigns; and here the reader will meet with some extension of belief, some alteration in worship, compared with the Saxon times. However, generally speaking, it must be said, the discipline of provincial councils was not ill formed. And as for the clergy, they frequently bore up vigorously against the encroachments of the court of Rome. Of this, besides many others, we have a remarkable instance: anno 4^o Edward III. At a parliament held this year, the bishops were required to give their opinion concerning the pope's claim of 1000 marks per annum. This rent was demanded pursuant to the articles of resignation made by king John. The prelates desired they might be allowed to consult by themselves, and have a day's time given for their answer. This being granted, they unanimously declared, that king John had no authority to subject his crown and kingdom to any such vassalage. And in case the pope should insist upon the homage, and proceed to extremities, they would assist the king against him to the utmost of their power.

Rot. Parl.
Ann. 40.
E. 3. N. 7, 8.
Prinn's
Records,
vol. 11.
p. 301.

In managing this work, I thought it requisite to intermix a brief account relating to the State. Without throwing in something of this nature, the history would have been perplexed, and the view of Church affairs broken and imperfect. To give one instance; the misreport of the Scottish historians, concerning the Culdees, could not be disproved without giving an account when the Scots settled in Britain. Besides, I was willing to relieve the reader by the variety of the subject. And that the history might not be overcharged with civil transactions, I have only glanced upon the argument, and inserted nothing but what is most material or uncommon.

If this way of writing needed a farther apology, I have the authority of ancient and modern church historians for my warrant. Socrates and Sozomen, Theodoret and Evagrius, Baronius and Spondanus, Fox and the last learned author of the "English Reformation," have all of them taken this liberty.

However, my design being chiefly confined to the Church, I have declined running out into length upon anything which might look foreign. And to be particular, for this reason, I have waved distinguishing between assemblies purely ecclesiastical, and state convocations, or enlarging upon the business of the latter.

I have omitted the mention of several writings of bishops and other churchmen, because they are in manuscript, where the general reader cannot see them. As for the learned, they may consult Bale and Pitz. To which I may add, that many of the tracts, both for matter and manner, are worn out of esteem.

In passing along, I have now and then made remarks upon several occasions: this latitude I conceive is sufficiently defensible; such reflections being not unnecessary to clear matters of fact, to disentangle the difficulty of the case, and retrieve some serviceable truths from interest and prejudice.

Before I release the reader, I must take notice of a mistake into which I was led, by the fault of the transcriber of Bede. In the 92nd page of the following history, I have reported Damianus Deusdedit's successor in the see of Canterbury. But this is a plain corruption of Bede's copy; for Theodorus succeeded Deusdedit. And as for Damianus, he was never archbishop of Canterbury, but died upon the see of Rochester. Bede, l. 4. c. 2.



CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK I.

The religion of the Britons, 1.—A description of the authority and persuasion of the Druids, 2.—Christianity not propagated in Britain in the reign of Tiberius, 4.—The passage in Gildas explained, 6.—By whom Christianity was first preached here, uncertain, 6.—And Aristobolus supposed to have been here, but without probability, 7.—Conversion of Britain, 7.—However, it is certain Christianity was preached here in the apostolical age, 8.—Authorities to prove St. Peter's preaching in Britain, not sufficient, 10.—St. Paul's coming hither not improbable, 12.—The tradition concerning Joseph of Arimathea considered, 15.—King Henry II.'s charter to the abbey of Glassenbury, 17.—King Ina's charter questionable, 18.—Antiquities of the British churches, 18.—King Ina's charter mentions nothing of Joseph of Arimathea, 20.—The tradition concerning Joseph of Arimathea unmentioned by the most ancient British historians, 22.—The Glassenbury tradition not credible by the circumstances of the story, 23.—The eremitical way of living of the twelve Glassenbury disciples, not suitable to that age, 24.—The incongruity of the tradition with the condition of the Roman province, 24.—The conversion of King Lucius, 27.—The story of the flamens and archi-flamens in Britain, unsupported, 29.—Eleutherius's letter to Lucius, 32.—The credit of this letter very suspicious, 33.—Conjectures upon the motives which made Lucius send to the bishop of Rome, 35.—The most probable reasons why Lucius sent his agents to the bishop of Rome, 39.—Churches and other benefactions of Lucius, most of which not sufficiently attested, 39.—King Lucius's travels into Gaul and Germany very questionable, 41.—The death of Lucius, 41.—A brief account of Britain, with relation to the State, 42.—The history of the Church re-assumed, 44.—Severus makes an expedition into Britain: the difficulties and success of the enterprise, 45.—Caracalla makes a peace with the unsubdued Britons, and leaves the country, 46.—Carausius revolts, and sets up for himself in Britain, 46.—Allectus murders Carausius, and succeeds in his usurpation, 46.—The Dioclesian persecution, 46.—Gildas's description of the persecution in Britain, 48.—St. Alban's martyrdom, 48.—No reason to disbelieve the miracles wrought by St. Alban, 52.—St. Alban's fortitude and miracles instrumental in converting others, 52.—Amphibalus first mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, 55.—Constantius Chlorus, declared emperor, puts a stop to the persecution, 55.—Constantine succeeds his father Constantius, 55.—Constantine the Great born in Britain, 56.—Three British bishops subscribe

to the council of Arles, 59.—The apostolical succession of the British bishops, 60.—The canons of the first council of Arles, 61.—The independent authority of the council of Arles, and the terms of equality with which they treat the bishop of Rome, 63.—Some of the British bishops in all likelihood present at the council of Nice, 65.—Further proof of the emperor Constantine's being born in Britain, 66.—Pacatianus, the emperor's viceroy, in Britain, 67.—The appearing of the sign of the Cross in the air, to Constantine the Great, 68.—A short character of this prince, 69.—British bishops present at the council of Sardica, 69.—The reasons for convening this council, 70.—This council a disproof of the papal supremacy, 72.—A dilemma upon the papal supremacy, 74.—Hosius most probably no legate of the see of Rome, 75.—The fifth and sixth canons of the council of Nice explained by the council of Sardica, 75.—A farther argument against the supremacy, from the pretended council of Philippopoli, 76.—The decision of the sixth council of Carthage against the pope's receiving appeals, 78.—The council's remonstrating letter to the pope, 79.—An objection from the British bishops being at the council of Sardica answered, 81.—The liberties of Christendom secured by the council of Ephesus, 84.—St. Hilary addresses the British bishops, 85.—British prelates present at the council of Arimini, 85.—Why the British bishops were somewhat unfurnished at the council of Arimini, 86.—When the Arian heresy probably reached Britain, 87.—The state of the civil government of Britain, from Constantius to Gratian, 88.—Theodosius's success in the government of Britain, 89.—The usurper Maximus slain, 91.—Pilgrimages to Jerusalem frequent, 91.—Usurpation fatal to the Britons, 92.—The romantic story of the eleven thousand virgins, &c., 93.—The heresy of Pelagius, 93.—The time when this heresy appeared, 94.—Something by way of character of this heretic, 94.—Pelagius no monk of Bangor, nor ever returned into Britain, 95.—Some of Pelagius's tenets, 96.—Pelagianism got footing in Britain, 98.—Germanus and Lupus sent for into Britain, to oppose the Pelagians, 101.—They dispute with the Pelagians, 102.—Are sent into Britain by a Gallican council, and not by the pope, 103.—A victory gained by the prayers of Germanus and Lupus, 104.—An objection from chronology satisfied, 106.—The civil affairs of Britain, 107.—Of Dunbriton and Edinburgh, 107.—St. German's second voyage to Britain, 109.—Schools of learning settled in Britain by Germanus and Lupus, 110.—The Gallican liturgy introduced into Britain by Germanus and Lupus, 112.—The difference between the Roman and Gallican offices, 112.—Palladius sent into Ireland, 117.—St. Patrick succeeds Palladius, 118.—A short character of St. Patrick, and his progress in Ireland, 118.—The Saxons' first settlement in Britain, 120.—The counties in which the Saxon clans settled, 121.—A conjecture upon Vortigern's motives in sending for the Saxons, 122.—The Saxons break with the Britons, 123.—The terrible ravage and burning of the country, 124.—The doctrine and character of Faustus, born in Britain, 124.—Faustus's works censured after his death, for semi-Pelagianism, 128.—The Britons recover, and defeat the Saxons at Bannesdown, 129.—Ambrosius repairs the churches, and provides for the settlement of religious and civil affairs, 130.—He defeats Pascentius and Ælla, 130.—Ambrosius is poisoned at Winchester, 131.—Uther Pendragon, his reign, 131.—He is succeeded by his son Arthur, 132.—Dubricius, 136.—St. David, 136.—The two Sampsons, 137.—Cadocus, 138.—Paternus, 138.—St. Petrock, 139.—St. Teliau, 139.—Oudocius, 136.—Kentigern, 140.—St. Columba, 141.—He acknowledged the distinction and superiority of the episcopal order, 142.—Gildas, 143.—Columbanus, 144.—Theonus and Thadiocus retire into Wales, 144.—When the Britons probably first settled in Armorica, 145.

BOOK II.

The conversion of the Saxons, 148.—St. Gregory offers himself for the conversion of the English, 149.—He sends Augustine the monk hither upon this employment, 150.—Augustine and his companions meet with a kind reception from king Ethelbert, 152.—The conditions of communion altered since the time of Gregory the Great, 153.—King Ethelbert and a great many of his subjects converted, 156.—Augustine and his company wrought miracles, 156.—He travels back to Arles, and soon after returns into Britain, 157.—The pope's answer to Augustine's questions, 157.—The antiquity, use, &c., of the pall, 160.—Gregory's letter to Augustine, 166.—Another letter of pope Gregory's to king Ethelbert, 166.—He writes to queen Bertha, 168.—He advises Augustine not to pull down the heathen temples, but turn them into Christian churches, 170.—He cautions him against being elated with his miracles, 171.—A brief description of the Saxon paganism, 172.—The time of the Scots settling in Britain, 174.—A conference between Augustine and the British bishops, 175.—A second conference, 177.—Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, his answer to Augustine, concerning submission to the pope, 178.—Some farther conjectures upon the reasons of the incomppliance of the British clergy, 179.—Augustine cleared from being concerned in the slaughter of the British monks, 181.—The death of archbishop Augustine, 183.—A brief account of Gregory the Great, 184.—Laurentius endeavours to bring the British and Scottish Churches to a conformity with the Saxon, 186.—Baronius's inferences upon the British and Scottish ungrounded, 186.—The death of Ethelbert, king of Kent, 188.—Eadbald and his subjects relapse into paganism, 188.—Mellitus and Justus, being discouraged, embark for France, 189.—Laurentius designed to follow them, 190.—The conversion of the kingdom of Northumberland, 191.—Edwin in danger of being assassinated, 192.—Edwin's conversion hastened by putting him in mind of a prediction, 193.—King Edwin's court, &c., baptized, 197.—Redwald and Forwald turn Christians, 199.—The conversion of Bleeca, governor of Lincoln, 199.—Edwin's admirable government, 200.—King Edwin slain, 201.—Paulinus retires from York into Kent, 202.—Osric and Eanfrid succeed Edwin, and miscarry, 202.—Oswald succeeds Eanfrid, and defeats Ceadwalla, 203.—Aidan, a Scotch bishop, promotes Christianity in Oswald's dominions, 203.—Aidan's see fixed in Holy Island, 204.—Aidan's admirable conduct, 205.—The West Saxons converted by Birinus, 207.—The episcopal see of the West Saxons fixed at Winchester, 209.—The conversion of the East Angles, 209.—Sigebert a great encourager of learning, 210.—Sigebert slain in the field, 211.—Earcnbert destroys the remains of idolatry, 212.—King Oswald slain at the battle of Macerfeld, 212.—Oswin betrayed to Oswi, and slain, 214.—King Oswin's character, 214.—The death of bishop Aidan, 215.—The conversion of the Middle Angles, 215.—The East Saxons recovered to Christianity, 216.—Sigebert, king of the East Saxons, assassinated, 217.—Penda, king of the Mercians, slain, and his subjects converted, 219.—Peada, king of the Southern Mercians, assassinated, 221.—Baronius entangled in his opinion concerning Aidan and the Scottish Church, 221.—No pretence for the Presbyterian platform from the island of Hye, 222.—The conference at Whitby, 222.—The vernal equinox was reckoned on the 12th of the calends of April, that is, on the 21st of March, 225.—Colman retires into Scotland, 229.—Tuda succeeds him in his bishopric, 230.—Wilfrid goes to France for consecration, 230.—The Saxons communicate with the British and Scottish bishops, 231.—A part of the East Saxons revolt from Christianity, and are recovered, 232.—Gregory the Great's regulations set aside in the provinces of York and Canterbury, 233.—Pope Vitalian consecrates Theodorus to the see of Canterbury, 234.—Theodorus

makes a general visitation, and introduces the Roman customs, 234.—St. Chad deprived of his see at York, was afterwards bishop of Lichfield, 235.—St. Chad's piety and death, 236.—The death of king Oswi, 237.—A synod held at Hertford under Theodorus, 237.—The death of king Egbert, 240.—Winfrid deposed by Theodorus, 240.—The metropolitical jurisdiction, whence derived, 241.—Sebbi, king of the East Saxons, turns monk, 243.—Kent miserably harassed by Ethelred, king of the Mercians, 244.—Wilfrid expelled his diocese by king Egfrid, appeals to the pope, and takes a voyage to Rome, 244.—Theodore cantons Wilfrid's diocese without his consent, 245.—Wilfrid converts Adalgisus, king of West Friesland, and a great many of his subjects, 247.—A noble sentence of king Adalgisus, 247.—Wilfrid no proxy for the English Church, 248.—Wilfrid's petition to the pope, 249.—The sentence of the Roman synod, in favour of Wilfrid, not regarded by king Egfrid and the Northumbrian bishops, 249.—The synod at Hatfield, or Cliff, near Rochester, 250.—Hilda's character and government, 252.—Four bishoprics added to that of Lichfield in the kingdom of the Mercians, 252.—Wilfrid retires to the Mercians, 252.—From thence to the West Saxons, from whence he travels to the South Saxons, and converts them, 253.—Egfrid, king of Northumberland, harasses the Scots in Ireland, 255.—He makes an expedition against the Picts, and is routed and slain, 255.—The death of Lothere, king of Kent, 256.—St. Cuthbert made bishop of Holy Island, 256.—His character and merit, 256.—Theodore reconciled to Wilfrid, 257.—The archbishop of Canterbury not nominated by the crown, 257.—Theodore and Wilfrid reconciled, 351.—Theodore's letter to king Ethelred, 258.—Wilfrid recalled by king Alfrid, He is banished a second time, 259.—Ceadwalla resigns his crown, goes to Rome, and dies there, 259.—The death of archbishop Theodore, 261.—Some remarks upon the council in Trullo, 264.—Ecclesiastical laws of king Ina, 266.—The synod at Becanefeld, 267.—Wilbrod converts West Friesland, 271.—The synod of Berkhamsted, 271.—Naitan, king of the Picts, conforms to the Catholic custom of keeping Easter, 272.—The synod at Onestresfeld, about Wilfrid's case, 273.—Wilfrid appeals to Rome, which gives offence to the archbishop, 274.—Wilfrid and his party excommunicated, 275.—Wilfrid's second voyage to Rome, 275.—Wilfrid acquitted by the pope and Roman synod, 276.—King Alfrid's death, 278.—The synod at Nidd, 278.—The synod remonstrates against the pope's sentence, 278.—However, at last they come to a temper, and the controversy is accommodated, 279.—King Ethelred's death, 281.—Wilfrid dies, 281.—The two kings, Cenred and Offa, resign, and turn monks at Rome, 282.—Aldhelm, bishop of Sherburn, his extraction and character, 283.—The synod of Alne, 284.—Acca succeeds Wilfrid in the bishopric of Hexham, 284.—The pretended council at London, 285.—Bede's opinion concerning images, 285.—The pretended council of London farther disproved, 286.—St. Guthlack's character, 287.—King Osred assassinated, 288.—The monks of Hy conform to the Roman custom of keeping Easter, 288.—The death of John of Beverley, 288.—Withred, king of Kent, dies, 289.—King Ina's charter to the abbey of Glassenbury, 289.—King Ina throws up the government, and takes the habit at Rome, 289.—The death of Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, 290.—Bede's advice to Egbert concerning monasteries, 292.—Bede's death and character, 294.—The death of Tatwine and Nothelm, 295.—Boniface's letter to king Ethelbald, 296.—Boniface's letter to archbishop Cuthbert, 300.—A synod of Clovesho, 303.—The canons of the synod, 303.—Egbert receives a pall from Rome, 308.—He furnishes York with a considerable library, 308.—The charter of King Ethelbald to the Church and monasteries, 309.—The martyrdom of archbishop Boniface, 310.—Kinulphus's charter examined, 311.—Sir Edward Coke's argument for ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the crown insufficient, 312.—Fuller's instance from Cuthbert inconclusive, 316.—Lichfield erected into an archbishopric, 319.—The synod of Calcuith, 321.—Kinulphus assassinated by his nephew Kinard, 326.—The first descent of the Danes upon Britain, 327.—The second council of Nice deeply censured by the English historians, 327.—A short account of the councils of Constantinople, Nice, and Frankfort, relating to the worship of images, 327.—The authority of the Caroline books and the council of Frankfort vindicated, 330.—The council of Paris against image worship, 332.—King Offa

found the monastery of St. Alban's, 334.—King Offa goes to Rome to procure privileges of exemption to the abbey, 335.—Peter-pence a bounty, not homage, 335.—King Kenulphus's letter to the pope for the restitution of the province of Canterbury, 338.—The pope's answer to the king's letter, 339.—The archbishopric of Lichfield extinguished, 339.—The synod of Finchale, 340.—The perfidiousness and disloyalty of the Northumbrians, 340.—A letter of the English bishops to the pope, by way of remonstrance, 341.—The synod of Clovesho, 342.—Another synod at Clovesho, 343.—Aleuin's death and character, 344.—The pretended restitution of Ardulph, king of Northumberland, examined, and Baronius's inference disproved, 346.—King Egbert's success against the Britons in Cornwall and South Wales.—The council of Calcuith, 349.—Some remarks upon the council, 352.—The kingdom of Mercia extinguished and swallowed up by the West Saxons, 356.—The pretended council of Calcuith, 357.—Another council at Calcuith, 358.—King Egbert subduces the heptarchy, and becomes monarch of the island, 358.

BOOK III.

The original, manners, and ravages of the Danes, 360.—The Danes make several descents upon England, 362.—The laws of king Kenneth II., 365.—The Scottish bishops not fixed to sees, but exercised jurisdiction at large, 367.—The Danes sack London, 367.—They are routed by king Ethelwulf, 367.—Tithes predial and personal passed by Ethelwulf's grant, 370.—Divine right not necessary, 371.—A rebellion against king Ethelwulf, at his return from Rome, 373.—Ethelbald, king of the West Saxons, 373.—St. Swithin, 374.—King Ethelred defeats the Danes at Ashdounce, 376.—Monasteries of Croyland, &c., destroyed, 376.—The ground of the Danes' war upon king Edmund, and occasion of his martyrdom, 377.—Alfred crowned in his childhood at Rome, 378.—King Alfred forced to retire to Athelinge, near Taunton, 380.—He gives the Danes an entire defeat, 381.—The Danish king and most of his troops turn Christians, 381.—The English attacked again by the Danes, 382.—King Alfred's bravery, 382.—Alfred the first Saxon prince that set out a fleet, 382.—Some of king Alfred's laws, 382.—The tithings, 384.—Counties first settled by king Alfred, 385.—Forms of law and sheriffs, 385.—County courts, and court-leets, 385.—The impartiality of his justice, 385.—The last appeals made to the king's person, 386.—The monastic life disused in England, and the married clergy settled in the monasteries, 387.—King Alfred encourages learning, 388.—Scotus writes against transubstantiation, 388.—He is counted a martyr, 389.—Cressy's objections answered, 389.—Grimbald and other learned foreigners invited hither by king Alfred, 390.—The king consults several English prelates, 390.—A short character of some of them, 391.—St. Neots, 391.—Part of the king's letter to bishop Wulfsig, 392.—The antiquity of the university of Oxford briefly considered, 394.—King Alfred owned to be the founder of Oxford, 397.—No decision of the question, 398.—The death of Athelred, archbishop of Canterbury, 398.—Several synods, 398.—The death of king Alfred, 399.—The remainder of his character, 399.—King Edward enlarges his dominions, and succeeds against the Danes, 402.—Pope Formosus's bull of excommunication against king Edward inconsistent with chronology, 402.—The Cornish Britons independent of the pope, 403.—Baronius and Cressy endeavour to disentangle the difficulties of the bull, but without success, 403.—Three new sees erected, 405.—King Edward's charter to Cambridge, 407.—The death of archbishop Plegmund, 410.—King Edward's success against the Northumbrians, Danes, Scotch, and Welsh, 410.—Athelstan an enterprising and successful prince, 411.—The synod of Graetley, 412.—Weregild, what, 415.—The quality of the clergy and laity stated by law, 416.—King Athelstan's death, 417.—Odo's extraction and education, 417.—Odo's exceptions against

taking the see of Canterbury, 418.—King Edmund's reign and successes, 420.—Odo's constitutions, 421.—A brief account of the Culdees, 423.—Their antiquity disproved against the Dissenters, 423.—Ecclesiastical laws made under king Edmund, 425.—King Edmund's charter to the abbey of Glassenbury, 426.—St. Dunstan's extraction, fortune, and character, for the former part of his life, 426.—King Edmund murdered, 428.—King Edred's success against the Northumbrians and Scots, 428.—Turketul, king Edred's chancellor, abbot of Croyland, 429.—The king refuses to grant the privilege of sanctuary, 429.—The death of king Edred, 429.—St. Dunstan's freedom with king Edwy, 430.—King Edwy no friend to the monks, 430.—A rebellion against king Edwy, 431.—King Edwy dies, 433.—The prosperous reign of king Edgar, 433.—King Edgar's character and administration, 433.—He sails round the island every year, 434.—Some blemishes of his reign, 434.—He submits to a seven years' penance, 435.—His charter to the church of Canterbury, 436.—St. Dunstan receives his pall at Rome, 436.—King Edgar a friend to the monks, and why, 437.—No more than three bishops mentioned in the design against the secular clergy, 438.—King Edgar's constitutions, 438.—King Edgar general of the English monks, 439.—A body of canons said to be made in the reign of king Edgar, 439.—A form of confession, with directions to the penitent, 441.—A penitential drawn up by another hand, 442.—A relaxation in some cases, 443.—King Edgar's speech in favour of the monks against the secular clergy, 445.—Remarks upon king Edgar's speech, 448.—Oswald's contrivance to remove the secular clergy at Worcester, 449.—Secular clergy most at this time, 449.—The council of Winchester, 450.—The controversy between the monks and secular clergy pretended to be decided by a miracle, 450.—The countenance of a prodigy not always an evidence of a good cause, 450.—A defence of the marriage of the clergy, 451.—Paphnutius declares for the marriage of the clergy, 454.—The authority of Paphnutius's advice farther defended, 460.—Pope Siricius the first prelate that made constitutions for the celibacy of the clergy, 461.—St. Dunstan excommunicates an earl for an incestuous marriage, 464.—He refuses to absolve him at the pope's order, 465.—The earl submits, and is restored by St. Dunstan, 466.—Oswald, archbishop of York, 466.—Oswald and St. Dunstan, pluralist bishops, 466.—The abbey of Ramsey founded, 467.—The ceremonies about bells, when introduced, 468.—The death of king Edgar, 468.—The secular clergy revive their claim, and gain ground upon the monks, 468.—The synod of Calne convened about this controversy, 469.—The floor sinks under the synod, 469.—A synod at Amesbury, 470.—The constitutions of Northumberland, 470.—The murder of king Edward the Martyr, 471.—Corf Castle, in the isle of Purbeck, 472.—A little accident at king Ethelred's baptism, 473.—St. Dunstan's prophecy of the Danish invasion, 473.—Some Danish privateers land at Southampton, 473.—The bishops of Landaff first consecrated by the archbishops of Canterbury, 473.—The metropolitical see of St. David's continues independent of the English Church, 474.—A misunderstanding between king Ethelred and Alstan, bishop of Rochester, 474.—The death of Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, 475.—A short description of the misfortunes in king Ethelred's reign, 475.—Arthmael, a Welsh prince, excommunicated, &c., 478.—St. Dunstan's death, 478.—He is honoured with the title of a saint, 478.—Ethelgar, archbishop of Canterbury, 478.—The Church exempted from Dane-gelt, 479.—The conditions upon which the Church lands were granted in the Saxon times, 479.—Two Elfrics. The *Sermones Catholici*, &c. most probably written by the latter, 481.—The sense of the Saxon English Church, with relation to the holy eucharist, 481.—English missionaries in Sweden and Norway, 486.—The pope makes an agreement between king Ethelred and Richard, Duke of Normandy, 486.—Elfric's canons, 487.—The first four general councils preferred to the rest, 490.—The council of Engsham, 491.—Synod of Haba, 492.—The siege of Canterbury and martyrdom of Elphegus, 493.—Elphegus's fortitude, and contempt of death, 493.—Livingus succeeds at Canterbury, 496.—The kingdom terribly harassed by Swane, king of Denmark, 497.—King Swane dies, 498.—Canute succeeds Swane, 498.—The death of king Ethelred, 499.—The perfidiousness of Edric, 499.—A duel betwixt king Edmund and Canutus, 499.—King Edmund murdered, 500.—The

traitor Eadric executed, 501.—Canutus kind to the Church, 502.—Secular canons at Canterbury, 502.—A chorepiscopus formerly, 502.—Bishops and abbots chosen by the convent and chapter, 503.—Canutus procures some privileges for the English at the court of Rome, 503.—No direct invocation of saints, 504.—Canutus's ecclesiastical laws, 505.—Mouric, a Welsh prince, excommunicated, 507.—Harold succeeds Canutus, 507.—Eadsius succeeds Agelnoth in the see of Canterbury, 508.—Agelnoth refuses to crown Harold, 508.—Hardicanute succeeds Harold, 509.—The Danes insolent, and expelled by the English, 509.—Edward the Confessor succeeds Hardicanute, 509.—Norman customs taken up by the English, 510.—The reason of the rupture between king Edward and earl Godwin, 511.—William, an English bishop in Denmark, excommunicates king Swaine, 513.—Leofric and Godiva great benefactors to the monasteries, 514.—Emma, the queen mother, and Alwin, bishop of Winchester, wrongfully charged with a scandalous correspondence, 514.—She passes the test unhurt, 515.—The story of the purgation highly improbable, 516.—The bishop's see removed from Kinton to Exeter, 517.—King Edward made a vow of pilgrimage to Rome, 518.—He is dissuaded from leaving the kingdom, 518.—And sends an embassy to Rome, 519.—The pope dispenses with the king's vow, 519.—Robert succeeds Eadsius, 520.—The investiture of the ring and crosier, no ancient custom in England, 520.—Stigand succeeds Robert, and acts without a new pall, 521.—King Edward sends for Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, and his children, 523.—Edward Atheling right heir to the crown, 523.—The story of St. Peter's consecrating Westminster Abbey Church considered, 524.—King Edward's second embassy to Rome, 525.—Sir Edward Coke's instance for the king's supremacy inconclusive, 526.—Pope Nicholas grants the abbey an exemption from episcopal visitation, 526.—The pope grants the pall to archbishop Aldred, 527.—Stigand signs archbishop of Canterbury, notwithstanding the censure he lay under from Rome, 528.—Wulfstan made bishop of Worcester, 528.—Somewhat of his life and character, 528.—He makes a profession of canonical obedience to archbishop Stigand, 529.—The great privileges of the charter to the abbey of Westminster, 530.—The dedication of the abbey church, 531.—King Edward dies, 531.—A farther account of his reign and character, 531.—The king's evil first cured by this prince, 532.—This disease cured by the kings of England almost two hundred years before the kings of France, 535.—King Edward canonized, 536.—His laws, 536.—The division of parishes, when settled, 540.—The different kinds and manner of the trial ordeal, 546.—The ceremonies of knighthood under the Saxon government, 550.—Harold usurps the crown, 550.—This gives an occasion to the conquest of the kingdom, 550.—William, duke of Normandy, sends to Harold, and demands the performance of articles, 551.—He is encouraged in his expedition against Harold, by the pope, 552.—The battle at Hastings, where the English lose the day, 552.—Archbishop Stigand makes a stand against the Normans in Kent, and brings them to articles, 553.



AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

BEING, by God's assistance, about to write the Church history of Great Britain, it may not be improper to premise a word or two about the condition of the inhabitants before Christianity was preached to them. Their condition, I mean, as to worship and religious belief, for things are oftentimes best discovered by comparison; nothing illustrates the difference of opposite qualities better than bringing them thus to the test, and setting them as it were within the view of each other. And here we shall find the poor Britons to have lain remarkably "in darkness, and in the shadow of death;" to have been low and unpolished in their understandings, and miserably mistaken in the object and manner of their worship. They were, as St. Paul speaks, "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world." For, as Porphyry rightly observes, "Britain, together with the Scottish clans, and all the barbarous nations which lay round the island as far as the ocean, knew nothing of Moses and the prophets." This testimony of Porphyry is supported by Origen, who informs us,

The religion of the Britons.

Eph. 2. 12.

Apud Hieron. ad Ctesiphont. adversus Pelag.

Orig. in
Ezek. Ho-
mil. 4.

Xiphilin.
Epitom. in
Neron.

Gildas Hist.
p. 10.

*A descrip-
tion of the
authority
and per-
suasion of
the Druids.*
De Bel.
Gal. lib. 6.

“that before the coming of Christ, Britain was not so happy as to be disentangled from the errors of polytheism.” And to give some particulars, they are said to have worshipped Andraste, or Andrate, the goddess of victory; and Dion Cassius reports that Apollo and Diana were some of their deities: and to put this matter beyond dispute, Gildas, a native of this island, describes to what excesses their ignorance and idolatry carried them. He tells us, “they were overgrown with the common errors of the pagan world; that their idols were as monstrous and extravagant, and altogether as numerous, as those in Egypt.” The deformed and hideous figures of which were to be seen when this historian lived; who tells us farther, “that the Britons used to apply to hills and rivers, and pay their devotion to them.” And thus, that which St. Jerome mentions in his epistle to Heliodorus, may be applied to the lamentable state of those times, “that the whole world, from India to Britain, and from the cold climates of the North, as far as the Atlantic Ocean, were sunk almost to the condition of beasts and insects, and lived a wretched and contemptible life; for, in truth, a man that is ignorant of Him that made him, is upon the matter no better than a brute. But now,” as this Father continues, “the passion and resurrection of our Saviour is every where published both by preaching and written discourse¹.”

The famous Druids were the religious guides of the old Britons: a short view, therefore, of their opinions, may serve to give us a farther account of the circumstances of their idolatry. These Druids, as Julius Cæsar informs us, were at the head of religion both in Gaul and Britain: they had the management of public and private sacrifices, interpreted omens, and resolved all difficulties relating to divine worship. Their order was esteemed very honourable, and almost all civil controversies were decided by them. When any great crime, when any murder was committed, when there was any dispute

¹ Many writers have doubted whether Mr. Collier's estimate of the condition of the Ancient Britons is not rather more severe than just. That they laboured under the religious disadvantages common to the Gentiles is certain; but, relatively speaking, their mythologic system was extremely elaborate and scientific. Erroneous as it was, it was neither so dark nor so ridiculous, so barbarous nor so contemptible, as many other pagan institutions. Let us adhere to truth impartially. The vast superiority of Christianity may be evinced, without unfairly decrying the superstitions that perish by their own vices. (Vide Phanner, Burigni, Fulda, Selden, Gale, Davies, Faber, Oliver, &c.)

about a title of land, or any other point relating to *meum* and *tuum*, the trial and controversy was referred to these sages, and judgment pronounced by them. And if any private person or community refused to submit to the sentence, they were forbidden to be present at the solemnities of sacrificing. This was reckoned the severest punishment; for those who lay under it were looked upon as the most wicked and deplorable wretches imaginable. Every one avoided their company, and would not so much as have any manner of correspondence with them for fear of receiving infection; and as long as they were thus interdicted the altars, they were thrown, as it were, out of the protection of the laws; neither was it possible for them to arrive at any degree of distinction or quality. The body of these Druids was governed by one of their order, whose authority was paramount to the rest. When this arch-Druid was dead, if any of the rest was particularly remarkable for his merit, he succeeded without farther dispute; but in case there were several who had equal pretensions, the election was put to the vote, and sometimes they came to blows, and the controversy was decided in the field. These Druids, in case of sickness, danger, or public distress, endeavoured to disengage themselves by human sacrifices, imagining that the gods would be pleased with no lower satisfaction; and that nothing but the life of one man was sufficient to atone for and ransom that of another. Cæsar continues, and observes, that they had public sacrifices for this purpose; that the figures of their idols, made of osiers, were very bulky and hollow; that they put the wretched victims within these statues, and burnt them to death. For these expiations, they generally made use of those who were guilty of theft or robbery, or some other scandalous crime, imagining that such wretches are most acceptable to their deities: but in case there happens not to be criminals enough, they sacrifice the innocent. They worship Mercury with a particular regard, looking upon him as the inventor of all arts and sciences, the protector of trade, and their guide in their march and journeys. Besides Mercury, they worship Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, and have much the same opinion of their presidency and assistance with the rest of the world. This character of the Druids, though given by Cæsar in respect to the Gauls, yet since he tells us, that this religious system was invented by the British Druids,

and supposed to be brought thence into Gaul, and that those who designed to be perfectly versed in this mystery, used to travel into that island for instruction ; since the matter stands thus, I say, we may conclude the Britons were under the same disadvantages and barbarities of worship ; which is farther confirmed by Tacitus, who tells us, that when Suetonius Paulinus was Nero's general in Britain, the Druids in the isle of Anglesea used to sacrifice those they took prisoners, and butcher men and women to inspect their entrails, and give them a prospect into futurity.

Having now taken a short view of the condition of the Britons under heathenism, I shall proceed to examine when, and by whom, Christianity was first planted in this island.

Annal.
lib. 14.

*Christianity
not propa-
gated in
Britain in
the reign of
Tiberius.*

That the Gospel was not preached here in the reign of Tiberius, as some authors suppose, is pretty evident : for whoever compares the circumstances of those times, and considers the small number of the years between our Saviour's passion and the death of Tiberius, will find very little probability of the founding a Christian Church in a place so remote as Britain.

Euseb. Hist.
Eccl. lib. 5.
c. 18.

To make this appear, I need not insist upon the testimony of Apollonius in Eusebius concerning the ancient tradition, that "our Saviour commanded his apostles not to depart from Jerusalem within twelve years after his ascension ;" nor of that of the Alexandrian Chronicle, wherein it is said, that "the apostles did not separate till after the Council at Jerusalem."

That which proves the point more fully, supposing the dispersion to have been within the reign of Tiberius, is, that the Scripture gives such an account of the extent and design of the disciples preaching upon it, as is utterly inconsistent with any probability of their coming hither. For, by the text, we

Acts 11. 19.

are informed, "that they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phœnice, Cyprus, and Antioch ; preaching the word to none but unto the Jews alone." Now the nearest of these places is very distant from Britain, and if the disciples preached to none but the Jews, what likelihood was there of the conversion of the gentile Britons ?

We may observe farther, that Cornelius was not baptized by St. Peter till the year 40, that is, not till three years after the death of Tiberius. This Cornelius, as is confessed on all hands, was the first gentile that was admitted to the privileges

of Christianity. If this matter was questioned, the history of the Acts of the Apostles would set it beyond all dispute: for did not St. Peter stand in need of a vision to prepare him to instruct the Gentiles? Did not himself and the college of the apostles believe their commission confined to the Jews? Did they not upon the report of St. Peter's conversing with Cornelius, did they not, I say, send for St. Peter and examine the fact? Did they not question his conduct, and put him upon his justification? Were they not surprised at the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the gentile converts? and that they were admitted into the communion of the Church? The circumstances of this affair all put together, amount to a demonstration, that the apostolical college never thought they had the liberty of preaching to the heathens, and taking them into the Church, till after Cornelius's baptism; which happening, as I observed before, in the fortieth year of the Christian era, how is it possible that any of the pagan Britons should be converted in the reign of Tiberius?

That which has led some Church-historians into this mistake, seems to have been a passage in Gildas, which they have applied to the particular preaching of the Gospel in Britain; whereas the place seems only to be understood of the general preaching of the apostles in several parts of the world, as will appear by considering the words and circumstances of this passage. Gildas, undertaking to give some account of the ancient British Church, laments the want of records to give him certain information: "For," says he, "if there were any such in Britain, they were either burnt by our enemies, or carried beyond sea by the banishment of our countrymen; so that now there was nothing of them to be seen; insomuch that he was forced to collect what he could meet with from foreign writers." From hence he proceeds to speak what an easy conquest the Romans made of Britain, and with what difficulty the province was kept; the inhabitants being strongly averse to submit to their new masters; and then comes in the remarkable passage above mentioned:—

"Interea glaciali frigore rigenti insulæ et velut longiore
 terrarum secessu soli visibili non proximæ, verus ille Sol, non
 de firmamento temporalis, sed de summa etiam cœlorum arce,
 tempora cuncta excedente, universo orbi præfulgidum sui
 coruseum ostendens; tempore (ut scimus) summo Tiberii

Gildas,
 p. 10, ed.
 Gale.

Cæsar's (quo absque ullo impedimento, ejus propagabatur religio, comminata, senatu nolente, a principe morte, dilatoribus militum ejusdem,) radios suos primum indulget, id est, sua præcepta Christus."

"In the meantime the true sun enlightened this island, frozen with its northern situation; that is, Christ published his laws to the inhabitants in the latter end of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, at which time, as it is well known, the Christian religion was propagated, though against the inclination of the Roman senate; and death was threatened by that prince to those who should disturb the Christians, or inform against them."

The passage in Gildas explained.

By this passage it seems sufficiently plain, that Gildas speaks of a double shining of the Gospel; one relating to the world in general, and the other more particularly to this island. The former he assigns to the latter end of Tiberius; the latter was (interea) in the meantime, of which he first speaks; and that refers back to the time before mentioned, which was the fatal victory over Boadicea and the Britons by Suetonius Paulinus, and the slavery they fell under upon it. This battle happened about the middle of Nero's reign, almost twenty years after Claudius had sent A. Plautius to reduce Britain into the form of a province. This Plautius, as Tacitus informs us, was succeeded by P. Ostorius Scapula, A. Didius Gallus, and Veranius, in the government of Britain, before Suetonius Paulinus had the management of that province: for, after Claudius's triumph for his victory in Britain, the Romans began to plant the island, to settle colonies, magistrates, and jurisdictions here: in short, towns of trade were set up, and the Roman merchants furnished them with commodities both for the convenience and splendour of life. From this Roman intercourse and improvement in the island, we may conclude, that the period fixed upon by Gildas was a very probable time for the bringing the Gospel hither, viz. between the time of A. Plautius's government, in the reign of Claudius, and the battle between Boadicea and Suetonius Paulinus; that the preaching of Christianity here happened within this interval, is extremely probable, as I shall prove more at large afterwards.

Tacit. in Vit. Agricolaë.

By whom

Christianity was first preached here, uncertain.

But to what particular apostle, or apostolical person, this

island was obliged for so great a blessing, is not easy to determine. Some authors will have it that St. James the Great, son of Zebedee, and brother to St. John, travelled into the west, and preached the Gospel both in Spain and Britain. But this conjecture has no bottom to support it; for this St. James was murdered by Herod, before the dispersion of the apostles, in the year of our Lord 44.

To proceed: Nicephorus Callistus reports Simon Zelotes to have carried Christianity as far as the western ocean and the British island. And Dorotheus, in his Synopsis, tells us, this apostle was crucified, and buried in Britain; which is likewise affirmed in the Greek Menology. But then, in the Roman Martyrology, and Breviary, and likewise in the Martyrology of Beda, Usuardus, and Ado, this testimony is contradicted, and the apostle above mentioned said to suffer martyrdom in Persia.

Farther, in the Greek Menæon, there is mention made of Aristobulus, whose household is saluted by St. Paul. This Aristobulus, I say, is mentioned in the Menæon upon the fifteenth day of March, to have been ordained bishop by St. Paul; and that after having received this character, he was dispatched into Britain by that apostle; where, meeting with a barbarous and savage people, and being very inhumanly treated, he at length suffered martyrdom; having first converted many of the inhabitants, and formed them into Churches, with ecclesiastical governors to take care of them.

In the second Epistle to St. Timothy, there is mention made of Pudens and Claudia. This Claudia, married to Pudens, is said to have been of British extraction, as appears by the poet Martial—

*Claudia cœruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita, cur Latæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ? Romanam credere Matres,
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.*

Martial, lib.
11. epigr. 54.

That this Claudia was wife to Pudens, appears by another passage of the same poet—

*Claudia Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti;
Macte esto tædis, o Hymenæe, tuis.*

Id. lib. 4.
epigr. 13.

But Father Parsons will not allow Claudia the advantage of

*Conversion
of Britain.*

Vid. Usser.
Britanic.
Eccles. An-
tiq. p. 3.

St. James
the Great.
Chrysost.
Hom. 70.
in Matt.
c. 22.

Simon Ze-
lotes.
Baron. An-
nal. ad ann.
44. n. 33.
Niceph.
Hist. Eccle-
siast. l. 2.
Menol.
tom. 2.
Antiq.
Lect. Hen.
Canisii.

*And Aristobulus sup-
posed to
have been
here, but
without pro-
bability.*
Rom. 16. 10.

A. D. 56.

2 Tim.
4. 21.

this character, and raises several objections against the credit of the story; one of the strongest of which is, that Claudia, spoken of by St. Paul, lived in the time of Nero, and could not be known to Martial, who was living sixty years after, in the reign of Trajan. But to this it may be answered, that notwithstanding the eleventh book of Martial's Epigrams was part of it written in the reigns of Nerva or Trajan, yet it does not follow but that some of those poems might be penned a great while before. It is true the poet died in the reign of Trajan, but then we are to consider that he had lived to a great age, that he had formerly been an intimate acquaintance of Silius Italicus, who wrote the Second Punic War, and in whose consulship Nero dispatched himself; as is agreed not only by other authors, but plainly enough hinted by Martial himself in the following verses concerning Silius:—

Lib. 7.
epigr. 62.

*Postquam bis senis ingentem fascibus annum
Rexerat, asserto qui sacer orbe fuit:
Emeritos Musis et Phœbo tradidit annos,
Proque suo celebrat nunc Heliconæ foro.*

*However,
it is certain
Christianity
was preach-
ed here in
the aposto-
lical age.*

Now, when Nero was emperor of Rome, and most probably towards the latter end of his reign, the second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy was written, in which the salutation of Pudens and Claudia is mentioned; so that, notwithstanding any chronological reasons insisted on by Parsons, St. Paul's and Martial's Claudia may be the same person.

But notwithstanding it is difficult to assign the person that was the first missionary in this island, yet we have sufficient evidence that there was a Christian Church planted in Britain during the apostles' times. To prove this, I shall, in the first place, produce the testimony of Eusebius, a very learned and inquisitive person, present at the Council of Nice, whither bishops were summoned from all parts of the empire. This Eusebius, we must imagine, had a particular curiosity to examine the history of all Churches, if it were only to furnish materials for the ecclesiastical history he designed to write himself. The testimony of an author thus qualified must be of considerable force, especially when it is not delivered barely by way of relation, but when the stress of an argument depends upon it. Now Eusebius, in his third book of Evangelical Demonstration, undertakes to prove that the apostles

could be no impostors; and, amongst other reasons, he urges this, “that though it were possible for such men to put upon their neighbours and countrymen with a romantic and improbable relation, yet what distraction was it for such unfurnished and illiterate persons, who understood none but their mother tongue, to attempt the deceiving the world by preaching up this doctrine in the most distant countries?” And having named the Romans, Persians, Armenians, Parthians, Indians, and Scythians, he particularly subjoins, that some of them sailed over the ocean *ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους*. Now, unless the planting of Christianity here by the apostles, had been a thing very well known at that time, why should he make such particular mention of the British islands? It is not to be imagined an author of Eusebius’s figure should speak these words without proof, to support his testimony: on the contrary, it is much more rational to conclude that this truth was generally received, and that Eusebius had enquired into the fact, both of Constantine and his court, concerning the state of the British Churches, as to the first planting and antiquity of them. And setting aside Eusebius’s other abilities for inquiry, we have no reason to question but that he received full information of this matter from Constantine and his court; from Constantine, I say, whose father Constantius both governed and died in this island, and where himself was likewise proclaimed emperor by the army.

The next authority shall be that of Theodoret, who, amongst the nations converted by the apostles, expressly mentions the Britons. Theodoret’s testimony is confirmed by St. Jerome, in his commentary upon Amos, where he tells us, “that St. Paul, having been in Spain, sailed from one ocean to another; that he imitated the course of the Sun of righteousness, of whom it is said, his going forth is from the one end of heaven to the other: and that the progress of his preaching reached as far as the extremity of the earth.” It is true these are general expressions, and point upon no single country; but then, elsewhere the same father is more particular, and affirms, that St. Paul, after his imprisonment, preached the Gospel in the western parts. Now that the British islands were comprehended under these western parts, appears by the testimony of Clemens Romanus, who declares, “that St. Paul preached righteousness through the whole world, and in pursuing this

Theodor.
tom. 4.
serm. 9.

Hieron. in
Amos. c. 5.

De Scriptor.
Eccles.

Clem. Epist.
ad Corinth.

employment travelled ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, to the utmost limits of the west :” which passage will necessarily include Britain, if we examine what was then understood by the bounds of the west. To this purpose we may observe that Plutarch, in the life of Cæsar, speaking of his expedition into Britain, says, “ he was the first who brought a fleet into the western ocean ;” by which he means the sea between Gaul and Britain. And Eusebius several times calls the British ocean the western, and joins that and the western parts together. And Theodore reckons up the inhabitants of Spain, of Britain, and Gaul (which last lies betwixt the other two), as those who dwell in the extremity of the west : by consequence, the Britons must be the most westerly, because the Gauls lie in the midst. Farther, the ancient Greek geographers knew but of two nations in Europe beside themselves ; the Celtæ, and the Scythæ ; these latter comprehending the most northern parts of Europe, and the Celtæ the western ; and amongst these, the Britons were the most remote. For this reason Horace calls them “ ultimos orbis Britannos ;” and therefore, before the discovery of Britain, the Morini, who were seated on the opposite shore in Gaul, were said to be the remotest people of the earth. Thus Virgil calls them “ extremos hominum Morinos.” And Pliny, “ ultimique hominum existimati Morini.” And Arnobius, describing the progress of the Gospel both to the east and west, mentions the Indians for the east, and for the west the Britons. And thus, from this testimony of Clemens Romanus, the consequence will be, that Christianity was preached in Britain at the first settlement of the Romans, and not only so, but that St. Paul himself was the instrument of conveying this blessing.

I know it is said St. Peter made a voyage hither, founded Churches, and provided for the government of them : but for this point, Baronius cites none but Metaphrastes by name. But, besides that, this author has generally no great character, his authority is slighted even by Baronius himself : for, mentioning this historian’s testimony for St. Paul’s preaching in the western parts, he throws off the credit of it, and urges that “ Metaphrastes cites things out of Eusebius which are not in him.” And, elsewhere, he pronounces Metaphrastes’ authority to be insignificant in these matters. The passage in pope Innocent the First’s Epistle, for St. Paul’s preaching

Euseb. vit.
Const. l. 1.
c. 25. 41.
l. 2. c. 26.

Theod. Hist
Religios. c.
26.

Horat. l. 1.
Od. 35.

Æneid. l. 6.

Plin. l. 19.
c. 1.

Arnob. in
Psal. 147.

*Authorities
to prove St.
Peter’s
preaching in
Britain, not
sufficient.*

Baron. An-
nal. tom. i.
p. 537.

Baron. A. D.
61. n. 4.

A. D. 44.
n. 38.

here, is little better than the former; “for,” says this pope, “the first Churches of France, Spain, Afric, Sicily, and the islands between them, were founded by St. Peter, or his disciples and successors.” But, in answer to this, we may observe, that there is no mention of Britain; and as for the islands between Africa, Sicily, France, and Spain, geography and the maps will never bring them thus far towards the north. I shall mention another authority for St. Peter’s coming hither, and that is, Gildas’s invective against the British clergy, where, amongst other satirical lashes, he tells them, “they had usurped St. Peter’s seat, but, by their immorality and misbehaviour, they were fallen into Judas’s chair of pestilence.” Now, by Gildas’s mentioning the infectious chair of Judas, it is pretty plain that his reprimand is all metaphor and figure; and that, by St. Peter’s chair, he meant nothing but the faith and doctrine of that apostle.

Innocent.
Epist. ad
Decent.

Gildas Epis.
p. 31. ed.
Gale.

And that St. Peter was never in Britain, seems highly probable from these following circumstances:—First, It cannot reasonably be denied but that the apostles pursued their commission according to their first instructions; that those who had the circumcision in charge, took care of the Jews; and those with whom the Gentiles were entrusted, managed accordingly. Now St. Paul declares, “that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to him, as the circumcision was to Peter.” This, Baronius affirms, was agreed at the Council at Jerusalem. It is true he will not allow it to be such a partition of distinct provinces, as that the one was, upon no occasion, to concern himself with the Jews, nor the other with the Gentiles. However, he grants that the apostleship of the Gentiles was particularly committed to St. Paul, notwithstanding some occasional latitude: this, as he collects from St. Jerome, was the “*principale mandatum*,” the principal part of the instructions to each of them. This being taken for granted, it will follow of course, that St. Peter’s chief business must lie in those countries where the Jews were most numerous. And from hence Petrus de Marca concludes that St. Peter, having first preached to the Jews in Judæa, employed himself in converting those of that nation who lived in foreign countries, comprehending all the Jews, both of the first and second dispersion: the latter were principally seated at Alexandria in Egypt, where he settled St. Mark bishop over those

Gal. 2. 7.

Baron. A. D.
51 & 16. 26.
28. 29.

Hieron. in
Epist. ad
Gal. c. 2.

Pet. de
Marca de
Concord. l. 6.
c. 1. n. 4.

who were converted. From thence he travelled to Antioch, from thence to Babylon, where the head of the first dispersion lived: and in this city he wrote his epistle to those dispersed Jews who were under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Babylon. Farther, Clemens Romanus mentions nothing of St. Peter's preaching in the western parts, as he does of St.

Euseb. Hist.
l. 3. c. 1.

Epiphan.
Hær. 27.
n. 6.

Baron. A. D.
58. n. 51.

Lact. de
Mort. Per-
sec. c. 2.

Paul's. But Eusebius, from Origen, affirms that St. Peter preached to the dispersed Jews in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, &c. And Epiphanius, even where he takes notice that both St. Peter and St. Paul settled bishops at Rome; upon their leaving that city to preach the Gospel in other places, immediately adds, "that St. Paul travelled towards Spain, but St. Peter made frequent visits to Pontus and Bithynia," which was very agreeable to the purport of his commission: nay, Baronius himself grants, "that St. Peter spent the greatest part of his time in the eastern parts;" but about the year of our Lord 58, he finds him preaching in the west, and particularly in Britain. But which way does he prove this assertion? Why, as I observed before, he cites no authority for this point but Metaphrastes. Besides, Lactantius, in his book, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, informs us, "that St. Peter came not to Rome till the reign of Nero, and but a little while before his martyrdom:" and this Baluzius confesses to have been "the most ancient and received opinion in the Church," since Lactantius never disputes it. Now it is on all hands agreed that St. Peter came out of the east to Rome, and therefore if his voyage thither happened not long before his martyrdom, it will necessarily follow that he could have no time to travel to such a length of country north-westward, and preach the Gospel among the Britons.

*St. Paul's
coming
hither not
improbable.*

Euseb. in
Chron.
Hieron. in
Catal.

Baron. A. D.
69. n. 1.
Petav. de
Doct. Temp.
l. 11. c. 14.

But though there is no probability, or rather no possibility, of St. Peter's visiting this island, yet we shall find no such difficulties concerning St. Paul: for besides what has been observed already, there are other circumstances to persuade us that this apostle had both leisure and opportunity enough to travel hither. It is agreed by Eusebius, St. Jerome, and others of the ancients, that St. Paul suffered at Rome in the fourteenth year of Nero. Baronius makes it the thirteenth; but then he computes Nero's reign from the beginning of it in October: whereas Petavius observes, "that the ancients made their computation according to the usual custom of a civil

year;" so that, by this reckoning, the thirteenth of Nero's reign will be the fourteenth, beginning from the calends of January. To proceed, St. Paul was sent to Rome, when Festus succeeded Felix in the procuratorship of Judea, which, according to Eusebius and St. Jerome, fell upon the second of Nero. After St. Paul's arrival at Rome, St. Luke informs us that he continued there two years. But Massutius collects from the circumstances of St. Paul's voyage, "that he could not reach Rome till the third of Nero:" so that he could not have his liberty till the fifth, upon occasion of the favours showed, as Massutius conjectures, to prisoners and exiles on the murder of Agrippina. From this time till his return to Rome, he went up and down preaching the Gospel. To this interval Godeau, in his life of St. Paul, allows eight years; Massutius rather more; Baronius the same, adding, withal, "that it was time enough for him to travel through the whole world;" to which Massutius agrees. The question now is, where St. Paul spent all this time? The ancient writers of the Church generally say, in the western parts; so Clemens, Theodoret, St. Jerome, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and others. That the apostle was active in pursuing his commission, we need not question; for that a person of such an ardent zeal, such indefatigable industry, and so well qualified for his employment, should hide his talent, and neglect his opportunities, is not to be imagined. Now that he travelled into the east, after his enlargement at Rome, seems very unlikely: for by his speech to the elders at Miletus, before he was sent prisoner to Italy; by this speech, I say, it appears he never thought of returning to the eastern parts, but concluded he should be otherwise disposed of: "I know," says he, "that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." Which words will comprehend all the other Churches of his planting in the east, as well as that of Ephesus. This passage makes his return from Rome into the east highly improbable; which, were it admitted, there would still be time enough for a western voyage. If it is objected that there are no certain monuments of Churches planted by him in Gaul, Germany, or Spain, to this it may be answered by another question, what monuments are there of any new Churches planted by him in the east, after his return? Indeed, there is little reason to expect any such remainders for

Acts 28. 30.

Massut. de
Vit. S. Pauli,
l. 13. c. 1.Godeau, vie
de S. Paul.
l. 2. p. 236.
Massut. ib.
c. 67.
Baron. A. D.
61. n. 2.

Acts 20. 38.

the east, since the fathers of those countries, who, one would think, should be best informed, assigned this period to his preaching in the west. However, in these cases, matter of fact is not always supported by public records: for it is well remarked by the learned Velserus, speaking of the preaching of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, in these western parts; “that we are not to judge of the planting of Churches, only by the remaining annals and monuments, because on one side we are certain that their sound went out into all the earth: and on the other, great care was taken in the several persecutions, especially in that of Diocletian, to destroy all the records which concerned the Christian Churches.” However, as to Britain, we have undoubted evidence of a Christian Church planted here by the apostles, and by none with so much likelihood as St. Paul: for we are assured from Gildas, the Gospel was propagated, in this island, before the victory gained by Suetonius Paulinus; which Petavius makes the eighth year of Nero’s reign. Now St. Paul being at liberty the fifth, he had time enough to preach Christianity in Britain: and as there was time, so neither was there encouragement wanting to come hither, not only from the populousness of the island, mentioned by Cæsar, but likewise from the settlements the Romans made here, after their first success in the reign of Claudius. And that this invitation may not seem altogether general, St. Paul might probably have some particular encouragement from Pomponia Græcina, wife to A. Plautius, Claudius’s lord-lieutenant in Britain: for that this lady was a Christian, seems very probable from Tacitus, who tells us, “that notwithstanding she was a person of a great character, yet being charged with foreign superstition, she was tried for her life before Plautius her husband, who acquitted her.” And the historian adds, “that though she lived to a great age, she passed her time very uncomfortably, and discovered a deep melancholy both by her habit and behaviour.” Now, if Tacitus had designed to describe the primitive Christians, it is supposed he would have represented them in this manner, that he would have miscalled their religion superstition, and interpreted the severity and reservedness of their lives to spleen and melancholy. It was the custom of the heathen writers of

M. Velser.
Rer. Vindel.
l. 6.

Gildas Hist.
p. 11.

Cæsar. de
Bell. Gall.
l. 5.

Tacit. Ann.
13. cap. 32.

Suet. l. 6.
c. 16.

Plin. Epist. lib. 10. Ep. 98. Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 44. Id. Annal. 13.

load Christianity with the imputation of a barbarous and wicked superstition ; because it disagreed with the system of paganism, and was discountenanced by the Roman constitution. This trial of Græcina happened in the consulship of Nero and Calpurnius Piso, which was after St. Paul's coming to Rome, and therefore it is no absurdity to suppose her one of his converts : and if this was so, the apostles might be informed by this lady of the condition of Britain, and be farther encouraged to undertake a voyage upon her relation. To make this more probable, it is certain St. Paul converted several persons of quality at Rome, as appears from his mentioning "the saints in Cæsar's household." Neither is it improbable but that some of the British prisoners, transported with Caractacus and his family, in the reign of Claudius ; it is not improbable, I say, but some of these captives might be proselyted at Rome by St. Paul ; and if they were so, we may reasonably suppose they would recommend the conversion of their country to the same Apostle.

Philip. 4. 22.
Tacit. Annal. 12.

Before I take leave of this argument, it may not be improper to consider the tradition concerning Joseph of Arimathea ; this being taken for matter of fact by many of our English historians, and supposed to stand upon the credit of ancient records, I shall briefly examine the evidence on both sides, and leave it to the reader's determination. But before the proof or disproof is brought upon the board, it will be necessary to give an abstract of the history, which may be taken from William of Malmsbury's book of the Antiquity of the Church of Glassenbury. This writer, after some prefatory discourse to Henry of Blois, nephew to king Henry I. and at that time bishop of Winchester, and abbot of Glassenbury, proceeds in the narrative of the antiquities of Glassenbury, in the manner following :—

The Tradition concerning Joseph of Arimathea considered.

"After the glorious resurrection and triumphant ascension of our blessed Saviour, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, the success of the Gospel began to spread, the number of believers increased daily, and all of them maintained such a friendly and charitable correspondence, that they seemed to have but one heart and one soul. The Jewish priests, with the Scribes and Pharisees, growing envious at the progress of Christianity, stirred up a persecution against the Church, murdered the proto-martyr St. Stephen, and made the country

too troublesome for the rest. Thus the storm blowing hard in Jewry, the disciples dispersing, went off into several countries, according to their respective commissions; and as they travelled along, preached the Gospel to the Gentiles. Amongst these holy men, St. Philip, as Freculphus relates, lib. ii. cap. 4, arriving in the territories of the Franks, converted a great number of them: and, being desirous to enlarge his Master's kingdom, he picked out twelve of his disciples, and dispatched them to preach the Gospel in Britain; Joseph of Arimathea, as it is said, being one of the number, and constituted a superior to the rest. These holy missionaries coming into Britain in the year of our Lord 63, and in the fifteenth of the blessed Virgin's assumption, published the doctrine of Christ with great industry and courage. But the barbarous king, and his subjects, being somewhat alarmed at so unusual an undertaking, and not relishing a persuasion so different from his own, refused to become a proselyte; but in consideration of the length of their voyage, and being somewhat charmed with their unexceptionable behaviour, gave them a little spot of ground, surrounded with fens and bushes, to dwell in. This place was called Ynswitrin by the natives, and situated upon the confines of his dominions. Afterwards two other pagan kings being affected with their remarkable sanctity, gave each of them a certain proportion of ground, and, at their request, settled twelve hides of land on them, by instruments in writing, according to the custom of the country: from whence it is supposed the twelve hides, now part of the abbey's estate, had their denomination.

“These holy men being thus settled in this place, which was no better than a wilderness, were, in a short time, ordered by the angel Gabriel, who appeared to them, to build a church in honour of the blessed Virgin, in a place to which they were supernaturally directed: who, immediately pursuing their instructions from heaven, built a chapel, the walls of which were made of osiers twisted together. This small structure was finished in the one-and-thirtieth year after our Saviour's passion, having little of ornament in the figure, but very remarkable for the Divine presence, and the beauty of holiness: and this being the first church in this island, the Son of God was pleased to grace it with a particular distinction, dedicating it himself in honour of his mother. These twelve holy men

above mentioned, serving God with extraordinary devotion in this place, and making particular addresses to the blessed Virgin; and, in short, spending great part of their time in watching, fasting, and prayer, were (as is reasonable to believe) supported under all the difficulties of their condition, by the assistance and appearances of the blessed Virgin. And for the truth of this matter, we have St. Patrick's charter, and the writings of the ancients, to vouch for us." Thus far Malms-buriensis.

The king that was thus kind to Joseph of Arimathea and his company, is said to be Arviragus.

Glastoniæ bis sex hidas dedit Arviragus rex.

Ex Appen-
dice Chron-
ici Glasto-
niensis. MS.
in Biblioth.
Cottonian.

The next proof for Joseph of Arimathea's coming to Glassen-bury may be taken from Melkinus Avalonius, a British author. Leland tells us, that he met with the fragments of Melkinus in the library of Glassenbury, by which he concluded Melkinus had written something of the history of Britain, and particularly something concerning the antiquity of Glassenbury, and Joseph of Arimathea; "but this story," says Leland, "he sets on foot without any certain author;" which made this learned antiquary dissent from him, "not thinking it at all credible, that Joseph of Arimathea should be buried there, but rather some hermit of that name, which gave occasion to the first mistake." And elsewhere, when he speaks of the Glas-senbury tradition, he observes, "that twelve hermits are said to have come thither under the conduct of one Joseph, but not Joseph of Arimathea," according to Leland's opinion.

Leland de
Script. in
Melchino.

Leland in
Eluano.

The charter of Henry II. shall be now produced in regard of the great antiquity to which it reaches.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitain, and earl of Anjou, to all arch-bishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, &c. greeting. Con-sidering that 'whatsoever a man sows, that shall he also reap;' and that the church of Glassenbury, when, in my hands, hap-pened to be burnt down, I design, by God's permission, and at the instance of Heraclius patriarch of Jerusalem, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, Richard bishop of Winchester, Ralph Glanville, and several others, that the said church shall either by me or my heirs be rebuilt in a more magnificent

*King Henry
II.'s charter
to the abbey
of Glassen-
bury.*
Harpfield
Hist. Eccles.
c. 2.
Caius de
Antiq.
Academ.
Cantab.
lib. 1.

manner than formerly; and whatever privileges have been granted to the church aforesaid by my predecessors William I. William II. and Henry my grandfather; comprehending, likewise, those princes and benefactors of greater antiquity, as St. Edgar, father to St. Edward, by Edmund, his father Edward, and grandfather Elfred; by Bringwalth, Henthwin, Baldred, Ina, the famous Arthur, Cundred, and many other Christian kings; and likewise by Kenewal, a pagan prince, which charters of privilege I have caused to be carefully examined, and read before me, being all made and confirmed to the church aforesaid, formerly called by some 'the Mother of the Saints,' and by others, 'the Saints' Grave,' in regard it was built by the disciples of our Lord, and dedicated by himself, as appears by the venerable testimony of ancient writers. In consideration of the premises, and in honour of God, and the blessed Virgin his mother ———. For my soul's health, and those of my heirs and ancestors, I grant and confirm by this charter all the liberties, pre-eminences, privileges, and free customs, which have been granted to the said church by the noble benefactors abovementioned."

Then the charter proceeds to a recital of the particular privileges, which it is not necessary to transcribe.

Monast.
vol. 1. p. 13.

To this we may subjoin the charter of king Ina: this record, which needs not be inserted at length, makes the church of Glassenbury, dedicated to Christ and the blessed Virgin, the first in the kingdom of Britain, and the spring-head of Christianity in this island. But here the learned

*King Ina's
charter
questionable.*
Antiquities
of the
British
Churches.

Dr. Stillingfleet observes, that the authenticity of this charter is very questionable, not only from the difference of style between this and other Saxon charters of undisputed authority, such as those in Ingulphus, William of Malmesbury, the additions to Matthew Paris, &c.—the charter, I say, is not only questionable upon this account, but for two other reasons which seem to have weight in them; first, because it refers to other ancient charters of that church to prove the exemption of the monastery. Now, the Benedictine monks have lain a long time under the imputation of forging charters of exemption; and to omit the objections made to their credit by Gallonius, Launoy, Naudens, and others, it is evident by the epistle of Richard archbishop of Canterbury to Alexander III.

Petr. Blesensis. Ep. 68.

in Petrus Blesensis, that there was a general suspicion of foul

play in the charters of exemptions insisted on by the monasteries; “ut falsitas in omnium fere monasteriorum exemptione prævaleat,” &c. And he there gives an instance in the bishop of Salisbury charging the abbot of Malmesbury with producing counterfeit charters for his exemption from the bishop’s right of election: and to shake the credit of these Saxon charters farther, sir Henry Spelman not only suspects the authority of king Ethelbert’s charters to the monastery of Canterbury in the time of Austin the monk, but farther observes, that it was the custom of the Saxons in that unpolished age, not only to pass estates in land, but likewise liberties and privileges also, without any instruments in writing; and that this custom continued to the time of Withred king of Kent, who is said to have begun his reign about the year of our Lord 700, and to have been the first that conveyed his benefactions to the Church in writing, which charter of his he ordered to be preserved among the Church records at Canterbury, and to remain there as a form and precedent for posterity; and therefore, as this learned antiquary continues, all charters prior to this of king Withred have a suspicious face, and are to be examined with great caution; and even some of our ancient writers have thought them by no means to be relied on; particularly Gervasius Dorobornensis, who wrote in the twelfth century, takes notice that the monks of the monastery of St. Austin’s, Canterbury, “had produced a great many suspicious and razed charters;” therefore, as sir Henry Spelman concludes this remark, it is good to observe their dates, and examine how the year of our Lord, of the pope, of the indiction, and the kings’ reigns agree with the measures of chronology; for in some of these particulars, ignorance and insincerity is often discovered.

Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 125.

Gervas.
Dorob.
A. D. 1181.

Farther, there are some other marks of forgery in the charter above mentioned; for which way comes king Ina to have so great authority over all the kings of Britain, over the archbishops, bishops, dukes, and abbots, as this instrument mentions? In the beginning of the charter Baldred is called one of his viceroys. In the middle he speaks of Baldred as one of his predecessors, and joins him with Kenewalkius, Kentwin, and Cedwalla. But, in the end, he brings him in confirming what Ina has granted, “ego Baldredus rex confirmavi.” But what dominions had this king Baldred? As

for the kingdom of Kent, Edricus reigned there in the beginning of Ina's reign, according to the Savilian Fasti, and Withridus from the sixth to the end. In the kingdom of the East Angles, we have for Ina's contemporaries Beorna and Ethelredus. In the kingdom of Mercia, Adelredus, Kenredus, Ceolredus, Athelbaldus. In the kingdom of Northumberland, Alfredus, Osfredus, Kenredus, Osricus ; but, among all these, there is no such person as Baldredus. It is true, there was one of that name king of Kent near a hundred years after ; but what signifies this to the time of Ina ? Farther, suppose Baldred then living, and only a viceroy to king Ina, the question will then be, how comes this Ina by this universal monarchy in the island ? What authority had this king of the West Saxons to set forth such an extent of jurisdiction, and command all the kings of Great Britain ? For, as the charter runs, he speaks in an imperial strain, and pretends to the sovereignty over a great many princes, "sed et omnibus regni mei regibus, &c. præcipio."

*King's Ina's
charter men-
tions nothing
of Joseph of
Arimathea.*

But, to return to Glassenbury ; and here we need not question king Ina's founding a monastery, where there had been formerly an ancient British church ; but from hence it will not follow that Joseph of Arimathea had honoured the place with his preaching and residence. However, the monks pretend to support the credit of this tradition by another charter of St. Patrick, which the reader may see in the Monasticon. This charter mentions some writings of St. Phaganus and Diruvianus, wherein it was affirmed, "that twelve disciples of the holy apostles, St. Philip and James, built the church at Glassenbury to the honour of the blessed Virgin," with some other circumstances concerning the dedication, &c. already mentioned in Mahmsbury. If this record proves right, it will go a great way towards the proving the antiquity of the Glassenbury tradition as to the preaching of Christianity there in the apostles' time. But here we may observe, the charter says nothing of Joseph of Arimathea ; but this is not all, for this charter discovers itself a counterfeit in the very beginning, which runs thus : "In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Patricius humilis serviunculus Dei, anno incarnationis ejusdem quadringentesimo vicesimo quinto," &c. In this charter St. Patrick dates by the modern era ; but it is certain, that in his time no such way of computation was used from

Monast.
vol. 1. p. 11.

the year of our Lord. For Dionysius Exiguus wrote his first epistle to Petronius A. D. 525, where he first mentions "the reducing the cycle to the years of Christ's incarnation, that people might be better acquainted with it." After which it remained a great while in private use with the paschal cycle, and was not publicly received till the seventh or eighth century: besides, the date of the charter cannot possibly agree with the time of St. Patrick's going first into Ireland: for William of Malmsbury owns St. Patrick was made bishop by Celestine, and sent by St. German into Ireland; but then it is universally agreed that Palladius was dispatched thither before him; and Prosper, who lived at that time, assigns the sending Palladius to the year of our Lord 431, which was six years after the date of St. Patrick's charter. Now if Palladius, who was sent to Ireland, did not arrive there till the year 431, how could St. Patrick come to Glassenbury in 425, since it is confessed in his charter that St. Patrick did not make his voyage into Britain till he had first settled Christianity in Ireland? The words are, "et cum eos (viz. Hibernicos) in fide solidassem, tandem, in Brittanniam sum reversus," &c. And here, notwithstanding the word *reversus* is made use of, it is certain, both by the tenor of the charter, and the history of St. Patrick's life, that Ireland was the first place where he executed his mission, and that he is not so much as pretended to have been at Glassenbury till he came from thence. In short, this chapter smells so rank of art and practice, that Capgrave himself questions the truth of it; and one argument more may be drawn from St. Patrick's mention of indulgences, which, as the learned Stillingfleet observes, was not used for the relaxation of penance till the eleventh century, as even Henschenius and Papebrochius (both Jesuits) confess: to this we may add St. Patrick's saying in the charter, "that he had procured an indulgence for twelve years from pope Celestine;" which being understood of Glassenbury, implies an impossibility in time. For St. Patrick is said not to come to Glassenbury till toward the end of his life, whereas Celestine died soon after his first sending St. Patrick into Ireland. These objections against St. Patrick's charter are too difficult to deal with, and therefore I shall leave them.

Malms. de
Gestis Pon-
tif. lib. 2.

Capgr. Vit.
Patric.

The tradition concerning Joseph of Arimathea unmentioned by the most ancient British historians.

Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiq.

It is farther urged against the credibility of this tradition, that it is unmentioned by the most ancient and considerable British historians; insomuch that neither Gildas, nor Bede, nor Asserius Menevensis, nor Marianus Scotus, not to quote any others, take the least notice of it. Besides, in the old catalogue of saints buried in England, written both in the Saxon and Latin languages by Grotcelinus, and published in archbishop Anselm's time, there is not the least mention made of Joseph of Arimathea: and in a book treating of the relics in Glassenbury monastery, and written in the reign of king Henry III., there is the same silence as to this matter.

Concil. vol. 1. p. 9.

It is granted the charter of king Henry II. above mentioned was confirmed by the Inspeximus of Edw. II. ann. 6, 7. of Edw. III. ann. 1. 6. and 1 Edw. IV. And from this countenance the tradition was mightily reinforced, grew the common opinion of the nation, and was insisted on by the English ambassadors at the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, to justify their privilege of precedency against the pretensions of the crowns of France and Spain: particularly in the council of Basil, the ambassadors urged that there were very ancient records to prove this point in England, and particularly in the abbey of Glassenbury, which makes express mention of Joseph of Arimathea's coming thither. Now it is probable, amongst other evidences, they might refer to two large plates of brass, one of which was fixed to a pillar in Glassenbury church, and charged with a very full and particular inscription: but then, as archbishop Usher observes, the air of it is modern and somewhat romantic, insomuch that it discovers a far less antiquity. And, to proceed with it a little farther, sir Henry Spelman had this brazen plate or table in his custody, and has transcribed the whole inscription in the character in which it was engraved. And, upon examination, he finds it a modern letter upon comparison, as indeed it appears to be, and not above three hundred years old at most. He pronounces it a plain legendary dream; and though it is possible there might be some churches built in this beginning of Christianity (which, however, it is difficult to prove), yet it will by no means follow that there was any churchyard belonging to it, according to the custom of later times. It is true there were several churches built in Britain in the first ages

of the Christian religion ; but there was no such thing as the appurtenance of a churchyard, till Cuthbert procured this privilege from the pope, of having churchyards in cities. Now this Cuthbert was the tenth archbishop of Canterbury from Austin the monk, and died about the year of our Lord 798. sir Henry Spelman goes on, and puts this question, "What ancient writer," says he, "ever told us of any persons buried in churches at that time of day? Or where do we read, churches dedicated to the saints in the first century? or that the blessed Virgin was addressed in a religious manner by any of her contemporaries?" And then, as to the consecrating of the church, there is no notice taken of it in any records of that age, nor for about five hundred years after; till St. David, who was made archbishop of the see, since called by his name, in the year of our Lord 519, where he sat sixty-five years; till this St. David, I say, happened to dream of this wonderful relation. Thus far sir Henry Spelman. And thus we find the records for the Glassenbury tradition will not bear a thorough examination; they look untowardly when brought to the test, and do not shine at all upon the touchstone. As to the ancient charters, if they were counterfeited, as seems probable, it is likely this legerdemain was played in the eleventh century. It is upon this age that the time for this practice is fixed by Papebrochius and Dr. Stillingfleet. Now it was, as they conjecture, that the ignorance of the age was gross enough to make the artifice pass; and, besides, the monks had occasion enough to fortify their privileges, by such pretended antiquities, against encroachments upon their lands, and the jurisdiction of bishops over their monasteries. And it may be the unusual favour granted to Battle abbey by William the Conqueror, might sharpen the invention of the elder monasteries, and put them upon straining truth, and producing equivalent privileges from the Saxon kings.

Antiquities
of the British
Churches,
chap. 1.

And as the evidence for the Glassenbury tradition stands upon an unfirm bottom, so the circumstances of the story look (to speak softly) somewhat incredible. For, to return to the account given by Malmsbury, where St. Philip is said to have come into France (they should have said Gaul), and to have sent Joseph of Arimathea from thence; now both Eusebius and several of the ancients inform us, that St. Philip pursued his commission in the eastern parts, about Phrygia, and suffered at Hierapolis.

*The Glas-
senbury tra-
dition not
credible by
the circum-
stances of
the story.*

Euseb. l. 5.
c. 24.

Chrys. de
12 Apost.

The eremitical way of living of the twelve Glassenbury disciples, not suitable to that age.

Farther, the retired eremitical way of living of these twelve disciples, sent hither by St. Philip, is not agreeable to the manner of the first age. The Christians of the apostolical times did not affect such a solitary scene. We find nothing of such monastic retreats till the Dioclesian persecution; it was then that the Christians first retired into the deserts of Egypt; so that it was not choice, but necessity, which drove them from towns and cities, and made them live remote from society. If it is said that this was the case of St. Philip and his twelve disciples, and that it was persecution which drove them from their country; to this it may be answered, that this rugged usage was only in Judæa; for, as to the British kings, though they refused to be proselyted, yet they were so far from persecuting Joseph and his company, that, as Malmsbury relates, they received them with a handsome welcome, and gave them an estate for their subsistence. He tells us, they had the grant of twelve hides, which was a considerable extent of ground, and a very noble present for strangers to receive from a pagan prince; and, which is somewhat remarkable, Malmsbury adds, that the twelve hides, then in possession of the abbey, were so called, as it was thought, from the name of the first endowment. But this, if there was nothing more, is sufficient to weaken the credibility of the story; for the word *hide*, as both sir Henry Spelman and Somner observe, is no British word, but apparently of Saxon original. Their spending their time likewise in devotions to the blessed Virgin is another mark of forgery; for in those early days of Christianity, none of these votaries are to be met with, unless it is in Epiphanius, and there they are mentioned as heretics. And, lastly, as far as it appears by Malmsbury, these holy men kept close to their little island of Glassenbury, and lived, as it were, within themselves. He does not tell us of any progress or converts they made in the country, or, indeed, that they so much as attempted it after this retirement. Now this inactive behaviour does not seem to answer their design of coming hither, nor has any resemblance with the zeal and industry of apostolical missionaries.

The incongruity of the tradition with the condition of the Roman province.

But there is still another material objection against the Glassenbury tradition, and that is, the inconsistency of it with the condition of the Roman province at that time; for there was no such British king as Arviragus in that country, when Joseph

Glossar.

of Arimathea is supposed to come hither. According to this tradition, Joseph is said to come to Britain in the year of our Lord 63. Now the more southern parts of the island, where Glassenbury stands, were seized by the Romans, and formed into a province before that time; for, as Tacitus reports, the hithermost part of Britain was gained and planted by Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula; and that several colonies of the veteran troops were fixed there. Now between these two governors and Suetonius Paulinus, were Didius Gallus and Veranius; and, in probability, the Belgæ were subdued by Vespasian, who commanded under Plautius, and of whom Suetonius relates, "that he conquered here two powerful nations, above twenty towns, and the Isle of Wight;" by which we may conclude his expeditions lay westward. Now the Belgæ and Damnonii were the two powerful nations that way; and in all the progress of the war against the Britons afterwards, we find no care taken by the Roman generals to secure themselves against the Belgæ, as they did against the Brigantes and the Silures, among whom Caraetæus commanded; so that there could be no such British king at that time among the Belgæ, as Arviragus is supposed to have been. For had there been such a prince among the Belgæ, it is not supposed that when Ostorius marched northwards against the Cangi, or Cheshire men, that he would have fixed his garrisons on the Severn and the Avon to secure the province. For had there been such a British king as Arviragus among the Belgæ, what would the fortifying the Severn have signified, when the enemies to the Romans lived on the Roman side?

Tacit. in
Vit. Agric.
c. 14.

Sueton. in
Vesp. c. 4.

Tacit. An-
nal. 12.
cap. 31, 32.
Cambd.
Britan.

To go on; White of Basingstoke supposes this Arviragus to make Joseph a grant of the Glassenbury island, when Trebellius Maximus was governor here, who succeeded Petronius Turpilianus in the year of Suetonius Paulinus's consulship; but all this signifies nothing, if, as we have seen, there could be no such king as Arviragus among the Belgæ at that time.

Lib. 4.
p. 293.

But, after all, was there no such British prince as Arviragus? Yes, without doubt; otherwise we should not have found him thus mentioned in Juvenal:

Juven. Sat.
4. v. 125.

*Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumph;
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus.*

Chron. Do-
vern. apud
Leland. Col-
lect. vol. 2.
p. 50.

The author of the Chronicle of Dover will have this compliment made to Nero, it may be to make it serviceable to the Glassenbury tradition; but this author is out in his observation; for it is evident from Juvenal that these verses relate to Domitian. Now the compliment Veiento put upon this prince, upon the taking that extraordinary fish mentioned by the poet; the reading, I say, upon this fish would have been a fulsome piece of flattery, unless Arviragus had been a prince of figure then living, and an enemy to Cæsar. For what conquest or glory could he otherwise gain from such a person? But that no such enemy was in Britain, especially in the southern parts, at least in the beginning of Domitian's reign, is plain from Tacitus; for Petilius Cerealis had overrun the Brigantes; Julius Frontinus had conquered the Silures, and the Ordovices were brought under by Julius Agricola, who afterwards carried his successes beyond Tweed, and fortified the passage between Glota and Bodotria, that is, between Dunbritton and Edinburgh frith. From all which it appears there could be no such king as Arviragus in these southern parts of the island, over whom Domitian could expect a triumph. But it may be objected, that there must be some prince of that name, who was unfriendly and troublesome to the Romans; otherwise, why does Veiento, in the poet, presage the defeat of him as a great advantage to Domitian? To this it may be answered, that it is granted there was such a British prince as Arviragus in Domitian's time, but this can do no service to the Glassenbury tradition; because, according to that, Arviragus lived, and made the grant of the little island to Joseph of Arimathea, in Nero's reign. And here Dr. Stillingfleet is of opinion, that it is very probable, upon the recalling of Agricola from his government in Britain, which happened in the beginning of Domitian's reign; upon the recalling this general, it is probable the Britons revolted under the conduct of Arviragus; and thus the Roman interest was embroiled, till the emperor Adrian made a campaign here in person. And if the matter stood thus, the juncture was proper enough for such a prince as Arviragus to head the Britons in Domitian's reign; and if so, Veiento's flattery to that emperor, in wishing Arviragus dismounted, was suitable enough to the occasion. And so much for the Glassenbury tradition concerning Joseph of Arimathea.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agric. c. 17,
18. 20. 23.

Antiq. of
British
Churches,
chap. 1.

Spartian in
Hadriano.

By what has been said already, it is evident Christianity got footing here in the apostolical age: but what progress was made upon the infidels; in what parts the Church was settled, and under whom; what successes or discouragements; what revolutions happened in the ecclesiastical history of this island, from the apostles to king Lucius, is altogether uncertain. Length of time, persecutions, and the ravages of war have, in a manner, sunk the memory of these matters. It is true, Gildas informs us, "that though the Christian religion was but coldly entertained,"—by which it is plain he means it was confined to a narrow compass; but, notwithstanding this,—"it held on," as he adds, "in some places, without the least discontinuance, as far as the Dioclesian persecution¹."

Gild. Hist.
p. 11.

To proceed to the conversion of King Lucius; and here authors are by no means agreed about the time; archbishop Usher cites no less than three-and-twenty different opinions. Bede, the old Saxon Annals, and the author of the Annals of the Church of Rochester, who flourished about the year 1224; these historians, I say, fix upon the year 167, in the consulship of Severus and Herennianus, and in the eleventh year of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, when Eleutherius was bishop of Rome; but primate Usher dates this conversion nine years later. And though authors differ so much in their chronology, yet that there was such a Christian king in Britain as Lucius about that time is beyond question; for first Nennius, who lived in the beginning of the seventh century, is positive for this point. It is true he affirms this conversion to have happened in the time of pope Evaristus; but primate Usher observes, that one copy reads Eleutherius; and thus Nennius falls in with the general opinion. For farther evidence, archbishop Usher mentions two very ancient coins, one silver, and the other gold; the last of which was part of sir Robert

CENT. II.

The conversion of king Lucius,
A. D. 176.
Britan. Eccles. Antiq.
p. 20.

Nennius,
Hist. Britan.
c. 18.

¹ Mr. Collier's account of the first planting of Christianity in our island is very accurate, and his theory respecting the relative probability of the dates is now pretty generally received. He exercises a wholesome degree of suspiciousness as to the assertions of several patristic and monkish historians, whose zeal towards God was not always according to knowledge, and whose ambition to magnify the Church made them remarkably indifferent to the hard facts of chronology.

Cotton's collection, and examined by the primate. That both these coins were made by some Christian prince, appears by the impress of the cross; and that it was the king in question, may be concluded from the letters LVC, which, though somewhat worn by time, are not unlegible. Farther, from Bede downwards, we have the concurrent testimony of abundance of historians for this matter of fact. This point was so uncontested a piece of history, that the English ambassadors at the council of Constance, pleaded Lucius's conversion against the ambassador at Castile, as an argument for precedency. But then, as to the extent of king Lucius's dominions, and that he was monarch of the whole island, several modern authors, and particularly cardinal Pole, are altogether mistaken. This cardinal, in his speech in the parliament-house, among other things, takes notice, "that Christianity did not gain ground in Britain by degrees, according to the progress of it in other nations, but that the whole island disengaged from their error by unanimous consent, and were all made happy in their belief, as it were, in the same moment;" which general success must be interpreted to the time of Lucius, and therefore Geoffrey of Monmouth will needs have him king of the whole island. But that this is enlarging his dominions to an improbable, not to say a romantic, extent, will appear from the government of the ancient Britons, and the condition of the island at that time; for the ancient Britons were not so early under a single prince, but split into several independent governments, as we may learn from Julius Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Tacitus, Gildas, &c. Besides, the greatest part of the island was now conquered by the Romans, and reduced into a province; and a wall built by Antoninus Pius, in the north of the island, to secure the Roman part of it from the Caledonian, or the natives yet unsubdued. If it is farther inquired in what part of Britain this king Lucius lived, the learned Dr. Stillingfleet conjectures it to be in that division afterwards called Surrey and Sussex. He supports his opinion by observing, that wherever the Romans settled, it is easy to trace them by their ways, by their buildings, by their coins, by their urns and inscriptions; but scarce any of these antiquities are to be found in Surrey and Sussex. It is probable, therefore, this Lucius might, by the permission of the Romans, succeed Cogidunus, though at some

Antiquit.
Britan. in
vit. Poli.

De Bello
Gallic. l. 5.
Diodor.
Sicul. l. 5.
Strab. Geo-
graph. l. 4.
Annual.
12. 14.
Gildas.
Epist.
Capitolin.
in Antonin.
Pium.

Antiq.
British
Churches.

distance of descent, which Cogidunus is supposed to have reigned over the Regni, that is, the counties, as they were afterwards called, of Surrey and Sussex.

Stillington,
ibid. p. 63.

Having gone over these preliminaries, I shall give the reader a farther account of this matter from Bede. This historian tells us, "that in the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and his partner in the empire, Lucius Verus, when Eleutherius was bishop of Rome, Lucius, a British king, sent a letter to this prelate, desiring his directions to make him a Christian. The holy bishop immediately complied with this pious request; and thus the Britons, being brought over to Christianity, continued, without warping or disturbance, till the reign of the emperor Dioclesian." Thus far Bede. To whom I shall add the testimony of Marianus Scotus, who informs us, that Lucius king of Britain wrote to pope Eleutherius to be assisted in his resolution to turn Christian.

Bede, Eccles. Histor.

To proceed: the old book of Llandaff reports this matter as follows, viz. — "That king Lucius sent Elvanus and Medwinus to Eleutherius, the twelfth bishop of Rome, to desire that he might be made a Christian by his instruction. Upon which, the pope gave God thanks that such a heathen nation were so earnest in their applications for Christianity. And then, by the advice of the priests of the city of Rome, they first baptized these ambassadors, and afterwards instructing them more fully in the principles of the Christian faith, they proceeded to ordain them, making Elvanus a bishop, and Medwinus a teacher; and they, being thus qualified, returned to king Lucius, who, with the chief of the Britons, was baptized: and then, according to the form of Eleutherius's instructions, the ecclesiastical order was settled, bishops were ordained, and the Christian religion farther propagated among the inhabitants." This account carries a great air of truth, and seems to have been the original tradition of the British Church: which was afterward interpolated with legendary mixtures, particularly by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who gives a fabulous relation of flamins, and archi-flamins, and that bishops and arch-bishops were fixed upon this pagan form, and settled in their respective jurisdictions.

Monastic.
Anglic.
vol. 3.
p. 188.

This account having gained some ground, I shall give it somewhat more at large to the reader. It stands thus then in Geoffrey of Monmouth, who flourished in the middle of the

*The story of
the flamins
and archi-
flamins in*

Britain unsupported.
Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 12.

twelfth century: "These holy doctors," says he, (meaning Faganus and Dervianus,) "when they had cleared the greatest part of Britain of heathenism, procured many of the pagan temples to be consecrated to the honour of the true God, having first removed the relics of idolatry and false worship out of them. There was at that time of day eight-and-twenty flamins in Britain, and three arch-flamins, who, in conformity to the pagan rites elsewhere, used to offer incense and sacrifice cattle to their pretended deities. These ceremonies of heathenism being suppressed, and all things governed by the standard of Christianity, they consecrated bishops in the room of the flamins, and archbishops in the jurisdiction of archi-flamins. And the residence of the archi-flamins being in the principal cities, that is, London, York, and Caerleon upon Usk, they turned these three towns into archbishops' sees. And as for the other five-and-twenty cities of lesser note, they erected them into bishoprics, and settled the bounds of every diocese. The division of Deira and Albania, parted from Loegria by the river Humber, was assigned to the archbishop of York; Loegria and Cornwall fell to the metropolitan of London; and the churches in Wales were made the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Caerleon.

"Things being brought thus forward, the two holy men above mentioned went back to Rome, and procured the pope's confirmation of their proceedings; where, being furnished with palls, and receiving other marks of respect suitable to their character, they made a second voyage into Britain, having a great many other holy men aboard; by whose assistance their old converts were fortified, and more of the natives brought over. A farther detail of which matters may be seen more at large in Gildas the historian." Thus far Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose account looks very suspicious, as will appear by a farther inquiry; for, first, not to mention that the testimony of Gildas, whom he makes his voucher, is no where to be met with; not to mention this, his order of flamins and arch-flamins settled in the respective cities will not hold water; for, among the Romans, the flamins were no other than priests, each of which was consecrated to the service of some particular deity, from whom they took their title: of these, as sir Henry Spelman observes, there were but three at first, the flamen Dialis, Martialis, and Quirinalis, who belonged to

Jupiter, Mars, and Romulus. Afterwards, every pretended deity had his flamin, as Vulcan, Flora, &c. And at last the Roman emperors, when they were dead and deified, had their flamins or priests too.

We may observe farther, that this sacerdotal jurisdiction did not reach to the compass of a province: so far from this, that at the first institution by Numa, when Rome was divided into thirty curiæ, or parishes, each of these divisions had two flamins; and then, as for any archi-flamin superior to these flamins, we read of no such distinction among the Romans: the priests of the respective divisions or wards of Rome being subject to the college of priests, and to the pontifex maximus, who was president of that society. It is true the flamins were distinguished into majores and minores; but then this difference of title was founded only on the antiquity and quality of their order, and not upon any difference of power. Thus, the three first flamins instituted by Numa, and chosen out of the nobility, were called flamines majores, whereas the other, that were afterwards added out of the commons, were distinguished by the title of minores, or the less. Thus, those that had the administration of religion in the curiæ, or wards, were called flamines curiales, which the other were not. Now this scheme of the pagan hierarchy at Rome, has little or no resemblance to that mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Farther, notwithstanding the Roman priests were distinguished into greater and less, and formed into a college and corporation, with a pontifex maximus at the head of them: yet then, as Festus observes, this high priest was only the first of the college, and, which is more, the jurisdiction of the whole society was confined to a single city, and, by consequence, could not reach to the pretended primacy of an archi-flamin, or include a provincial superintendency. It is true the Theodosian Code mentions an order of priests called sacerdotes provinciarum. And here Gothofred observes, that the difference between the flamins and these priests was, that the flamins' office lay within the compass of particular cities, whereas the other had whole provinces under their care. But the learned Dr. Stillingfleet makes it appear, that in all probability this archierosyne, or provincial priesthood, was of later institution, taken up by the emperors in imitation of the Christians, and posterior to the settlement of episcopacy in the

C. Theod.
Tit. de Dec.
l. 46. 75,
&c.

J. Gotho.
ad C. Theod.
12. Tit. 1.
de Dec.
l. 21. 112.

Antiq. of
the British
Churches,
chap. 2.
Gesta Re-
gum, l. 1.
c. 2. Girald.
de sedis
Menevensis
dignitate.
Angl. Sacr.

British Churches. We may likewise observe, that neither Malmsbury nor Giraldus Cambrensis take any notice of these flamins and archi-flamins, neither does the first of them mention anything about the consecration of bishops; and the latter gives a relation of the number of the bishoprics different from that of Geoffrey of Monmouth. That there were British bishops in Lucius's time is without question, episcopacy being the only form of government in the Church for the first fifteen hundred years. It is likewise granted, there were eight-and-twenty cities in Britain, which we need not take upon the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, for Gildas and Bede say the same thing: but that Christianity spread to such an extent in this island in the reign of Lucius, or that this petty prince had interest enough to carry such a regulation through all the British cities, does by no means agree with his narrow dominions, nor his dependency on the Roman empire.

Gild. Hist.
p. 9.
Bede, Hist.
l. 1. c. 1.

*Eleutherius's letter
to Lucius.*

Lambert, de
Priscis Anglorum
legibus.

I shall now give the reader the translation of pope Eleutherius's letter to king Lucius, as it stands in the laws of Edward the Confessor. This letter is supposed to be an answer to a request made to the pope by this prince. It runs thus:

“In the year 169, from the passion of our Saviour, our lord Eleutherius, the pope, wrote to Lucius, king of Britain, at the instance of that prince and his nobility. ‘You have desired us,’ says the pope, ‘that we should send you a copy of the Roman and imperial laws, with a design to make them the rule of justice in the realm of Britain. As for the imperial laws, we may dislike and disapprove them at any time, but the law of God is above all censure and exception. I mention this, because, through the mercy of God, you have lately received the Christian faith in the kingdom of Britain, so that now you have the privilege of consulting both the Old and New Testament. Out of these holy volumes you may, by the advice of your subjects, collect a body of law which, under God's protection, may enable you to govern your realm of Britain. For, according to the royal prophet, you are God's vicegerent within your own dominions, ‘the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein.’ And again, according to the same royal prophet, ‘thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.’ And

Ps. 24. 1.

Ps. 45. 7.

elsewhere in the Psalms David prays, "Give the king thy judgments, O God," &c. "Thy judgments," not any secular regulations, not any systems of royal sanction; now the king's sons, which follow in the text, are Christian subjects, who live in peace and tranquillity under your protection, and being sheltered by your administration, are cherished, as the Scripture speaks, "as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings," &c. As for the people of the kingdom of Britain, they are your subjects, and committed to your care, amongst whom, it is your part to promote unity and good understanding, to bring them to a submission to the Gospel, and into the bosom of the Church; to restrain them from disorder; to support, protect, and govern them, and screen them from the insults of injurious malice. "Wo to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning." I do not suppose that a king is here called a child either for having lived too little or too long, upon the score of his first or his second infancy; but this character of disadvantage is given him for his folly and injustice, for his licentious and extravagant conduct, according to the royal prophet, "the blood-thirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days," &c. By "eating," we are to understand gormandizing, which proceeds from a luxurious appetite, and is commonly attended with a train of other vices. These disorders make a man incapable of the blessings of religion; for, according to king Solomon, "Into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin." A king has his royal title from the functions of government, not from the advantage of power. As long as you govern well, you will be a king in propriety of language; but if you fail in this point, the royal character will not belong to you, and you will lose the very name of a king, which I heartily wish may never happen. God Almighty grant, that you may so govern the realm of Britain, that you may reign with him for ever, whose representative you are in your kingdom above mentioned, &c.' "

This letter is esteemed a very valuable curiosity by some learned men, and particularly by the author "de Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ," who calls it an august record: but notwithstanding the credit it has gained, there lie several great objections against its authenticity: for, first, not to mention the date or chronology seems somewhat questionable, not

Ps. 72. 1.
Eccles. 10. 16.

Ps. 55. 23.

Wisd. 1. 4.

*The credit
of this letter
very sus-
picious.*

to mention this, the request of Lucius proceeds upon different matter from that reported by Bede and other historians; for they tell us, that Lucius desired Eleutherius to send him instructions to turn Christian: but this letter solicits for nothing but a copy of the Roman laws. But this difficulty may possibly be answered, by supposing Lucius wrote twice to Eleutherius, and that his first letter relating only to religion, he sent a second for the imperial laws. That the case might stand thus, seems somewhat hinted in the pope's answer, where he tells Lucius, "through the mercy of God, you have lately received the Christian faith in the kingdom of Britain." But then, secondly, the next objection presses closer; for what necessity was there for Lucius to send to Rome, to Eleutherius, for a copy of the Roman laws, when he might have procured this favour at home, from the emperor's lord-lieutenant. For from the reign of Claudius Cesar, who conquered the greatest part of Britain, the imperial laws were common in the island, and current as far as the Brigantes, or northern counties of York, Lancaster, and the bishopric of Durham, as appears from these verses of Seneca.

In Ludo
de Morte
Claud. Cæ
saris.

Ille Britannos

Ultra Noti

Litora Ponti

Et Cæruleos

Scuta Brigantas

Dare Romuleis

Colla Catenis

Jussit, & ipsum

Nova Romanæ

Jura Securis

Tremere Oceanum

Annal.
l. 14.

This emperor Claudius erected courts of justice after the Roman form, about a hundred years before Lucius's reign; as appears from Tacitus, who, mentioning the state of the colony at Camalodunum or Maldon, when Suetonius Paulinus had the sword, takes notice, that "there were foreign voices heard in the sessions-house;" which, happening at a time when the doors were shut, and the court not sitting, were looked upon as presages of ruin. Eutropius likewise tells us, that "Maldon was made a strong garrison;" that "the veteran troops were settled in the neighbourhood, that they might be in a readiness to suppress a revolt, and to bring the Britons, their allies, to a conformity with the Roman laws." To this we may add, that soon after the death of Lucius, there was a famous court of judicature fixed at York, where that celebrated lawyer Æmilius Paulus Papinianus sat upon the bench. But to press this

objection no farther, to what purpose should king Lucius solicit a bishop about the civil laws, who might be supposed to be too far engaged in the business of his character, to concern himself about secular affairs?

Thirdly, that which bears still harder upon the credit of this letter, is, its taking no notice of the Roman government in Britain, and treating Lucius as an absolute and independent prince; "you are God's vicegerent," says the letter, without mentioning his reigning at the emperor's courtesy. And a little after, "the nations of the kingdom of Britain are your subjects." Now Lucius, as we have seen already, was far from reigning over all Britain: neither was he any more, even within the compass of his jurisdiction, than a homager to the empire of Rome.

Fourthly, the phrase of the pope's letter looks spurious and modern, particularly the word *manu tenere*, was not used in Eleutherius's age. This term smells strongly of the Norman Latin, from whence it was first conveyed into our common law.

Fifthly, the texts of Scripture are cited from St. Jerome's translation, who lived almost two whole centuries after pope Eleutherius.

Sixthly, and lastly, Sir Henry Spelman observes, that this letter is not to be met with till a thousand years after Eleutherius's death, and where it was first found, is altogether uncertain. The author of "The Customs of London," printed it in the twelfth year of Henry VIII.; afterwards Lambert inserted it among the laws of Edward the Confessor: but here it is printed in an italic letter, as a mark of its being spurious. Hoveden's manuscripts of about four hundred years' standing, take no notice of it; and which is remarkable, his contemporary, Geoffrey of Monmouth, who did not use to suppress or overlook any British antiquities, says nothing about it. And as for the manuscript in Guildhall, London, it seems, at the most, to be no more than two hundred years old.

As to the reasons which moved Lucius to address the bishop of Rome, they are differently reported. The collector of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* will have it, that "the Roman emperor, publishing an edict to suppress the superstition of the Druids, put king Lucius upon a farther inquiry into the worship of the true God, to which he seemed very strongly in-

Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1.

Conjectures
upon the
motives
which made
Lucius send
to the bishop
of Rome.

Britan. Ec-
cles. Antiq.
cap. 4.

clined." But here, as primate Usher observes, we have no authority to prove the setting forth any such edict. The author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* goes on, and tells us, "that Lucius was a great friend to the Roman interest, and very intimate with Marcus Antoninus Verus, by whose order the above-mentioned edict was published against the Druids." He proceeds, and affirms, "that Lucius was not altogether unacquainted with the Christian religion, which, as we have already observed, had gained some ground in Britain; however, notwithstanding he seems to have been privately satisfied with the reasonableness of the Christian faith, yet he hung in suspense a great while before he came to a resolution of making it public: for being somewhat governed by the maxims of a secular spirit, he did not think it suitable to his quality to be made a convert by his own countrymen, upon the score of the meanness of their condition; but thought it more agreeable to the dignity of his station to be instructed by persons of figure. And being informed, that not only Adrian and Antoninus Pius had sheltered the Christians from persecution, and published edicts in their favour, but that the bishop of Rome had converted several noblemen of that city; and that quality coming thus into the Church, made the Christian religion spread farther into the Roman provinces: these considerations prevailed upon Lucius to wave being instructed by the British Christians, and to apply to the bishop of Rome; and for this purpose, he dispatched away Elvanus and Meduinus to Eleutherius, to desire his assistance in this matter." Where, by the way, we are to take notice, that Elvanus and Meduinus had brought Lucius off from the paganism of the Druids, and reconciled him, in a great measure, to the principles of Christianity. Thus far this author, who seems to be right in part of his conjecture. And to strengthen his opinion, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Lucius might be informed of the miraculous shower, which was procured by the prayers of the Christians, in the battle against the Marcomanni. This remarkable accident is mentioned by Tertullian and others; Tertullian appeals to the emperor Marcus Aurelius's letter, in which he owns, "his army was refreshed by a shower, and preserved from perishing by the prayers of the Christian troops:" in consideration of which service "he stopped the prosecution of the Christians, and laid a severe

Tertul.
Apol. cap. 5.
Euseb. Hist.
l. 5. c. 5.

penalty upon those that informed against them." Now this order of the emperor might probably make an impression upon king Lucius, and promote his conversion.

"Cardinal Baronius relates the matter with some diversity of circumstance, and cites the acts of Lucius for his authority: and here it is reported, that Lucius never behaved himself like an enemy to the Christian religion; that he admired the miracles wrought by the Christians, and the remarkable exemplariness of their lives; and that he had sooner turned Christian, had he not been pre-engaged, as it were in honour, to the paganism of his ancestors: besides, he was somewhat discouraged in his belief, by seeing the Christians treated by the Romans with so much contempt; to suffer in their reputation upon the score of their creed, and to be almost always outraged and oppressed. But afterwards he understood by the emperor's lord-lieutenants, that several Roman noblemen turned Christians, and particularly, that one Trebellius and Pertinax were of that number. After this account, the cardinal proceeds to mention the favour showed to the Christians by the emperor Marcus Aurelius."

Baron.
Annal.
tom. 2.
An. 183.

But here primate Usher takes notice, that the cardinal's pretended acts of Lucius have no better voucher than the centuriators of Magdeburg, from whom the cardinal borrowed his testimony. Their words are, "*postea quam igitur comperit* (meaning Lucius,) *ex legatis Cæsaris præpotentes atque illustres quosdam ex Romanis, Trebellium nempe et Pertinacem, aliosque nonnullos Christianæ religioni accessisse,*" &c. Now we may fairly allow the cardinal and the centuriators, because we have Eusebius's word for it. That when Commodus held the empire, the Church had the benefit of an universal indisturbance; and Christianity recommended itself to that degree, that, at Rome, "a great many persons, eminent for fortune and quality, with all their dependents and relations, provided for their future happiness, and submitted to the Gospel." But then, as primate Usher observes, this happened after the baptism of Lucius, as he proves, even from the testimony of Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis.

Britan. Ec-
cles. Antiq.
c. 4.

Centur.
c. 2.

Euseb.
Histor.
Eccles.
l. 5. c. 21.

Britan. Ec-
cles. Antiq.
c. 4.

Bergom.
Supplem.
Chronic.
l. 8.

But on the other side, it is a great mistake to affirm, "that Lucius was informed by any of Cæsar's generals, that several Roman senators were turned Christians, and that Pertinax and Trebellius were two of them:" for this Pertinax was no

Capitolin.
in Pertinax.

other than the same person that was Commodus's lord-lieutenant in Britain, and afterwards his successor in the empire ; but that he turned Christian was never so much as heard of before. To trace this mistake to the head, the case lies thus ;

Hect. Boeth.
Scot. Hist.
l. 5.

Bale, having read in Hector Boethius " that Lucius was informed by some Romans in Britain, who served under Trebellius and Pertinax, that a great many miracles were wrought by the Christians," &c. This passage Bale both amplifies and alters : I say, and alters ; for he makes Lucius receive his information from the emperor's generals Trebellius and Pertinax. This mistake is still farther improved by the negligence of the Magdeburgenses, who, by over hastily transcribing Bale, make the Roman generals above mentioned, those persons of quality which Lucius heard were converted to Christianity. This blunder is taken upon trust by Parsons, and affirmed as unquestionable matter of fact.

Bale Cen-
tur. l. c. 29.

Three Con-
versions of
England,
c. 4.

In examining this case of Lucius, Harpsfield supposes that the reader may be somewhat at a loss, for the reasons which moved this prince to lose so much time in his conversion, and to send such an expensive embassy to Rome, when he might have been fully furnished with instructions and conveniences for this purpose, either at home, or at least in the neighbouring country of Gaul, which was then very famous, both for the settlement of churches, the reputation of prelates, and the sufferings of their martyrs. Notwithstanding this was matter of fact, yet Harpsfield concludes that Lucius's application to Rome was determined with great prudence and discretion. And here he makes Lucius consider, that, both in the former age and his own, the Church had been pestered with a great many dangerous heresies ; that the Basilidians, Valentinians, Marcionists, Montanists, &c. had overrun all Cappadocia, and got footing in Galatia ; and that every sect made their own subdivision the true Church : that the heretics showed no less resolution than the orthodox, many of them losing their lives for Christianity, in the times of persecution : " and thus," says he, " by a list of their martyrs, they pretended to justify their doctrine." This universal courage, among such diversity of tenets and communions, might, as Harpsfield continues, put Lucius somewhat to a stand, and shock his mind at his first resolution for baptism ; but then, that which this historian adds, as a motive of his sending to Rome, will by no means

Harpsf.
Hist. Ec-
cles. Anglic.
cap. 3.

hold. It was not, as Harpsfield fancies, upon any information Lucius could receive of the pope's supremacy and universal pastorship, that all controversy was to be determined there in the last resort; and that the care of all the churches lay particularly upon that bishop's shoulders. At that time of day there was neither practice nor principles set on foot, to give Lucius any such persuasion; as amongst other things will appear by the contest of the British bishops with Augustine the monk, which I shall give the reader when we are come down to that century.

The truest account of this embassy seems to be this; king Lucius being convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, and having had a long intercourse and correspondence with the Romans in Britain; from hence we may most reasonably suppose him acquainted with the great fame of Rome. We may likewise fairly suppose him informed of the progress of Christianity in that city, and that there was a bishop fixed there, the twelfth in succession from the apostles. From this general information it is likely he might be desirous to understand how far the British Christians and those of Rome agreed. He might likewise fairly presume the Christian religion was taught there without mixture or sophistication; the distance of time between the apostles and the present bishop being so little; and the town, as Iræneus argues, having a particular advantage, being, as it were, the general rendezvous of commerce and correspondence, a resort being made thither from all places, upon the score of its being the imperial city. These were reasonable considerations, which might move king Lucius to send his agents to Rome, and not any opinion of a supremacy, settled by St. Peter upon the bishop of Rome; of which pretended privilege the British Christians had no notion at that time, nor a great while after, as I have already hinted.

The most probable reasons why Lucius sent his agents to the bishop of Rome.

Iræn. lib. 3. cap. 3.

King Lucius having received satisfaction in this point from Rome, and fully perfected in his conversion, is said to have been a great benefactor to the Church; to have turned the heathen temples into places of worship for the true God, and transferred the revenues of idolatry to the service of the Christian religion; making, over and above, a considerable settlement out of his own royal patrimony. Some authors, as Polydore,

Churches, and other benefactions of Lucius, most of which not sufficiently attested.

Galfrid. Monmouth. lib. 5. cap. 1. edit. Heidelberg.

Polyd. Ver-
gil. Anglic.
Histor.
lib. 1.
Leland.
Assert.
Arturii.
fol. 7.

Vergil, &c., make Westminster Church built by this Lucius : that he likewise built a chapel, dedicated to our Saviour, in Dover castle. And Radulphus de Diceto affirms that he built the church in the suburbs of Canterbury, afterwards called St. Martin's.

Caius de
Antiquit.
Acad. Can-
tabrig. lib. 1.
p. 51.

Farther, Lucius is said to be a great patron to the university of Cambridge, as Dr. Caius endeavours to prove from two royal charters ; one, of King Arthur, dated London, April the 7th, A. D. 531 ; the other is King Cadwallader's charter, dated at Cambridge, in the year of our Lord 685 ; in both which there is mention made of the privileges granted by king Lucius to that university, together with a confirmation of them by pope Eleutherius ; which confirmation is attested by the bull of pope Honorius I. dated at Rome, February 20, in the year of our Lord 624. But the credit of these records is shrewdly shaken by Bryan Twyne.

Antiquit.
Oxonien.
Academ.
l. 1.

To return to king Lucius, who, beside the churches above mentioned, is said to build St. Peter's, Cornhill, in London, as appears by a plate of brass which hung up in that church before the great fire in 1666. To the building of this church, Ciran, one of king Lucius's courtiers, is said to have largely contributed, at the request of Thean, then archbishop of London. To these we may add, a church and college of Christian philosophers at Bangor. A church dedicated to the blessed Virgin at Glassenbury, re-edified under the countenance of this prince by Faganus and Deruvianus. And, lastly, a church and monastery at Winchester, which the history of the church of Winchester informs us was made a cathedral by king Lucius, furnished with monks, and endowed with large revenues. But as for this last author especially, the relation of a monastic settlement thus early, is sufficient of itself to destroy the credit of his testimony. But not to examine king Lucius's benefactions to the church in England, his zeal is said to have carried him into foreign countries, to propagate Christianity. Primate Usher mentions Stumpfius, and a great many other authors, for this point. The matter is thus reported: that king Lucius, resigning his kingdom, and quitting a secular life, sailed first into Gaul, to preach the Gospel there ; from thence he passed the Rhine, and prosecuted his religious design in High Germany, travelled into Bavaria, and preached there ; and, making some stay near the Danube, was so happy as to convert that

Pits. de
Brit. Script.
num. 22.
Caius de
Antiquitat.
Cantabrig.
l. 1.
Manuscript
in the Cot-
ton Library.

Usher Brit-
tan. Eccles.
Antig.
cap. 6. p. 71.
Stumpfius
Chronic.
Helvet.
lib. 10.
cap. 15.

country. From hence, he travelled to Augsburg, and preached Christianity in several parts of Suabia, where, making a great many proselytes, that little church at Augsburg is said to have been then built, which pope Leo IX. afterwards dedicated to St. Gall. But the major part of this country preferring the worship of Cybele and Sylvanus to this new doctrine, first outraged this holy preacher in language, then stoning him, threw him into a pit; from whence, being drawn out half dead, and recovered by some of his converts, he travelled to the Rhaetian Alps. And here, having a very troublesome journey, he passed the hill beyond the castle of Gutenburg, which is still called St. Lucius's cliff, and began to preach in the country of Coira, or Chur, and in the territories of Zurick. Here he made a considerable progress, was afterwards chosen bishop of Chur, now belonging to the Grisons. And residing mostly in the district of Chur, declaring with great freedom against idolatry, and always endeavouring to gain upon heathenism, and enlarge the borders of the Church. The Romans, who could not bear this alteration in religion, complained of him to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who was no friend to the Christians. Lucius being examined by the emperor's order, and refusing to renounce his belief, was sentenced to execution. Understanding his doom, he absconded for some time in a cave; but being afterwards discovered by some of the infidels, the governor of the country ordered him to be brought to a place called Mars's castle, near the city of Chur, where, on the third of December, he suffered martyrdom. His sister Emerita is likewise said to have had the same honourable exit, after she had converted the greatest part of Rhaetia to Christianity. The place where she suffered was Trimontium, a castle, about a league distant from Chur, or Coire. Thus far the story of king Lucius and his sister, as Velserus and several others report it: but this relation is contradicted by Achilles Gassar, a writer of character, who positively affirms, "that Lucius, the German preacher, was a different person from the British king, who never travelled out of the island." This last account seems most probable: for both Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, and other British historians, tell us, Lucius died at Gloucester, and was buried in the great church there. After this prince's death, which happened in the year of our Lord 201, the Roman interest, as Matthew of Westminster

King Lucius's Travels into Gaul and Germany very questionable.

*Rerum August. Vin-
delic. lib. 6.
ad an. 179.
Gassar. in
Augustanæ
Urbis De-
scriptione.*

*The Death
of Lucius.
An. Dom.
201.*

ster continues, declined in Britain, and the country was much embroiled till things were settled again by the coming of the emperor Septimius Severus.

A brief Account of Britain, with relation to the State.

To this account of Church affairs, I shall add something briefly concerning the condition of the island with relation to the State. And having already had occasion to mention somewhat upon this head as far as part of the reign of Domitian, I shall go on at that period.

Tacit. in Vit. Agric. Cambd. Britan.

Agricola, Domitian's general, and viceroy in Britain, having marched into the northern part of the island, as far as Gramp-hill or Grantsbain, defeated Galgacus, general of the Caledonians, in a main battle, and brought this part of Britain to a submission, sailed round the island, and arrived at Richborough, in Kent, from whence they set out.

Sueton. Dom. cap. 10.

The whole island being thus discovered, and in a manner conquered, and the south part of it brought under the regulations of a province, Agricola informed the emperor of his success, who, envying his good fortune, recalled him, and sent Salustius Lucullius for his successor, who received the country in a very good and settled condition. This Lucullius held his post but a short time, and did little memorable, being put to death by the emperor's order, for suffering certain pikes, of a new fashion, to be called Lucullians.

Domitian being slain in the year of our Lord 96, Nerva succeeded him, in whose short reign we find nothing remarkable in Britain; neither is there much history for this island in the reign of Trajan, only some authors take notice that the Britons made an attempt to recover their liberty, but were quickly checked.

Adrian, who came to the empire in the year of our Lord 117, being informed that the northern Britons made an irruption into the Roman province, dispatched Julius Severus to suppress them: but this general being recalled for an expedition against the Jews in Syria, could not finish the enterprize. And therefore, to hinder the unsubdued natives from gaining farther upon the Romans, the emperor came in person, with an army; and with this reinforcement charged the northern Britons, recovered such places of strength as they had taken, and forced them to retire into the woods. And, for the better security of the province, he threw up a wall of eighty miles in length to defend the frontiers. This wall, extending from the

Irish to the German sea, began near Bulness, and passing over Eden, or Solway Frith, was carried on by Carlisle, and ended at Walsend, about three miles from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Spartian. in Hadrian. Cambd. Brit.

The provincial Britons, now fearing nothing so much as an invasion from their northern countrymen, stuck to the interest of the empire, and willingly conformed to the Roman customs and laws.

Upon Adrian's death, in the year of our Lord 138, Antoninus Pius mounted the throne, whose general, Lollius Urbicus, driving the enemy farther northward, built another wall between Dunbritton and Edinburgh Frith. For this fortification, though commonly called Severus's wall, was built in the reign of Antonius Pius. Capitolin. in Anton. Pio, cap. 5.

The next emperors were Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, who governed jointly till the death of the latter. In this reign, Calphurnius Agricola had the sword in Britain, who being well qualified both for the civil and military part, quieted the disturbances of the north, and reconciled the barbarians to a submission. And thus the affairs of the island continued easy till about the year of our Lord 186, when the northern Britons having forced the wall, surprised the Roman camp, cut most of the troops with the general in pieces, and marching onward harassed the province to a great extent. Cambd. Brit. Dio. lib. 72.

Commodus, who was now emperor, being terrified with this misfortune, sent Ulpius Marcellus against them, who being a person of great courage, temper, and experience, quickly chastised the Britons for their incursion, and revived the discipline of the army.

Commodus, being displeased with his general's reputation, put him out of commission, and gave the government of Britain to Helvius Pertinax, who, at his arrival, found the army mutinous, and out of order: this difficulty he got over, and punished the mutineers, though with great hazard to his person. However, having no fancy for the employment, he got leave to resign, being succeeded by Clodius Albinus. But this general, being misinformed about the death of Commodus, and haranguing his troops in favour of an aristocracy under the senate, Commodus was so enraged at this liberty, that he presently discharged him, sending Junius Severus in his room; of whose government, either for time or action, we have little of certainty. Commodus, being murdered not long after (A. D. 192),

and the reigns of Pertinax and Didius Julianus being very short, we find Albinus again at the head of an army in Britain, in the beginning of Severus's reign : these two competitors trying their fortune in a battle near Lyons, Albinus was defeated and killed. And now Severus, being possessed of the empire without a rival, divided Britain into two governments ; giving the north part to Virius Lupus, who was so incommoded by the incursions of the Meatae and Caledonians, that he was forced to purchase a peace.

Spartian. in
Sev. cap. 6.
Dio. lib. 75.
*The history
of the
Church
re-assumed.*
Bede, lib. 1.
Hist. Eccles.
cap. 4. An-
nales Anglo-
Saxon. Flo-
rentius Wi-
gorniensis.
Henry of
Huntington,
Radulphus
de Diceto,
&c.

To return to the British Church, where, from the death of Lucius to the Diocletian persecution, the history, for about eighty years, is in a manner sunk. However, we are thus far certain, both from ancient and modern, from our own and foreign writers, that the Christian religion held on, through the whole period, without the least interruption. For this point, beside the authors in the margin, I shall produce a testimony or two from the Fathers.

Origen, who died in the year of our Lord 253, puts this question, in his fourth Homily upon Ezekiel : " When," says he, " did ever the country of Britain own the unity of the Godhead before the coming of our Saviour ?" And, in his sixth Homily, upon the first chapter of St. Luke, he tells us, that " the influence of the Gospel, and the power of our Saviour's kingdom, reached as far as Britain, which seemed to lie in another division of the world."

And Tertullian, who lived before Origen, in his list of the converted nations, mentions " the different clans of the Moors, the provinces of Spain, from one end to the other, the country of the Gauls, and that in Britain, the Gospel had made its way through places impregnable against the Roman arms." And a little after he adds ; " the Germans are not suffered to pass their bounds ; the Britons are, as it were, imprisoned by the ocean ; the Moors are kept within compass, and blocked up with the Roman legions : nay, the victorious empire itself is not without its limits and *non ultra* ; but the dominions of our Saviour have no frontiers to confine them : his authority is owned in every climate, and his majesty adored by all the nations above mentioned."

Tertul. lib.
advers.
Judeos
cap. 7.

To the testimonies of Origen and Tertullian, we may add those of Gildas and Bede, the one a Briton, the other a Saxon, and both of them natives of this island. Gildas, who lived in

Gild. Hist.
p. 11.

the middle of the sixth century, informs us, that Christianity continued here to the Diocletian persecution ; and Bede affirms the same thing, adding withal, that the Britons were constant to their profession, and maintained the faith without apostasy or heretical corruption.

Lib. 1. Eccles. Hist. cap. 4.

Before I proceed any farther upon this persecution, I shall run through the interval in a word or two ; and just touch upon the British affairs, with reference to the Roman empire.

Severus having defeated his rivals, and grown absolute in the empire, was at leisure to attend the business of this island ; from whence he had lately received intelligence by Virius Lupus, that the northern Britons had broke into the Roman province, and harassed the country ; and that there was need of a reinforcement to deal with them. The emperor Severus, being an ambitious prince, was glad of the news, in hopes of a triumph ; to this purpose, he goes in person in the expedition. The enemy being discouraged with the formidableness of the preparations, sent an embassy to excuse what they had done, and beg a peace. But the emperor, being unwilling to lose the opportunity of a victory, threw in delays, and drew out the treaty in length ; and when his troops were ready to march, he dismissed the ambassadors, without concluding upon any articles.

Herod. lib. 3. *Severus makes an expedition into Britain. The difficulties and success of the enterprise.*

At his arrival in Britain, he found great difficulties in his march, being obliged to pass a great many rivers and morasses, to cut down woods, dig through hills, and make causeways over places otherwise unpassable. These disadvantages were a great fatigue to his forces, and lessened them to the number of fifty thousand : however, the emperor pursued his point, and held on his march to the extremity of the island ; and, in fine, obliged the northern Britons to lay down their arms, submit to a peace, and resign a great part of their country. He likewise strengthened Adrian's wall, repairing it with stone, and making it a fortification of twelve foot high, and eight foot thick, with towers and battlements at proper distances. At his return into the province, he gave the command of the army to his eldest son Antoninus Caracalla, committing the administration of justice to his youngest son Geta.

Dio. lib. 76.

Spart. in Sever. cap. 18. *Cambden Brit.*

The emperor had no sooner quitted the enemy's country, but they began to draw their troops together ; upon which he ordered his army to fall upon them, and give no quarter ; but before his commands were executed, he died at York.

Caracalla makes a peace with the unsubdued Britons, and leaves the country.

Cambd.
Brit.

He was succeeded by his son Caracalla, in the year of our Lord 211, who made peace with the Britons, and receiving hostages, returned to Rome. From this time there is a silent interval of the affairs of this island for many years; only it is probable, some of the thirty tyrants, as Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, Tetricus, and Marius, in the reign of Gallienus, might usurp the government here; as may be conjectured by their coins, which have been found in great quantities.

Carausius revolts, and sets up for himself in Britain.

In the year of our Lord 284, Dioclesian was proclaimed emperor; in the third year of whose reign, Carausius, a person of no extraction, but of great courage and abilities, and of an enterprising temper, gave Dioclesian some trouble in Britain. This Carausius, being ordered to guard the coasts against the Franks and Saxons, misbehaving himself in his post, and being suspected of holding a correspondence with the enemy, was ordered to be executed by Maximianus, who was now raised by Dioclesian to a partnership in the empire. Carausius having notice of this order, assumed the purple in his own defence, and set up for himself: and seizing upon Britain, held it seven years, maintaining his ground with great conduct and resolution; but at last he was assassinated by Allectus, a friend of his, whom he had used with the greatest confidence, and trusted with the main of his affairs. This Allectus usurped the island three years, and was then slain in the field by the præfectus prætorio Asclepiodotus, who commanded under Constantius Chlorus. And thus, after ten years' revolt, Britain was recovered to the Roman emperors.

Allectus murders Carausius, and succeeds in his usurpation.

Bede, Eccles. Hist.
lib. 1. cap. 6.

Cent. IV.

The Dioclesian persecution.

This reign of Dioclesian brings the history to the Church, which now suffered a terrible persecution. This storm broke out at Nicomedia, in February, A. D. 303, when an imperial edict was published for pulling down churches, and burning the holy Scriptures; that no Christians should be capable of any office or post of honour; that they should be outlawed, and barred the privilege of maintaining an action; and that no pretence of quality should excuse them from being put to the torture.

Lactant. de mort. persec.
Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 8.

This dreadful persecution being no less general than violent, Britain had a share in the severity: and though Constantius Chlorus, who was a favourer of the Christians, had the government of Britain at this time, yet being no more than Cæsar, he was under the jurisdiction of Dioclesian and Maximianus, and obliged to execute their orders: for, as Aurelius Victor ob-

Victor. in Trajan.

serves, though the titles of Augustus and Cæsar were both names of sovereignty, yet the latter had more of sound than power in it, being perfectly under the command of him that was Augustus: and, therefore, Lactantius says, when Dioclesian called Galerius Cæsar, after his defeating the Persians; Galerius replied, in a question, with some disgust, “Quousque Cæsar?”—How long must I be Cæsar? meaning, he expected to be advanced to the supreme station of Augustus. Constantius, therefore, having no more than a subordinate command when the Dioclesian persecution came on, was forced to see some rigorous orders put in execution. Thus Lactantius informs us, that “the edict against the Christians was sent to Constantius without asking his consent:” and he confesses, Constantius complied so far as to “pull down their churches.” But his kindness, when declared Augustus, made the Christians willing to forget what they had suffered under him in other respects. From this observation, we may conclude the persecution was general, till Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the empire, A. D. 305: upon which, Constantius being declared Augustus, the persecution ceased in Britain and other places of the west; where, Eusebius affirms, it did not last two years, though it continued ten in the east. But though the persecution was comparatively short, yet it went to the extremity of punishment, and took away the lives of several Christians.

Lactant. de
Mort. Per-
sec. cap. 9.

Id. cap. 15.

Euseb. de
Martyrol.
Pal. c. 13.

When Gildas comes to this period, he first gives a general description of what the Christians suffered, in these words:—“The churches,” says he, “were demolished throughout the whole empire; the holy Scriptures searched for and burnt in the streets, and the priests and people dragged to the shambles and butchered like sheep; insomuch, that in some provinces there was scarcely any remains of Christianity. How miserably the Christians were forced to fly from one country to another? What slaughters? What various kinds of torment? What numbers were frightened into apostacy, and how gloriously others endured the trial, and were constant to martyrdom? In short, how savage the heathens were in their persecution, and how remarkable the Christians, for their patience, may be learned from ecclesiastical history: during which time, the whole Church seemed to be under execution, and charging bravely through this ill-natured inhospitable world, marched (as it were) in whole bodies to heaven.”

Hist. p. 11.

Gildas's Description of the Persecution in Britain.

Thus much in general ; and then coming to his own country, Britain, he continues : “ That God, in his great mercy, willing that all men should be saved, fortified the martyrs with extraordinary courage, and raised them to a noble instance of perseverance ; whose places of burial, were they not in the possession of a barbarous and foreign nation, might refresh the idea of their sufferings, and be a serviceable sight to our countrymen.”

After this, Gildas goes on and tells us, that St. Alban of Verulam, Aaron, and Julius of Caerleon, and others of both sexes in several places, suffered martyrdom with the utmost firmness and resolution. As for St. Alban, he relates how he sheltered a confessor ; with what fortitude he suffered, what miracles he wrought, and what impression he made on the executioner : but this being mentioned more at large by Bede, I shall wave the particulars till I come to that author. But to take leave of Gildas, who adds, “ that many other Christians were dispatched with diversity of torture, and torn limb from limb in a most unheard of and cruel manner ; that those who escaped the fury of their persecutors retired to woods and deserts, and hid themselves in caves, where they continued confessors till God was pleased to revenge their usage upon their persecutors, and afford better times to the Church.”

St. Alban's martyrdom.

Amongst the British martyrs, St. Alban being not only the first but the most eminent, I shall be somewhat more particular in the relation. St. Alban is said to have been a person of noble extraction ; he lived in the town of Verulam, which had the privilege of a Roman colony. It stood near our St. Alban's, and was sacked at a miserable rate by the Britons, under the conduct of Boadicea, when Suetonius Paulinus was Nero's general and governor in this island. Thus much for the place. As for the martyr, he is mentioned by Venantius Fortunatus, among the rest of his glorious catalogue :

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. Dio. lib. 62.

Lib. 8. Carm.

Albanum egregium fœcunda Britannia profert.

About the year of our Lord 303, when Dioclesian and Maximianus Herculeus were joint emperors, the persecution spread from the east as far as Britain. At this time, St. Alban, though a pagan, yet being of a generous and hospitable temper, entertained a clergyman that absconded upon the score

of the persecution. St. Alban being affected with the pious behaviour of this stranger, who spent a great part of his time in prayer, and other religious exercises, was suddenly wrought upon by the grace of God to imitate his example. And being instructed by him, was brought from his error by degrees, and at last thoroughly converted. This clergyman continuing several days at St. Alban's house, the Roman governor happened to hear of it; upon which he ordered some of his soldiers to make search and apprehend him; who, coming to the house, St. Alban putting on the clergyman's habit and so counterfeiting his person to the soldiers, was bound and carried off to the judge. Now it happened that this magistrate was standing by the altars, and offering sacrifice to the pretended deities, when St. Alban was brought before him. The appearing of this saint put him into a great passion; and thus, being enraged that the other should presume to shelter a Christian, and expose himself to danger with such resolution, ordered him to be dragged to the statues of his idols, and then menaced him in this manner:—"Because," says he, "you have had the assurance to conceal a sacrilegious person, and one that has revolted from the gods, rather than deliver him into the hands of justice, that he might be punished for his blasphemy; for this misbehaviour you shall be treated like that criminal, if you pretend to go off from our religion." But St. Alban, who frankly declared himself a Christian, was not at all moved by the threatenings of this magistrate, but told him plainly he could not obey his orders. The judge then asking him about his family, he answered, That question was foreign to the purpose; but if he was desirous of being informed of the true religion, he told him he was a Christian, and was ready to be serviceable to him under that character. Upon this, the judge asking his name, St. Alban satisfied his question, adding, withal, that he was a constant worshipper of the living and true God. The judge, being worked up into rage by his answers, commanded him to sacrifice immediately to the immortal gods, if he expected to be for ever happy. St. Alban told him, that those sacrifices were offered to evil spirits; that the pagans paid homage to devils, who were in no condition to assist their votaries, or make them a jot the better for their application. So far was this worship from procuring any advantage, that, on the other side, those who sacrificed to

Bede Ec-
cles. Hist.
lib. 1. cap. 7.

these statues would be eternally punished in hell for their idolatry. By the freedom of this discourse, the judge being blown up to the utmost fury, ordered the holy confessor to be seized by the officers, and put to the question ; imagining that pain might go farther with him than menacing ; that his courage might give way, and his constancy be overcome by torture. But St. Alban disappointed the court, and though they strained their invention to put him to pain, yet he seemed to suffer not only with patience, but satisfaction. When the judge perceived the rack signified nothing, and that St. Alban was not to be wrought on by any terror, he ordered him to be beheaded. Being led to execution, he was to pass over a river ; and coming to the bridge, he found a vast crowd of people, of all ages and degrees, many of which were supposed to attend him out of respect. The bridge being blocked up with this vast number, who could scarcely all have passed till night, St. Alban, whose zeal could not well digest any delay of his martyrdom, came to the river-side, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, made a mental prayer : upon which the stream immediately parting, the channel was passable. This, we may imagine, was a surprising spectacle to the company, since the executioner himself was converted by it. This man being struck with the miracle, and touched with the grace of God, threw away his drawn sword ; and when he came to the place, fell down at St. Alban's feet, and desired that, instead of beheading him, he might have the honour to die with him, or rather for him, if they pleased. The headsman turning Christian, made a stop in the execution : upon which St. Alban walked up a neighbouring hill, where, praying for water, a fountain burst out immediately at his feet. Here the noble martyr suffered, and received his crown : and the person that struck off his head was seized with exemplary vengeance, his eyes dropping out of his head immediately upon the stroke given to St. Alban. That soldier was likewise beheaded at the same time who refused to execute St. Alban ; who notwithstanding he had not time to receive the initiating sacrament, yet, being baptized in his blood, we may conclude him qualified for heaven. The judge being surprised with these unexpected accidents, and astonished with the interpositions of heaven, ordered a stop to be put to the persecution.

St. Alban suffered upon the 20th of June, near the city of Verulam, which, in Bede's time, was called Uverlamacestir, or Uvarlingacestir. In this place, when the times grew more favourable, there was a stately church built in honour of the martyr's memory, where, as Bede continues, sick people are recovered, and several miraculous cures performed to this very day. The place where St. Alban suffered was called Holm Hurst by the Saxons, which signifies a woody place.

This relation contains an account of the ancient acts of St. Alban's martyrdom, which Bede has inserted in his Ecclesiastical History, without making the least question of the authority. This narrative used likewise to be read upon St. Alban's anniversary in the English Church, before the Norman conquest, as appears by the Saxon copy in the Cambridge edition of Bede; and by the breviary, secundum usum Sarum; first probably drawn up by Osmund, who might receive this particular service, put into form by Alfrick, who was abbot of St. Alban's about the end of the tenth century. Matthew Paris, in his History of the Abbots of St. Alban's, tells us, that "this Alfrick, upon the promotion of his brother Leofrick to the see of Canterbury, being chosen abbot of St. Alban's, drew up the short history of St. Alban's sufferings, which is now used in the Church, and set notes to it; and by the interest of his brother, the archbishop, brought the form into public use throughout the province, and raised the anniversary to a holyday." This relation concerning St. Alban, mentioned by Bede, agrees exactly with a very ancient account written in the Verulamian or British language, as Matthew Paris informs us. The account translated out of British into Latin by one Unwo, a priest, may be seen in archbishop Usher, who likewise takes notice of an old inscription dug up in St. Alban's church, in the year 1257, with these words, "In this mausoleum was found the venerable corps of St. Alban, the proto-martyr of Britain." This inscription, upon a leaden plate, is thought to have been made in the reign of king Offa.

Bede, *ibid.*
lib. Landa-
ven. fol. 14.

Usher, *Bri-*
tan. Eccles.
Antiq. c. 7.

Usher, *ibid.*

The miracles of a fountain breaking out at St. Alban's feet, and the executioner's eyes dropping out of his head, are unmentioned by Gildas, who only takes notice of his drying up a passage in the river. But then we are to observe, that Gildas is very brief, and does not seem to design a detail

of circumstances. And to show that Bede is not singular in recounting these miracles, Ado Viennensis, Rabanas Maurus, Notkerus, and Matheus Florilegus, affirm the same thing.

Ibid.

No reason to disbelieve the miracles wrought by St. Alban.

As for St. Alban's miracles, being attested by authors of such antiquity and credit, I do not see why they should be questioned. That miracles were wrought in the Church, at this time of day, is clear from the writings of the ancients. To suppose there are no miracles but those in the Bible, is to believe too little. To imagine that God should exert his omnipotence, and appear supernaturally for his servants in no place but Jewry, and in no age since the apostles, is an unreasonable fancy: for since the world was not all converted in the apostles' times, and God designed the further enlargement of his Church, why should we not believe He should give the pagans the highest proof of the truth of Christianity, and honour his servants with the most undisputed credentials. Now if this is very reasonable to suppose, why should St. Alban's miracles be disbelieved, the occasion being great enough for such an extraordinary interposition? For, by this means, the martyr must have been mightily supported, the British Christians fortified against the persecution, and the pagans surprised into a conversion.

St. Alban's fortitude and miracles instrumental in converting others.
Matth. Paris. Histor. major. ad an. 1178. Harpsfield. Histor. Eccles. Anglic. c. 10. Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. c. 7.

The behaviour of St. Alban at his death, and other extraordinary circumstances, made, as we may easily imagine, a strong impression upon the company; insomuch that many of them were much altered from their old sentiments, and entertained very different notions of Christianity from what they had formerly. Being thus well prepared, one of them, more forward than the rest, delivered himself to this purpose: he told them, that if St. Alban had proved his belief by nothing but bare rhetoric, he should not have wondered if his countrymen had taken no notice of the discourse; for why should they surrender themselves to a persuasion which stood condemned by the constitution, contradicted the religious customs of their ancestors, and seemed likewise not very reconcileable to reason itself? But since he produced miracles for his doctrine, not to be gained over by such irresistible evidence, was in effect to stand out against the omnipotency of God: for that God was the author of these wonderful effects, is beyond all question. With what colour of sense, then, can we dispute the

truth of those tenets, and the importance of that doctrine, thus supernaturally attested? For when, says he, was ever anything of this kind performed by our deities, or heard of in our religion? And, besides all this, the character of the man was altogether admirable: his patience and constancy, his temper and devotion, were particularly remarkable; insomuch that, all things considered, his behaviour seems almost as great a miracle as any of the rest. When he was affronted and outraged, he seemed not at all uneasy, nor made any return in resenting language; nor, indeed, seemed to have any passion about him, unless that of pity. And when he was brought to the place of execution, there was so much unconcernedness and pleasure in his face, as if he had been going to an entertainment. Who, upon reflection, does not easily perceive that Alban was supported with more than human assistance; and if such greatness and constancy are the peculiar privileges of divine favour, the next question is, What sort of people are qualified for it? Does God use to dignify wicked and profligate persons with such a particular countenance? No, certainly; such blessings are bestowed on none but the virtuous and devout. And, at last, he concluded that the best service they could do for themselves and country was to resign to St. Alban's principles, and to imitate his practice.

This discourse being well received by the company, they unanimously declared for the Christian religion; and wanting a person to inform them more fully, and assist them in religious offices, they went in quest of the clergyman lodged by St. Alban. This old man had taken a journey into Wales, where his preaching was extraordinarily successful, insomuch that he was talked of, for his conversions, far and near. The men of Verulam above mentioned, being informed where to find St. Alban's instructor, travelled, about a thousand of them, into Wales, where they were all baptized by him. This extraordinary visit promoted the progress of Christianity, and made the pagans still more desirous of inquiring into it. But the burghers of Verulam, who continued heathens, being disturbed at the losing so many of their neighbours, who, upon their turning Christians, settled in Wales; being disturbed, I say, at this accident, they formed themselves into troops, and made an expedition against them; and, without any regard either to friendship, blood, or innocence, fell upon their

townsmen, the new converts, and cut them in pieces. And as for the priest that had taken care of them, they brought him off to Verulam, to put him to a more cruel death. Upon his drawing near the city, the Verulamians ran out in a rage to see him, laying the death of their friends and relations all to his charge. Being thus heated with revenge, they seized the holy man, used him with all the barbarity imaginable, and hacked and wounded him almost in every part; under all which cruelty he showed no signs of the least uneasiness, but seemed impregnable against torture, and superior to the impressions of pain. Indeed the people wondered to see an old infirm body bear up under so much execution, a small part of which was sufficient to dispatch the most robust person.

This being a very surprising spectacle, the people were divided in their opinion about the martyr; some imputing this extraordinary fortitude to the force of witchcraft, and others to a divine power. These latter took the courage to remonstrate loudly against the barbarity of their countrymen: they told them it was a scandalous instance of passion to treat an innocent person at such a savage rate, and that it was inhumanity to use even the worst malefactor with such rigour: they desired to know what crime they could lay to his charge; unless it was a fault to bring people off from a bloody and unreasonable religion, and from the excesses of a brutish and libertine behaviour; whereas, if they rightly considered the case, they ought to receive this person with all imaginable respect, and put him in a station of ease and honour for the public service he had done them, by teaching people the worship of the true God, and promoting such a reformation of manners. As for themselves, they declared, they looked upon him as a peculiar favourite of heaven, and that his persecutors were highly under the divine displeasure, for putting such undeserved usage upon an innocent man. Having spoken their mind with this plainness, they recommended themselves to our Saviour, and desired the martyr to pray for them: upon which the infidel mob fell upon them and dispatched them, with the martyr above mentioned.

This holy man (by some called Amphibalus) suffered at Redburn, about three miles from Verulam, in which town Thomas Rudburn, who wrote in the fifteenth century, affirms,

there were two knives of an extraordinary size, supposed to be used upon this occasion.

It is granted, the martyrdom of this clergyman, St. Alban's guest, is neither mentioned in Gildas, Bede, nor any of the ancient martyrologies; but Matthew Paris and other historians vouch the matter of fact from a book of great antiquity in St. Alban's monastery, which, I suppose, is the same with the author that Harpsfield makes older than Bede. As for the name Amphibalus, which is given to this clergyman that suffered, neither Gildas, Bede, nor the Saxon commemoration of St. Alban, call him by this or any other name. Geoffrey of Monmouth being the first author that mentions Amphibalus, which appellation, Archbishop Usher supposes, belongs more to the man's habit than his person.

In the year of our Lord 305, Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the empire; upon which Galerius and Constantius Chlorus were declared Augusti, and governed by a division independently of each other: and the western provinces, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, falling to Constantius's share, the persecution ceased, and the Christians were undisturbed in those parts. Thus Eusebius tells us, that the Christians under Constantius had the liberty of their religion, and were protected from injury and insult. His meaning is, that they lived in this condition of indisturbance, after Constantius was raised to the supreme command: for when he was only Cæsar, he submitted so far to Dioclesian's edict, as to practise some severities against them, as has been already observed: but that these rigours were perfectly against his inclination, appears by his countenance afterwards. This Constantius Chlorus, though a great favourer of the Christians, was never professedly of their religion. Cambden takes notice of the pagan solemnities at his funeral, and that his deification was represented upon several coins. This learned antiquary therefore seems to strain in his panegyric when he calls Constantius an emperor "surpassing in all virtue and Christian piety." Neither is he less mistaken, in making him the founder of a bishopric at York.

It is true, Constantius having held his division of the empire somewhat more than a year, died in this city, leaving the sovereignty to his eldest son Constantine. Thus the Greek Menæon informs us, that Constantius made Constantine his

Harpsfield.
Hist. Eccles. Anglie.
Bede Hist. Eccles. l. 1. p. 36. edit. Cantab.
Amphibalus first mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth.
Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiq. c. 7. p. 78.
Constantius Chlorus declared emperor, puts a stop to the persecution.
An. Dom. 305.
Euseb.
Hist. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Cambd. Britan. description of York.

Ibid. p. 703.

Constantine succeeds his father Constantius.
Eutrop.
Hist. lib. 10.
Euseb. de

Vit. Constantini, lib. 1. cap. 15.

Menæ. Mai. 21.

Eumen.
Panegyric.

heir in the empire, being then in Britain. To which, not to mention any more, we may add the testimony of the orator Eumenius, in his harangue to Constantine, where he calls Britain the "most fortunate country in the universe, for having the honour of seeing Constantine first put on his purple there."

Euseb. de
Vit. Con-
stant. lib. 1.
cap. 11.

As for Constantius, though he was no declared Christian, yet was he so far advanced as to acknowledge the true God. Eusebius mentions one remarkable passage concerning this prince. Having a mind to examine the temper of his courtiers, he pretended himself an enemy to the Christian religion, ordering his servants to sacrifice to the gods, under the penalty of being discharged, and losing his favour. Those who were Christians in earnest, told him plainly they must retire and resign their business, and that the loss of God's favour must not be hazarded to comply with their prince: but others, who professed Christianity before, shrunk under the test. And when they found their religion discountenanced by Constantius, told him they were ready to sacrifice rather than incur his displeasure. Constantius having discovered the men, reprimanded them sharply, and dismissed them the court, letting them know withal, that he had no opinion of persons of such a mercenary belief, whose persuasion was governed by their interest; and that those would never be true to their prince that were thus false to their God. And as for the others that were prepared to suffer, he commended them highly for their constancy, esteemed them as his best friends, and gave them a share in the administration.

Constantine
the Great
born in Bri-
tain.

To return to Constantine, who is said to have been born in Britain, not only by our English historians, but by the generality of others. The learned Cambden and Lipsius had some dispute about this matter: Cambden urges the general consent of historians, excepting Cedrenus and Nicephorus, both modern authors, for the affirmative. Lipsius, among other things, objects the testimony of Julius Firmicius, who writes, that "Constantine the Great was born at Tharsus," &c. To this Cambden returns, that it should be written Constantius Maximus, instead of Constantinus, and vouches two Oxford manuscripts for the reading. And to prove these manuscripts authentic, and that the text is to be understood, not of Constantius Chlorus, but of Constantius's grandson, observes,

that Julius Firmicus wrote in the reign of Constantius, and not till about eighteen years after the death of Constantine the Great. The learned Cambden goes on, and argues from the text, where the prince mentioned is called "emperor of the whole world," which agrees to Constantius; who, after the death of his brothers Constantine and Constance, was possessed of all the empire, and had the style of Maximus, as appears by several coins. Farther, Firmicus adds, that the prince contested, "a primo ætatis gradu, as it were from his infancy, had the government put in his hands." This passage cannot be affirmed of Constantine the Great; for he was thirty years of age before he had this sublime character. But as for his son Constantius, it may be applied to him without a strain; for as Cambden collects from Firmicus's preface, he was made Cæsar, and governor of the eastern part of the empire at his father's vicennalia, when he was no more than eight or nine years of age.

Cambden's
Letter to
Lipsius.
Vid. Usher
Britan. Eccles.
Antiq. p. 100.

At last, Cambden meets with something of a difficulty in Firmicus, and that is the mention of the emperor's children, calling them "invictissimos Cæsares, et dominos." Now it is certain Constantius had no issue: to this the learned antiquary replies, that it is possible the author might mean Gallus and Julianus, who, when they were declared Cæsars, were adopted by the emperor. But not relying much upon this reply, he imagines Firmicus's words may be interpreted as a sort of wish, and a complimentary presage that Constantius might have children that might answer the glorious character of invincible, &c. above mentioned. To fortify the opinion of the learned antiquary, Primate Usher cites another panegyrist upon Constantine's marriage, who, addressing the emperor and mentioning his father Constantius, "Liberavit ille," says he, "Britannias servitute; tu etiam nobiles, illic oriendo, fecisti;" that is, "He restored Britain to her liberty, which country was much honoured by your majesty's being born there."

Usher Britan.
Eccles. Antiq. c. 8.

To proceed, and come farther down. A Saxon writer of the life of Helena affirms this lady to have been a person of great quality, and that her son Constantine was born in Britain. Henry of Huntington makes Helena the daughter of Coel, king of Colechester. And William of Malmesbury is clear for Constantine's British extraction, and affirms it the general belief of his countrymen. But, to allege no more of our

Usher. Britan.
Eccles. Antiquit.

Hist. lib. 15.

Malmesbur.
de Regib. Anglor.

Cap. 13.

English historians, Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, in his book *de Administrando Imperio*, takes notice of an order of Constantine's the Great, written upon the altar of St. Sophia's church; the contents of it were, that no Roman emperor should intermarry with any foreigner, unless with the Franks; "these being excepted, because Constantine the Great was born in those parts." Now it is very well known, that the later Greeks comprehended all the western Europeans under the name of Franks; which is likewise the custom of the Turks at this day. And if Constantine the Great was a Frank, it will follow that he was born in Britain, because no other western country in Europe ever pretended to that honour. But here it is objected, on the other side, that Bede, who was an author of credit, makes no mention of Constantine's being born in Britain. This omission, Lipsius fancies, he would not have been guilty of, had he been furnished with matter of fact for the affirmative. To this it may be replied, that Bede, being a Saxon, was not so nearly concerned in the British honour. And if we consider this author, we shall find him touch very briefly upon the British Church history. Indeed, the Saxons, at their first coming, had no good understanding with the natives, and therefore we need not wonder if they were less diligent in searching for records, and dilating upon the advantages of a nation they did not fancy. But all these reasons and authorities will not satisfy some modern authors, who are of opinion that Constantine the Great was born at Naissus in Dacia, now called Nissa in Servia.

Lipsius's
Letter to
Camden.
Usher, Britan.
Eccles.
Antiquit.
cap. 8.

Monsieur
Pagi, &c.

But to pass from the place of Constantine's birth, to the condition of the Church under his government: the first thing he did was to give the Christians "a free exercise of their religion." This happy change of the times is mentioned by Gildas, who tells us, that "after the ten years' severity was over, and the authors of the persecution taken off by remarkable judgments, the Christians were returned to a state of ease; the victorious cross was displayed, the churches rebuilt, and the holy solemnities kept without disturbance." And from this time we may date the flourishing state of the British Church. And not long after, it was, as Florilegus and Bede relate, that a stately church was built at Verulam, in honour of St. Alban.

A. D. 306.
Lactant. de
Mort. Per-
sec.
Gild. Hist.
p. 12.

Floril. His-
tor. ad an.
Chri. 313.
Bede, Eccles.
Hist. l. 1.
c. 7.

But we meet with a farther evidence of the settled condition

of the British Churches, in the record of the prelates that went from hence to the council at Arles; to which we find the subscriptions of three British bishops, viz. Eborius bishop of York, Restitutus bishop of London, and Adelfius bishop de civitate colonia Londinensium. But the difficulty is, what place is meant by the civitas colonia Londinensium. Selden and Sir H. Spelman suppose it the old colony of Maldon, or Camalodunum: but the learned Dr. Stillingfleet conceives a more probable sense may be given it: he concludes it unreasonable to imagine, that every Roman colony or city sent a bishop upon such occasions; for then every council would have been far more numerous than they are represented. He thinks it improbable that Constantine should summon so great a number about the case of the Donatists, where the main business was only to hear the parties and pronounce judgment. This observation seems reasonable, if we consider that there were but nineteen bishops summoned to Rome to decide this controversy a little before. The learned Dr. Stillingfleet goes on, and collects from the subscriptions of the council of Arles, compared with a passage in St. Hilary, that there were no more than one bishop, with a presbyter or two, summoned out of a province, excepting those cities in the neighbourhood of Arles. This conjecture is confirmed by the emperor's summons to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse, in Sicily; which, by the way, is the only imperial summons to this council, extant, and which Baronius believes was couched in the same form with the rest. In this summons, Chrestus "is required to come out of that province, and bring two priests along with him." And St. Hilary, mentioning the councils of his time, particularly the council at Ancyra, and the great council at Ariminum, informs us, that one or two bishops were sent for out of a province. And thus, in the council before us, Chrestus comes from the province of Sicily, Quintasius out of that of Sardinia, and so in most of the rest we have a recital of the provinces from whence the bishops came. Now, when this council of Arles was convened, there were three provinces in Britain, as we may learn from the manuscript copy of Sextus Rufus, cited by Cambden. From whence we may reasonably infer, that since the other two British bishops, Eborius and Restitutus, belonged to the two provinces of Maxima Caesariensis and Britannia Prima; from hence, I say,

A. D. 314.

Sirmond.
Concil. Gal.
t. 1. p. 9, &c.*Three British bishops
subscribe to
the council
of Arles.*Spelman.
Concil.
vol. 1.

p. 39.

Stilling.

Antiquit.

of the

British

Churches,

p. 75, et

deinc.

Euseb. Ec-
cles. Hist.
lib. 10.
cap. 5.Baron.
A. D. 314.
n. 43.Hilar. de
Synod.Cambden.
Britan.
p. 111.

we may fairly conclude, the third bishop came from the third province of Britannia Secunda, wherein two noted colonies were settled; the one called Colonia Divana, in the coin of Septimus Geta, and Civitas Legionum, now Chester: the other, Civitas Legionis ad Yscam, where was a colony of the eleventh legion; which province is sometimes called Britannica Secunda. And thus, according to the true reading, the third bishop Adelfius must come *ex civit. col. Leg. II.* which, by the fault of the transcribers, might be changed to *ex civit. col. Londin.* Again, it is objected, that Britain was divided into four provinces, and that one of them was then called Flavius Cæsariensis. But here the learned Dr. Stillingfleet is of opinion, that Cambden's manuscript for the division of the British provinces is most to be relied on; I say Cambden, who tells us, that this fourth province was not heard of thus early; that it was afterwards so called from Flavius Theodosius, before whose time we never meet with Britannia Flavia.

Cambden.
Britan.
p. 111.

From what has been observed, it will follow that we are not to infer there were no more than three bishops in Britain, because they did not exceed that number at the council of Arles: on the other hand, we may rather conclude our prelates were more numerous, since it was the custom to send but one or two out of a province that was best furnished. Indeed, we have no reason to question the succession of bishops here from the first planting of Christianity: for why should we suppose the Church under any particular regulations in this island, and which were no where else to be met with? For in the primitive Church, and indeed within a few ages of our own, there was no part of the Catholic Church without a succession of bishops, which run up to the apostles. Thus we cannot carry the history of other Churches farther, than we find them governed by bishops. For although the first settlement of Christianity in Afric is somewhat difficult to determine; yet as soon as the Churches grew up into any notice, we meet with a council of their bishops, viz. of Agrippinus, and his brethren out of the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania. Now this Agrippinus was not the immediate predecessor of St. Cyprian, who suffered in the middle of the third century. Farther, Tertullian puts the proof of apostolical Churches upon the succession of bishops from the apostles, allowing no churches for such, unless they could prove their pedigree,

The apostolical succession of the British bishops.

Cypr. Ep. 71.

Tertul. de
Præscrip.
cap. 32.

and make out their claim this way. Now, this would be very weak inconclusive arguing, unless it had been generally agreed, that wherever the apostles formed any Churches, they likewise appointed bishops to govern them: we have all imaginable reason, therefore, to presume that the British Christians were under an episcopal administration from the very beginning; and that the Church here was monarchically governed, in conformity to the rest of Christendom: for notwithstanding the records of a lineal succession of our bishops of the first ages are not to be recovered, yet when the Dioclesian persecution was over, and the British Christians came to correspond freely with foreign Churches, we find they appeared with a proportionable number of bishops to those of other provinces: neither was their succession in the least disputed, their authority questioned, or their subscriptions refused by the Fathers at Arles; which is a clear argument, that their character was well vouched, and that they could make out their title from the apostles, as well as the rest of their brethren.

And since the British bishops had such an interest in the council of Arles, it will not be foreign to the subject to give an account of the proceedings of this assembly; the Churches of this island being bound by their representatives. I shall therefore, in the first place, give the reader a translation of their canons, being in number twenty-two.

*The canons
of the first
council of
Arles.*

“1. That Easter should be every where observed on the same day and time; and that the bishop of Rome should give notice of it according to custom.” But this latter part was altered, as Binius confesses, by the council of Nice, which referred this business to the bishop of Alexandria.

“2. That every clergyman was to continue in the diocese where he was ordained.”

“3. That those who renounce their military profession, now the persecution was ceased, were to be excommunicated.” The Latin runs thus: “Qui in pace arma projiciunt, excommunicentur.” Binius, Baronius, and Alaspinaeus are somewhat at a loss about the meaning of this canon: but the most probable construction seems to be this; that since the persecution was stopped, and the emperor turned Christian, and the soldiers not obliged to any idolatrous practices, as they had been under heathen princes; Constantine likewise,

Euseb. de
Vit. Con-
stant. lib. 2.
cap. 33.

as Eusebius informs us, having given them the liberty to resume, or quit their employment; the case standing thus, the council of Arles might probably apprehend, that if all Christians refused to serve in the field, they must have an army of heathens, which might be of ill consequence; and, therefore, since the profession of arms was now clogged with no unlawful conditions, the council made this canon, to prevent the inconveniences above mentioned.

“4 and 5. That those who drove chariots in the circus, and acted in the playhouse, should be excommunicated as long as they continued their business.”

“6. That those who were converted in their sickness, should have imposition of hands afterwards;” that is, they were to be put under discipline on their recovery.

“7. That those who were Christians, and made governors of remote places, should carry the communicatory letters of their own bishop along with them, and not be barred communion, unless they broke through the discipline of the Church.”

“8. That those who were baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity, should not be re-baptized.”

“9. That those who brought testimonials from confessors should be obliged to take communicatory letters from their bishop.”

“10. That any person who had proof of his wife’s adultery should be advised not to marry another, living the woman.”

“11. That those young women that took heathens for their husbands should, for some time, be refused communion.”

“12. That clergymen, who put out money to usury, should be excommunicated.”

“13. That those (bishops) who delivered the holy scriptures, or the Church plate, up to the heathens, in times of persecution, or had betrayed their brethren, were to be deposed upon conviction. However, their ordinations, if made in form, were to stand good.”

“14. That those who bring in a false information against their brethren are not to be admitted to communion till the point of death.”

“15. That deacons, who celebrate the Lord’s supper, go

beyond their commission, and therefore that practice shall not be allowed for the future."

"16. That those, who are under excommunication for their misbehaviour, must be restored in the same place where the censure passed upon them."

"17. That no one bishop should maltreat, or trample upon another;" which Albaspinæus interprets, of encroaching upon another's diocese.

"18. That city deacons should not presume beyond their character in the offices of religion, nor do any thing without the knowledge and consent of their respective priests."

"19. That foreign bishops, when they come into a city, may have the liberty of consecrating the holy sacrament."

"20. That no bishop ought to presume to ordain another to that character without having seven bishops to assist him; or at least three, in the consecration."

"21. That presbyters and deacons ought to officiate in the places in which they were ordained; and that those who ramble, and refuse to be governed by this order, are to be deposed."

"22. That those, who having turned apostates, and neither come to church, nor move for penance; if they happen afterwards to fall sick, and desire to be reconciled, they are not to be admitted to communion, unless they recover, and submit to a course of discipline."

Thus much for the canons. And now a word or two concerning the style of the council, and the manner of their application to the bishop of Rome. And here the form of saluting that see is very different from that of later ages; here are no signs of submission, no acknowledgment of supreme pastorage, or universal supremacy. By their language we may plainly understand, that they looked upon the authority of the council to be perfect in its legislative capacity, without the concurrence, or after-consent, of the bishop of Rome. Their words run thus:

"Quæ decrevimus communi concilio, charitati tuæ significamus, ut omnes sciant quod in futurum observare debeant." The independent authority of the council of Arles, and the terms of equality with which they treat the bishop of Rome. Baron. A. D. 314. n. 58.

Now, one would hardly have imagined that Baronius should have found out the necessity of the pope's confirmation from thence: for do not they plainly tell him, "The points

Ibid. n. 68.

Pet. de
Marca de
Concord.
Sacerd. et
Imperii.
l. 7. c. 14.
n. 2.

were already settled by common consent, and that they sent them to him to make them more public :” that is, according to Petrus de Marca, as the emperors sent their edicts to their præfecti prætorio, or viceroys ; which, without doubt, was not to give any new force to the sanction, or perfect the authority, but only to notify them to the subject, and provide for the execution. It is true the Fathers of Arles intimate, that the pope had a larger diocese ; but if these words had implied so much as even a patriarchal power over the bishops of this council, how could they have justified their right of making canons within themselves ? How could they have defended this legislative language, this independent way of treating the bishop of Rome ? in which they do no more than acquaint him with what they have done, and desire him to publish their orders. Would such freedom as this have been allowed in a council since the claim of the papal supremacy ? Would it not have been looked upon as a great failure of respect in a provincial council, even within any of the eastern patriarchates ? But at this time of day, the Fathers assembled at Arles thought *charitati tuæ*, your friendliness, ceremony enough, even for the see of Rome. They likewise call him dear brother, as St. Cyprian had often done before them. They let him know that they were convened at the instance or command of the emperor ; that they had the warrant of a divine authority, and a certain rule and standard of faith to justify, and direct their proceedings ; that the sentence they had pronounced was warranted by the divine commission and the authority of the Church. It is true, they tell him, they wish he had been there, and should have been glad of his vote and company ; or, as it is in the Latin, “ *Et utinam, Frater dilectissime, ad hoc tantum spectaculum interesset,*” or “ *interesse tanti fecisses* ———. *Et te pariter nobiscum judicante, cœtus noster majore lætitia exultasset.*” Was it possible for this council, who declared the completeness of their authority, and treated the pope with such familiarity,—was it possible, I say, for them to look upon that bishop as their supreme head, or that he had any paramount jurisdiction, to confirm or annul the acts of the council ? By what has been said, we may understand what opinion the British bishops of this century, and the rest of their order, had of the pope’s supremacy.

Baron. A. D.
314. n. 66.
Concil.
Labbe,
tom. i.
p. 1425.

At the breaking up of the council, Restitutus, bishop of London, is said to have brought home a copy of the canons with him.

Godwin de
Præsul. Spelman
Concil.
vol. i. p. 43.

About this time Kebius Corinnius, son of Sampson duke of Cornwall, is said to have been bishop of Anglesey, and to have converted North Wales.

Spelman,
ibid.

About eleven years after the synod of Arles, the famous council of Nice was convened. Now, in regard the list of the remaining subscriptions is imperfect, we cannot find any of the British bishops upon the roll, which it is very probable we might have done, if either Athanasius's Synodicon, mentioned by Socrates, or the Catalogue seen by Epiphanius, had been extant. For that the British bishops were present at this general council may be fairly presumed from the following circumstances. To begin: the emperor Constantine declares, that he intended to have as full an appearance of bishops as could be. For this purpose he sent out an universal summons, for the bishops to come from all quarters of the empire *ἀπανταχόθεν*, as Eusebius expresses it: and, presently after, he tell us, Constantine's edict was divulged *πανταχοῦ*, "all over his dominions." But how could this be, if the notice did not reach as far as Gaul and Britain? And, to make the journey practicable from remote places, Eusebius tells us, the emperor provided the bishops with carriages and other accommodations for their passage. To be thus furnished, they had *tractoriæ*; that is, imperial warrants, or recommendations to the governors of provinces, the form of which may be seen in Baronius. Farther, Constantine seems very well satisfied with the number of the bishops that appeared; from whence we may reasonably conclude, they came up to his expectation: for, in his Epistle to the Church of Alexandria, he tells them, "he had convened a great number of bishops." And still more fully in his Epistle to the Churches in general, he lets them know, "that it was necessary, for the settlement of the Christian faith, that all, or at least the greatest part of the bishops, should meet together." From whence it follows, the emperor made the council as full as might be. But how could such expressions be used, if the western provinces were unsummoned? In which parts, if we look back to the council of Arles, we shall find the prelates were very numerous. Now,

*Some of the
British
bishops in
all likelihood
present at
the council
of Nice.*
Socrat. lib. i.
c. 9.
Epiphanius.
Hær. 69.

Euseb. ibid.

Baron. A. D.
314. n. 48.

Socrat. lib. i.
cap. 6.

Socrat. ibid.

Euseb. Vit.
Const. lib. 3.
cap. 6.

Id. cap. 7.

as far as the summons reached, they were complied with, with all imaginable respect and inclination, as Eusebius informs us; adding more particularly, that “the most eminent prelates, as well out of Europe, as out of Asia and Afric, came up to Nice.” Now, it cannot be said, that Eusebius knew nothing of the Churches of Britain; for we have seen already that he mentions the early preaching of Christianity in this island. But to put this matter beyond dispute, in this very book of the Life of Constantine, he names the Churches of Britain as well

Ibid. cap. 19.

as those of Gaul and Spain.

*Farther
proof of the
emperor
Constantine's being
born in Bri-
tain.
Eumen.
Panegy.
Constant.
cap. 9.*

To this we may add, that it is not probable that the Churches of Britain should be overlooked, if we consider the particular relation Constantine had to this island; who was not only proclaimed emperor, but in great probability born here too, as has been already observed: for which last point I shall produce another testimony from Eumenius. This orator, in his harangue to Constantine, amongst other things, flourishes mightily upon the commendation of Britain, “from the fruitfulness of the soil, the temperature of the climate, the length of the days,” &c. Now, if this was Constantine's native country, these topics were pertinent, and to the purpose; but if not, all this part of the panegyric seems altogether foreign, and without art. Eumenius goes on, and compares Britain with Egypt, where Mercury, he says, was born: which makes it pretty plain, that he designed Britain for a parallel in this part of the advantage, by having the honour of being the place of Constantine's nativity. I mention this testimony, together with the rest already produced, to show the improbability that the British Churches should be omitted by Constantine in the summons to the general council. And now, granting they were summoned, the importance of the business and the conveniences of the journey, make it extremely unlikely they should neglect to appear: which will still look the more improbable, if we consider that they were certainly summoned to the councils of Sardica and Ariminum, held in the next reign, where likewise we find them present; why then should we suppose them either pretermitted or absent at the council of Nice?

As for the business transacted in this council, I shall only observe, that the main design of its being called was to suppress the Arian heresy, and settle the time for the keeping of

Easter. These main points being determined, the bishops made twenty canons for the discipline and government of the Church; three of which, viz. those relating to the election and consecration of bishops, the appointing provincial synods twice a year, and the settling the bounds of jurisdiction among the respective bishops, are very remarkable. By the last of which we may easily perceive that the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch are put upon the level with that of Rome; that the jurisdiction of this last was confined to the limits of the suburbicary provinces, and had no more pretence to supremacy than the former: but the enlarging upon this matter might possibly seem foreign, and therefore I shall pursue it no farther. Can. 6.

As to the civil government of Britain, under the emperor Constantine, it was put into the hands of Pacatianus, who was deputy to the prætorian prefect of Gaul. Constantine at his death divided the empire amongst his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans; France, Spain, and Britain, falling to the share of his eldest son, Constantine: but this prince was quickly disturbed and murdered by the ambition of his brother Constans, who then seized that part of the empire: thus the matter is reported by Zosimus: but the major part of historians throw the encroachment upon Constantine. However, Constans enjoyed the government not long after, for Magnentius revolted from him, and got him dispatched at a town called Helena, by the Pyrenean mountains. Magnentius being now master of a great part of the empire, Constantius marched against him, drove him from place to place, and at last reduced him to that distress, that he despaired of emerging, and killed himself. This usurper being thus removed, Britain submitted to Constantius, who now remained sole emperor. Pacatianus
the emperor's
viceroy in
Britain.

Zosimus,
lib. 2.
Baron. A. D.
340. n. 43.

Ibid.

As to Constantine the Great, whose death we have lately mentioned: this prince being probably born in Britain, the first Christian emperor, and making so happy a revolution in the affairs of the Church, it may not be amiss to add something farther concerning him, especially as to the motives of his turning Christian. Being in his march against Maxentius, in the year of our Lord 311, and entering Italy with an army of about ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, he began to consider the difficulty of the enterprise, and to project for some better assistance than was yet in view. This thought

brought the miscarriages of his predecessors into his mind; and that notwithstanding their zeal for their gods, they had been generally unfortunate. He likewise considered that his father, who believed the government of the world in a single deity, and confined his worship to that notion, was wonderfully successful in his affairs. These considerations prevailed with him to quit the pagan system, and adhere to the Unity of the Godhead. And thus addressing himself to the Sovereign Being, he prayed for his assistance in the expedition, and a farther discovery of his will: and here God was pleased to give him an illustrious proof that his prayer was heard; for, in the day-time, about two o'clock in the afternoon, he saw a figure of a cross in the air, with this plain inscription upon it, IN HOC VINCE, *By this overcome*. This representation was very lively and strong, seen and wondered at by the whole army, as well as the emperor. Being uneasy about the meaning of this prodigy, and revolving it in his thoughts till night, our Saviour appeared to him in his sleep, with the exact sign of the cross he had seen in the air, and commanded him to make a royal standard of that figure, and always use it in the field; which he performed the next day accordingly. This relation is so surprising, that Eusebius declares that it would almost have shocked his belief, if he had not had it from the emperor's own mouth, who solemnly swore the truth of it to this author, who then designed to write his life. To proceed, Constantine being fortified with this miraculous appearance, charged Maxentius, and defeated him, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers. This tyrant being drowned in the Tiber, not long after Licinius, who had overthrown Maximin, proved false to his articles, and came to a rupture with Constantine: upon which this emperor drew out his forces against him; and here, when they came to decide the quarrel, Eusebius observes, that where any part of Constantine's troops gave way, the bringing the standard with the cross to that quarter put new vigour into the men, and changed the fortune of the battle. He likewise relates another remarkable passage from the emperor's own mouth, that the standard-bearer who carried this emblem of Christianity, being pressed by the enemy, and somewhat dispirited, delivered it to another, upon which he was immediately slain; but the person who received the holy standard was made as it were invulnerable, and had no manner of harm, though

The appearing of the sign of the Cross in the air to Constantine the Great.

Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 1. cap. 22, 23. et deince.

Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Ibid. c. 9.

the enemy seemed to single him out from the rest, and spent their arrows and lances particularly upon him.

To say a word or two relating to the character and administration of this prince. He was a handsome person, tall of stature, and had his limbs put together with great strength and proportion: neither was he less remarkable for the advantages of his mind. He was well qualified both for the camp and cabinet. His capacity was great, and his courage enterprising and extraordinary; good at the directing, and brave at the executing part. After he turned Christian, he modelled the constitution in favour of that religion. To instance in some particulars: he made it death for the Jews to blaspheme our Saviour, or to outrage or mob any Christian: he made a law for the solemn observation of the Lord's day: he ordered that no person should be crucified, had the confessors immediately discharged out of prison, from the mines, and other places of punishment; and commanded the restitution of their goods and estates, without delay. And as for the martyrs, in case they had no heirs, their fortunes were to fall to the Church. Neither was he kind only to the Christians of his own empire, but likewise recommended those of that profession in Persia, to the favour of their prince. He granted the clergy an exemption from the common burdens, and offices, incident to their condition, in the commonwealth: and when there was an action brought against any of them, before a secular magistrate, he gave them the liberty to try the cause in the bishop's court, where the matter was finally determined. He likewise backed the canons of the Church with the civil sanction, and would not suffer the governors of provinces to break through them. And lastly, he released the fourth part of the taxes to his subjects, and was remarkably charitable to the poor. This great prince died at Nicomedia in Bithynia, in the year of our Lord 337, in the thirty-second year of his reign, being about sixty-six years of age.

The next thing remarkable relating to the Churches of Britain is the council of Sardica, formerly a city of Thracia, now the capital of Bulgaria, and called Triadizza by the Bulgarians, and Sophia by the Greeks. This council was held in the year of our Lord 347, under the emperors Constantius and Constans, sons to Constantine the Great. That the British bishops were present at this council, joined in the condemning

A short character of this Prince.

L. 2.

Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 13.

Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 1. c. 3.

Sozom. lib. 4. c. 9.

Sozom. ibid.

Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. 4. c. 2, 3, & 28. Baron. A.D. 337. n. 7. *British bishops present at the council of Sardica.*

Sub init.

A.D. 347.

*The reasons
for con-
vening this
council.*

Athan. de
Synod. et
Ep. ad solit.
Vit. Agent.
Theod.
lib. 1.
cap. 30.

Socrat. ,
lib. 2. cap. 2.

Arianism and acquitting Athanasius, we may learn from the testimony of Athanasius himself, both in his second Apology against the Arians, and in his Epistle Ad Solitariam Vitam Agentes. The British bishops having a share in this council, and the liberties of the Catholic Church being remarkably cleared by some passages in it, I hope the reader will not think it an unseasonable digression if I enter a little upon some part of the affairs transacted here.

And first, concerning the occasion of its being called. After Arius and his adherents had been condemned by the great council of Nice, that party, though they durst not appear openly against the decisions of the council, yet endeavoured to gain their point by more unsuspected methods; by disguising their sentiments, mixing with the orthodox in other councils, defaming the bishops of the Catholic Church; and where they had any interest and power, outing them of their estates, driving them into banishment, and treating them with all the ill usage imaginable. Now Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, being a person of great abilities and reputation, a noble champion for the Church, and appearing vigorously in defence of the Homoeousian doctrine, the Arians, both in the reign of Constantine and afterwards, did their utmost to destroy him. To this purpose, they charged him at the Synod of Tyre with cutting off Arsenius's hand, in order to a magical preparation. This calumny and several others being disproved, they persuaded the emperor Constantine that Athanasius had stopped the transportation of corn from Egypt to Constantinople. The emperor giving credit to this information, banished Athanasius to Treves upon the Moselle; and being afterwards restored to his see by Constantine the younger, the Arians, in a council at Antioch consisting of ninety bishops, where their party was the majority, alleged against him, beside other pretended articles, that having returned to the exercise of his character without the authority of a synod, he had invaded the see of Alexandria; and upon this ground they turned him out. Athanasius, with Paulus of Constantinople, and several other bishops who had been deprived by the Arians, upon the score of their standing firm to the Nicene faith, retired to Rome, and applied for the protection of pope Julius; of Julius, I say, who was eminent both for the considerableness of his see, and the character of his orthodoxy. The Arians, to give a colour

of fair dealing, wrote to Julius, and told him they were willing the cause should be re-examined, and brought upon the board in another synod. Upon this Julius convened a provincial council at Rome, and gave them notice to come thither. The Arians distrusting their cause, and apprehending they should be overvoted, pretend the wars had made their journey impracticable; that Julius had straitened them in time: and thus they threw in delays for a year and a half together. During this time, pope Julius having received several letters from the bishops of Egypt, who vindicated Athanasius, and wrote fully in his behalf, opened a council of fifty bishops at Rome, where the articles against Athanasius being examined, and found false, himself and the other deprived bishops were unanimously acquitted by the council, and pronounced worthy to return to their respective bishoprics. These proceedings were highly resented by the Arians, who meeting again at Antioch, published reproachful letters against Athanasius, falling hard likewise upon Julius, and taxing him with encroachment upon the authority of the Church for presuming to reverse the decrees of their council at Antioch. And thus the interest of the Arian party prevailing, two new creeds being published in opposition to that at Nice, and the affairs of the Church growing more and more embroiled, pope Julius applied to the emperor Constans, who, with the concurrence of his brother Constantius, fixed upon the meeting of the council of Sardica. The council met accordingly in the year of our Lord 347, Rufinus and Eusebius being consuls. The number was very considerable, amounting to about two hundred and eighty western bishops, together with seventy-six from the east. Hosius bishop of Corduba, together with Archidamus and Philoxenus, presided in the council; and, as Labbe and Cossartius will have it, represented pope Julius. Athanasius likewise, Paulus of Constantinople, and the rest of the injured bishops, appeared there to defend themselves, and answer to whatever might be objected. But the eastern part of the council being Arians, perceiving the debates were like to be free, and that they could not procure a guard from the court to overawe the votes, they concluded it best to stand off: and therefore declared against joining with the western bishops, unless Athanasius and the other prelates they had outraged were forbidden the council. This motion was refused by the council, who summoned the

Athan.
Apol. 2.
Theod. 1. 2.
c. 4.
Athan.
Apol. 2.
Theod. 1. 2.
c. 4.
A. D. 347.

Athan.
Apol. 2.

Socrat. 1. 2.
c. 11. Sozom.
1. 3. c. 7. et
Julius in ep.
apud Athan.
Apol. 2.

Council. Lab-
be, tom. 2.
p. 625.

Athan. Ep.
ad solit. Vit.
Agent. et
Apol. 2.

eastern bishops to appear, and make good their charge against Athanasius : but these Arians despairing of overruling matters, withdrew to Philippopoli, and sat there.

*This council
a disproof
of the papal
supremacy.*

And here, by the canons, the style, and several other circumstances in this council, it is plain the modern supremacy of the see of Rome was neither allowed, nor so much as pretended to at that time. First, these Fathers of Sardica, in their letter to all the Churches of Christendom, declare that they were convened by the emperor's order : from whence it appears, that the Arians complaining of Pope Julius for not giving them sufficient notice, implies only, that Julius had the publication of the emperor's summons. To proceed ; in this letter the council calls Julius, "frater et consacerdos noster," their brother and fellow-bishop. And in their letter to Julius himself, they treat him with the same familiar language of dear brother ; give him a short account of their proceedings, and desire him to notify the decrees of the council to his neighbours, the bishops of Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy ; that they might not, through want of information, receive the communicatory letters of the Arians, who stood condemned by the council. But here is not a word of requesting the pope's confirmation ; such applications of councils to the see of Rome, were altogether unpractised in that age. Farther, the very business of this council proves it a jurisdiction superior to the see of Rome ; for the design of their meeting was to judge by way of appeal, and re-examine the case already determined by Julius and his Roman council in favour of Athanasius ; and this review was set on foot at the instance of Julius himself, who addressed the emperor for that purpose.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 624.

And that the modern claim of universal supremacy was unpretended to in this council, appears evidently by the third canon, by which we are given to understand that Hosius made the following motion, viz. : "That if any bishop should conceive himself injured by the sentence of the neighbouring bishops, and desired to be reheard ; if you please, in respect to the memory of St. Peter, let those bishops who have pronounced judgment write to Julius, bishop of Rome, and transmit a copy of their proceedings to him ; and if he thinks it proper that the cause should be tried over again, let him assign judges for that purpose : but if he is satisfied with what is done, and declares against a reversal, let his sentence stand good, and

determine the point." To this the council replied, " They were content." This canon, which stands the third in the version of Dionysius Exiguus, and is in a manner repeated in his seventh, is the fifth in the Greek copy. And, besides, instead of Julius, the bishop of Rome is indefinitely mentioned ; from whence we may conclude, the privilege of the canon was intended for his successors, and, as it were, settled upon his see ; I say, settled, as far as the authority of this council, which was no more than a provincial one, could reach. To return to the purport of the canon, by which nothing can be more plain, than that the divine right to the government of the universal Church, settled upon the bishops of Rome, in virtue of their succession to St. Peter, was a claim not started at this time of day : for if Hosius was the pope's proxy, as Labbe, and others of that communion suppose, can we imagine he would have betrayed the interest of the person he represented, and have sunk the grandeur of the see of Rome so low, as to beg for so slender a privilege ? For if our Saviour had made the see of Rome the seat of the spiritual monarchy, put the government of the universal Church into the hands of that bishop, and made him the supreme judge of all controversy, it had been a weak, not to say a disrespectful motion in Hosius, to desire the council, that out of regard to St. Peter's memory, they would allow an appeal to the pope, in the case of a single bishop. Such a request as this destroys the supposition of a divine right, and is utterly inconsistent with the pretences of the universal past-
 torship. And if Hosius should have overshot himself to this degree, which is most unlikely, we may imagine the council would have been more modest, and more just too, than to have pretended an authority of granting the pope any part of that right which was so incontestably his own before ; as being a branch of that sovereignty which was handed down to him from St. Peter. But this right of receiving appeals, in some cases, as slender a privilege as it is in comparison of a divine supremacy, yet the popes were well satisfied with the favour, as appears by the sixth council of Carthage, where Zozimus, to justify his receiving appeals from transmarine Churches, insists upon this concession in the case of Apiarius, and endeavours to pass it upon the African Fathers for a canon of the Council of Nice. But of this, more by-and-by.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 629. 645.

Labbe, Con-
cil. Car-
thag. 6.
p. 1539.

At present we may observe, that to show the pope's prero-

*A dilemma
upon the
papal supre-
macy.*

gative, it is urged, on the other side, that Hosius, who subscribed first at the council, was Julius's legate. But this supposition is so far from carrying the point, that whether he was, or was not, there lies a dilemma against the papal supremacy. For if Hosius was legate to the see of Rome, then we may reasonably conclude he received his instructions from pope Julius, that he would be particularly careful to support the character of an agent, and not diminish the rights of the see he represented. To imagine him defective in these points, is to make him fall short, either in common sense or common honesty: but such notorious failures do by no means agree with the reputation of the great Hosius. This prelate, therefore, being a person of such known abilities and good faith, and by the present supposition the pope's legate; what should make him desire the council to give the pope leave to review the cause of a bishop, who had been censured by the bishops of his own province? Why should Hosius request the Sardican Fathers to condescend to this motion, and pass it into a canon, out of respect to the memory of St. Peter? Does not this plainly imply, that Hosius moved for a new branch of jurisdiction? and that the bishops of Rome had no authority to receive appeals prior to this canon? I say no authority, except within the suburbicary provinces: for had the see of Rome been the supreme ecclesiastical court, and the last resort of justice, either by divine or so much as by human right, what should make them so impolitic as to betray their own privileges, and to entreat for that which so incontestably belonged to them before? This would be much such a piece of conduct as it would be in a sovereign prince to beg of his subjects to prefer him to the office of chief justice, or lord chancellor. The popes of Rome do not use to squander away their prerogative in this manner, nor manage at such a negligent rate. Besides, if Hosius, as legate, had thus uncautiously exceeded his commission, we may imagine his principal, Julius, would have disowned him at his return, and remonstrated against the proceedings; but there is nothing of this to be met with in history. On the contrary, Julius and his successors were well pleased with the council of Sardica, valued themselves upon the concession above mentioned, and endeavoured (as it has been hinted) to pass it for a canon of the council of Nice. Thus we see the case stands, upon the sup-

position that Hosius was pope Julius's legate. But if we turn the supposition, and consider Hosius as acting only in his own capacity, then we have another argument against the pope's supremacy, from the order of preference, and the subscription-roll; for it is certain Hosius, bishop of Corduba, stands at the head of the subscriptions.

Now, that Hosius represented nobody but himself is extremely probable, as appears, to mention nothing more, from the council's letter to pope Julius. To make this letter short, the Fathers give him to understand, "that the proceedings of the council were all drawn up in writing; letting him know, besides, that Archidamus, Philoxenus, and Leo, two priests and a deacon, and all of them Julius's legates, could inform him fully of the particulars." Now if Hosius was Julius's legate, it is somewhat surprising the council should take no notice of him in this character; that they should not refer pope Julius to his information. To mention priests and deacons, and overlook a bishop of Hosius's fame, who, we may imagine, was the principal person in the legation, is very unusual; and therefore, from the silence of the council in this point, we may fairly conclude that Hosius was no legate to pope Julius.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 662.

*Hosius most
probably no
legate of the
see of Rome.*
Ibid. p. 661.

These proceedings of the council of Sardica, in granting appeals to the see of Rome in some cases, put the meaning of the fifth and sixth canons of the council of Nice beyond all doubt. By the fifth canon, provincial synods are to be held twice a-year. And at these, if any person complained he was unjustly excommunicated, the cause was to be re-examined, and the former censure to stand good, unless the judgment was reversed by the provincial synod. And though the case of bishops be not here expressly mentioned, yet it was urged with great reason by the African Fathers, that it ought to be understood; for the canon makes a general provision for the business of every respective province: neither is any jurisdiction mentioned by the council of Nice, superior to that of a metropolitan; the three great sees only excepted, who had a peculiar privilege by prescription, and are jointly secured in the sixth canon. Now the right of appeal being determined by the fifth Nicene canon, this was the proper place to have saved the privileges of a supreme Court, if any such claim had been allowed, as has been since pretended. Indeed, it is next to

*The fifth and
sixth canons
of the coun-
cil of Nice
explained by
the council
of Sardica.*

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 31.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 1674.

impossible the Nicene Fathers should have stopped at provincial synods, had they known or believed that Christ had appointed a vicar upon earth, who was to be supreme judge in all ecclesiastical matters. And that a provincial synod is the last court of appeal, according to the council of Nice, is likewise evident from the canons of the council of Sardica above mentioned, where the pope has a qualified grant of this privilege ; which right commencing at the Sardican council, must be posterior to the council of Nice ; and therefore the fifth canon, taking no notice of any ecclesiastical judicatory, beyond a provincial synod, cannot be understood with a tacit reserve in favour of the see of Rome. Thus, likewise, we are to understand the sixth canon of the council of Nice, where Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch, being the three greatest cities in the empire, and places of extraordinary resort, the bishops of those sees had a larger jurisdiction than the rest ; the Church thinking it convenient to model the hierarchy into some conformity with the civil government. Thus the canon, declaring for the observation of ancient custom, confirms the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch in their ancient and extraordinary jurisdiction ; adding, that such privileges were likewise customary to the bishop of Rome. But that this extent of jurisdiction was confined to certain limits, with respect to the see of Rome, as well as the other sees of Alexandria and Antioch, appears from the undistinguishing language of the canon, there being not the least hint of any exception of superiority for the Roman see. And that there was no ground for any such distinction, appears from the Sardican council, where the pope's jurisdiction is enlarged, and a new right of appeal granted ; which, were there any such thing as a prior supremacy, had been an affront to grant, and great weakness to accept it.

Concil.
Nicen.
can. 6.

*A further
argument
against the
supremacy,
from the
pretended
council of
Philippopoli.*

Farther, another argument against the pope's supremacy may be drawn from the conduct of those eastern bishops, who separated from the council of Sardica, and sat down at Philippopoli. These eighty bishops, in their circular letter to the universal Church, begin with their prayers for the continuance of the old discipline, that the standing rules of government, handed down to them from the beginning of Christianity, may continue in force : from hence they proceed to set forth the crimes of Marcellus bishop of Ancyra, of Athanasius, Asclepas, &c. After this they complain that Julius, and

some other bishops of the west, had received those censured bishops to communion: this they looked upon as an intolerable novelty, and a notorious violation of the laws of the Church. For this reason they speak with a great air of authority, and, assuming the character of a council, expressly command the bishops all Christendom over: their words are, “*Ex aperto mandamus,*” no “*firmiter injungentes*” could rise higher; they expressly command, I say, that no part of Christendom should communicate with Hosius, Athanasius, Marcellus, Julius, &c., nor have any religious intercourse either with them or their adherents. Here we see the eighty bishops at Philippopoli make no difficulty to excommunicate the bishop of Rome. But it may be said this synod was no better than a conventicle of Arian heretics. But what of all that, though they had revolted from the faith in a great article, yet it is more than they owned; and, besides, we do not find them anywhere charged with opposing the government of the Church. Farther, can we imagine them so weak in their conduct, so deserted by common sense, as to revolt against their undisputed supreme; to renounce the universal pastor, and excommunicate Christ’s vicar upon earth? Had the bishop of Rome been owned under these titles at that time of day, the Arians had not only been heretics, but madmen, to complain of pope Julius and the western bishops for reversing the decrees of the council of Tyre, &c., in favour of Athanasius; and much more to have excommunicated the monarch of the Church, who was the highest judge of controversy, and the bishop of the infallible see. Was this the way for the bishops of Philippopoli to approve the justice of their proceedings, and recommend themselves to the Christian world? Had the pope’s supremacy been owned at the meeting of this council, the presumption of the Arians at Philippopoli had been sufficient to have ruined their design, and make them odious; and therefore we may be pretty well assured, that in common prudence they would have declined it.

Council.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 703.

Council.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 702, 703.
708.

From what has been observed, it appears sufficiently, that the bishop of Rome had no pretence for receiving appeals, beyond the suburbicary provinces, prior to the council of Sardica, the last resort, in the standing and ordinary method of proceeding, being settled in a provincial council: I say, the standing and ordinary method of proceeding, because, in

*The decision
of the sixth
council of
Carthage
against the
pope's receiv-
ing appeals.*

matters of faith, or upon extraordinary occasions, a general council is the highest ecclesiastical court. That the process of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was thus fixed, is evident from the sense of the ancient Church, particularly from the sixth famous council of Carthage, convened in the year of our Lord 418, and consisting of the bishops of all the African provinces, Aurelius bishop of Carthage presiding in the synod. The occasion of the council's meeting was this: one Apiarius, a priest of Sicca in Mauritania, being uncanonically ordained, and guilty of several other crimes of a higher nature, was degraded by his bishop Urbanus, which sentence was afterwards confirmed by a provincial synod. Apiarius lying under this censure, set sail for Rome, and complains to Zozimus. Upon this application, the pope presently restores him to his degree, and, dispatching his legates into Afrie, gives them instructions to see him put in his former post, and to insist upon the right of the Roman see for receiving appeals: and if this branch of jurisdiction should be questioned, they were to justify the practice by the authority of the council of Nice. The African Fathers, meeting in council upon this occasion, examined the heads of the legate's instructions, digested in Zosimus's Commonitorium. And here the pope, alleging two canons of the council of Nice to defend his privilege of receiving appeals, the African Fathers, not knowing that the council misquoted, and that these two canons belonged only to the council of Sardica, promised to govern themselves by the authorities insisted on by the legates, till such time as they could procure some authentic copies of the council of Nice: and with this their resolution they acquainted Zozimus, who died soon after.

The synod, breaking up in autumn, met the next year at Carthage in the latter end of May, to the number of two hundred, and seventeen African bishops. And here, Aurelius bishop of Carthage, and Valentinus metropolitan of Numidia, had the chief seats in the assembly: after these, Faustinus an Italian bishop, and the pope's legate, had the third place; and, as for Philippus and Asellus, who were no more than priests, they sat below all the bishops, notwithstanding they came from Rome, and represented his holiness. And here, after having read the proceedings of the former synod, together with Zosimus's Commonitorium, and not finding the two canons men-

tioned in the pope's letter, in any of their copies of the council of Nice, they immediately dispatched away their agents into the east, to search for the most unquestionable records of that council, and bring back some transcripts with them. In this session, at the request of Apiarius, there was an order passed to discharge him from the Church of Sicca, and to give him leave to exercise his function elsewhere. At the breaking up of this council, the proceedings were all subscribed; and here, Aurelius and Valentinus signed first; then Faustinus the bishop-legate; and after all the rest, Philippus and Asellus, the other two legates of the pope: and the next day there was an account of the proceedings transmitted by the legates to pope Boniface.

About the end of this year, the delegates of the council returned out of the east, and brought authentic and attested copies of the Nicene canons along with them, together with the letters of Atticus bishop of Constantinople, and Cyril bishop of Alexandria. These transcripts being inspected, there was not the least syllable to be found that had any resemblance with the canons alluded to by Zozimus: upon this, the council immediately dispatched their delegates who came out of the east, to pope Boniface, with the records they had brought from thence. And now the dispute seemed to be fully satisfied. But pope Boniface dying soon after, and Apiarius growing restless, and reviving the business; Cœlestine, who succeeded Boniface, wrote to the prelates in Afric in favour of him. And now the African Fathers, or at least a committee of them, convened the third time, Faustinus the pope's legate being present; and notwithstanding in this last meeting, Apiarius being touched with remorse of conscience, made a voluntary confession of his misbehaviour, yet the Fathers wrote a sharp and reprimanding letter to pope Cœlestine; in which, after a short account of Apiarius's case, they earnestly desire him, "That for the future, he would be cautious in giving ear to the complaints of those that came from Afric to Rome; and by no means admit those to communion who had been excommunicated in Afric. Letting him know, that what they insisted on was no more than had already been decreed by the council of Nice. For, as they go on, if this council has made a provision for the security of the inferior clergy and the laity, it may be concluded *à fortiori*, that they designed to guard the

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 1674.
*The council's
remonstrating
letter to
the pope.*

Can. V.

jurisdiction of bishops; lest those who are barred communion by their own diocesan, should be over hastily or unduly restored by his holiness. They request him therefore not to receive their revolting clergy, there being no decrees of the Fathers which suppose the Church of Africa in such a state of dependency and imperfect authority: and as for the canons of the council of Nice, they evidently resign the inferior clergy and suffragan bishops to the jurisdiction of their respective metropolitans. This œcumenical council ordering with great prudence and justice, that all disputes should be determined in the places where they commenced, there being no reason to suspect that the assistance of the Holy Ghost would be wanting to any province; but that the priests and representatives of our Saviour would be furnished with sufficient proportions of wisdom and resolution. Which decision of the Nicene Fathers is still more reasonable; because, if the censured person is dissatisfied with the sentence, he has the liberty to appeal to a provincial or general council. This they insist on as a reasonable way of proceeding, unless, as they continue, any man can be so singular in his fancy as to believe, that God will qualify a single bishop for the functions of justice, and yet deny the same assistance to a whole body met together of that order. The African Fathers urge their point farther, and demand, how it is possible a cause should be rightly managed, and judgment duly pronounced in transmarine and remote places; when either through the infirmities of age or sex, or several other impediments that may happen, the witnesses necessary to inform the bench cannot come so far and appear in court? And then, as for the pope's sending any persons abroad with commission to examine the cause, they tell him there is no authority from any synod to warrant such a practice. They give him likewise to understand, that the Nicene canons produced by his legate Faustinus were counterfeit. And that the true copies of that council received from St. Cyril bishop of Alexandria, and Atticus bishop of Constantinople, and attested by both of them; and which were after transmitted by their delegates to his predecessor Boniface, had nothing of that kind in them. And now, towards the close of the letter, the African Fathers exert their character, and rise in their language upon the pope, positively forbidding him to send any of his clergy to intermeddle in the affairs of their country, at the instance of

any person whatsoever. For such attempts would be altogether foreign, and uneclesiastical, and would bring in a sort of pagan pride into the Church of Christ, which so strongly recommends the practice of an humble and unpretending behaviour. And thus, after some few lines they call the pope brother, and take their leave.”

*Quibusque
petentibus
nolite mit-
tere, nolite
concedere.*

And thus, this celebrated council of Carthage was finished at three meetings.

And here, if it is demanded, why the African Fathers were so earnest against appeals to Rome, since this privilege had been granted that see by the council of Sardica? To this it may be answered; first, that the canons of Sardica give the liberty of appealing to none but a bishop, whereas Apiarius, being no more than a priest, was not within the favour of the council. But secondly, to reply more fully, the Sardican Fathers were only a provincial council, and therefore the African Churches did by no means think themselves bound by their regulation.

But here it may be urged, that since the British bishops were present at the council of Sardica, the British Churches were bound to observe the canons of it; and appeals to the bishop of Rome being established there, they were then brought under his jurisdiction, as patriarch of the western Churches.

*An objection
from the
British
bishops being
at the council
of Sardica
answered.*

In answer to this, besides what has been said already, I observe; first,

That this allowance of appeals to the see of Rome was granted upon a particular emergency, most probably because pope Julius was orthodox, stood firm to the Nicene faith, and was a friend to Athanasius, whereas many of the eastern bishops, and particularly the emperor Constantius, to whom Athanasius, as bishop of Alexandria, was a subject, were inclined to Arianism: insomuch that the Sardican canons about appealing to Rome, seemed to be framed on purpose to do justice to Athanasius: Now, such an authority being given by a provincial council upon present and particular circumstances, cannot be binding to posterity; especially when that limited authority is altered in the ground, and overstretched in the practice, when it is challenged for an absolute and supreme power, founded upon a divine right, and not upon the act of the council. For, in this case, the claim is so much

overstrained, and the difference so great, that the one can give no colour or pretence for the other.

Secondly, we may observe, that the Sardican council does not place the right of appeals to the pope as head of the Church : indeed, the very grant supposes the contrary.

Thirdly, this privilege can never justify the drawing causes to Rome by way of appeal ; because the cause is still to be heard in the province by the neighbouring bishops. In short, in the Sardican council, the pope could do no more than grant a new hearing. And here he had not the liberty to assign what judges he pleased, but was tied to nominate the bishops of the province where the cause was first depending. It is true he was authorized to send two or three to represent him, if he thought fit, and join them in commission with the rest ; but then his legates could overrule nothing ; they could sway no farther than by their votes ; for the sentence was to be governed by the majority : now this is wonderfully short of supremacy and sovereign power.

Fourthly, the proceedings of the Sardican council are not all of them unexceptionable, nor justifiable by the rules of the Church ; particularly their receiving Marcellus to communion : for not only the eastern bishops, in their Synodical Epistle, affirmed him condemned for heresy by the council of Constantinople, held in the reign of Constantine ; and that Protogenes of Sardica, and others of the council, had subscribed his condemnation. Marcellus is not only thus censured by the bishops of Philippopoli, but Athanasius himself afterwards condemned him : and St. Basil blames the Church of Rome for receiving him to communion ; and, which is more, Baronius confesses, that this business was much complained of by Catholics of great character, and brought a blemish upon the council.

Fifthly, the decrees of this council were not universally received ; as appears plainly by the contest between the bishops of Rome and Afric about appeals already mentioned ; and here it cannot be objected, that the African bishops had none to represent them ; for Baronius owns Gratus, bishop of Carthage, was present at the Council : and in one of the lists of the subscriptions, Gratus, and a great many more African bishops are mentioned, either as subscribers or approvers of the synod. Now, notwithstanding the African Churches were

Can. 5.
Concil.
tom. 2.
p. 630.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 700.

Sulpit.
Sever. lib. 2.

Baron. A. D.
347. n. 61.
Basil. Ep. 52.

Baron. A. D.
347. n. 55.

Concil.
tom. 2.
p. 672.

not unrepresented at Sardica ; yet it is evident the Fathers of the sixth council of Carthage did not look upon themselves bound by the canons ; but stood stiffly in defence of their own independency, and overruled the pretence of appealing to the see of Rome : neither, indeed, did the pope insist upon the authority of the council of Sardica, but on that of Nice, to justify his plea. Now, since the African Churches were not tied by the canons of Sardica, notwithstanding they had bishops concerned there ; why should the consequence hold stronger upon other remote Churches ? why should the British Christians be in a greater condition of servitude than those of Afric ? why should the representation of their bishops draw them to a dependence upon Rome, and make them in worse circumstances than other places, represented at Sardica, no less than themselves ? The reason of the slender authority of the Sardican canons seems to be this ; there was a design, it is true, for a general council, but the eastern and western bishops disagreeing about the preliminaries, and refusing to sit with each other, there was little or no regard paid to what was done by either division. So little notice was taken of their proceedings that St. Augustin knew of no other than the council of the eastern bishops. Indeed the calling of councils was so common at this time upon the Arian controversy, and the deposition of bishops of one side and the other was so frequent, that the remoter Churches concerned themselves little in what passed amongst them. And thus the Sardican council having so little reputation in the world, the see of Rome did not think it proper to insist upon that authority, but endeavoured to pass their decrees upon the African Fathers for the Nicene canons.

Contra
Cresc. c. 54.

Lastly, the council of Sardica, as we have seen, gives the bishop of Rome no more power than the re-hearing the complaint of a bishop, which does not nearly amount to the privilege of even a patriarchal jurisdiction : for here, notwithstanding this concession, the other Churches of Christendom had the regulation of worship and discipline, the government of the clergy and people ; and, in short, the whole ecclesiastical legislature left them entire. To which we may add, that if there was a good understanding amongst all the bishops of the province, as it often happens ; if the dispute came to no

extremity ; if no bishop was deposed by his com-provincials, or if he acquiesced in the sentence, and refused to complain, in all these cases the pope was shut out, and had no liberty to interpose, even by the Sardican canons.

*The liberties
of Christen-
dom secured
by the council
of Ephesus.
Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 3.
p. 801.
can. 8.*

To proceed ; this independency of provinces was farther secured against the encroachment of the greater sees by the general council of Ephesus. Where, upon the complaint of the bishops of Cyprus, against the encroachments of the bishop of Antioch, this latter claiming a right to consecrate the Cypriot bishops, and making that island one of the dependencies of his see : upon this complaint, I say, the bishop of Antioch's claim was examined, and being found all novelty and usurpation, it was rejected by the council. And to prevent all invasions of liberty for the future, there was a general canon drawn up in these words, which was to hold in all other places, no less than in Antioch and Cyprus ; the former part of the canon having determined the cause in favour of the bishops of Cyprus, and decreed them a security for the future, proceeds thus ; τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσέων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται, &c. “ And the same regulation shall be observed in all other provinces, viz. that no bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction in a foreign province which has not been under the government of his predecessors from the first planting of Christianity. And if any prelate shall make any forcible seizure, he shall be obliged to desist from the invasion, that the constitutions of the Church may not be violated, nor any ecclesiastical pretence be made a cover for worldly ambition ; that the liberties of Christendom may not be swallowed up by degrees, which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, has purchased for us at the price of his own blood. It is therefore decreed by the holy œcumenical council, that the original rights, which every province has enjoyed from the beginning, shall be secured to them entire and undiminished, according to the course of ancient custom ; and that every metropolitan shall be allowed a copy of the acts of the council,” &c.

Can. 8.

Now, the British Churches being in no circumstances of subjection to the bishop of Rome till long after this time, as will be farther shown afterwards ; the case, I say, standing

thus, their liberties are effectually secured by the general council of Ephesus, and all future attempts of encroachment barred, and declared nullities.

I hope these remarks upon the councils will not seem foreign or unseasonable ; for he that designs the history of a Church ought to defend her government, disentangle her claims, and set her privileges in a true light.

To go on with the course of the history : the next news we hear of the condition of the British Churches is from St. Hilary ; who, being banished into Phrygia by the emperor Constantius, published his book *De Synodis* there, in the year of our Lord 358. In the beginning of this book, “ he salutes the bishops of Britain among the rest of the prelates of Christendom, and complains a little, that the distance of place, and the disadvantages of his banishment had barred him the satisfaction of receiving frequent letters from them. After this complaint, he congratulates their orthodoxy, and that they had preserved themselves all along from heretical infection.” The reason of his address seems to be this : during the Arian controversy, a great many Christians, as Sozomen observes, looked upon the word *ὁμοούσιος* as an unnecessary term ; and that the meaning of the council of Nice was sufficient, without being tied to the expression. Now, it seems, most of the bishops of Germany, Gaul, and Britain were of this opinion ; for this reason St. Hilary addresses them in his book, that they might not only be Catholic in their belief, but conformable in their language to the council of Nice.

A. D. 358.
St. Hilary
addresses
the *British*
bishops.

Sozom.
Hist. Eccles.
lib. 3. c. 12.

Usher.
Britan.
Eccles. Antiquit. c. 8.
p. 105.

The next year there was a council convened by Constantius, at Arimini, in Italy : and here, as Sulpitius Severus reports, above four hundred western bishops met together : all which were provided with conveniences in diet, &c., at the emperor’s charge. But the bishops of Gaul and Britain did not think it proper to be thus supported by the exchequer, and chose rather to live upon their own pocket : excepting, as the historian goes on, three bishops out of Britain, whose circumstances were particularly narrow ; these prelates, being proffered a supply from their brethren, thought it more convenient to be subsisted by the emperor, than be burthensome to a few of their own order.

A. D. 359.
British prelates present at the council of Arimini.
Sulpit. Sever. *Hist. Sacr.* lib. 2.

And here it may be inquired, how the British bishops came

Why the British bishops were somewhat unfurnished at the council of Ariminum.

Galf. Mon. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Baron. A. D. 355. n. 52.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 10.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 5.
Lactant. de Mort. Perf. cap. 48.
Euseb. *ibid.*

Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 2. cap. 39.

to be so poor above the rest, who were not only in a condition to support themselves, but to furnish their brethren. What became of all the endowments of the British churches by king Lucius? Does not Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his British history, tell us, “that king Lucius not only granted all the lands belonging to the heathen temples to the churches built by him, but likewise made a great addition from his own patrimonial revenue.” Most of our monkish historians go on with the same relation; but then Geoffrey of Monmouth is their voucher, whose authority is not great. But notwithstanding Geoffrey’s romantic way of writing, it seems somewhat strange that the British bishops should be so low in their circumstances, since Liberius, in Constantius’s presence, told Epictetus, an Arian bishop, “that the churches were able to defray the expenses of their bishops in going to councils, without the conveniences of travelling allowed by the emperor.” Farther, that the churches had revenues settled upon them before Constantine’s time, appears by several imperial edicts: first, by the edict of Maximin, not only houses, but the lands which belonged to the Christians, whether seized into the emperor’s hands, or in the possession of any city, let the title be never so much alienated or transferred, are all commanded to be restored. And that this order does not relate to private estates, but to the public endowment of their churches, is evident by the following edict of Constantine and Licinius; which, in the first place, orders all their churches to be restored; and then it is added, because the Christians are well known, not only to have those places, where they meet together, but others also which belong to their body; that is, their Churches: these are commanded likewise to be returned to them, without any dispute or delay. This order is backed by another edict of Constantine to Anulinus; where houses, gardens, or whatsoever estates they had, are expressly mentioned. There is another law of Constantine, directed to the governors of Palestine, to the same purpose: and here the terms of the edict are very full and comprehensive, including all sorts of property, whether personal or real estate. Now if the endowments of churches had not been then considerable, what need was there of so many edicts for restitution? But Constantine did not stop here, but went much farther for the benefit of the Church; publishing an order, that in case the

martyrs and confessors died without heirs, their estates, of what kind soever, should be settled on the churches. And after this, about four years before the council of Nice, he set forth the famous constitution extant in the Theodosian code; by which "all persons are left at liberty to bequeath what they thought fit by will, to the catholic churches of Christians." And this, as Gothofred observes, was the true donation of Constantine. For, by the favour of this law, wealth flowed amain into the Church, and especially at Rome.

Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. 2. cap. 36. Cod. Theod. 16. tit. 2. lib. 4.

We need not wonder, then, to find so many of the bishops at Ariminum refuse the emperor's allowance, having a sufficient Church revenue to support themselves. But it seems the British bishops had not so good a purse as the rest: the reason of which disadvantage was probably occasioned by Constantine's drawing all the wealth and trade eastward, by his removing to Constantinople: and, besides, this country having been harassed with wars for a long time together, may well be supposed to be impoverished upon that score.

Amm. Marcellin. lib. 20. cap. 1.

But notwithstanding the British bishops might not be so wealthy, they were no less orthodox than the rest; and kept clear of the Arian heresy through the whole reign of Constantius, and his successor Julian, as appears by the letter addressed to the emperor Jovian by Athanasius, and others of the bishops of Egypt, Libya, &c., where, mentioning the faith established by the council of Nice, they let the emperor know, "that the churches all the world over, particularly those of Spain, Britain, Gaul, &c. were unanimous in this form."

Athan. tom. 1. p. 309. Edit. Comelin. Theodor. lib. 4. Hist. Eccles. cap. 3. *When the Arian heresy probably reached Britain.* Bede, lib. 1. cap. 8.

But not long after, the Arian heresy gained ground and spread into all quarters. Thus Bede tells us, "the churches were undisturbed from the Dioclesian persecution downwards, till the Arian distraction appeared: which, making a surprising progress in every country, reached this island at last, and shed its poison. This account Bede seems to have transcribed from Gildas, who tells us the churches held a perfect good correspondence with each other till the Arian distemper crossed the ocean, and was brought in upon them: by which infection the Britons were the more easily seized, through the curiosity of their temper and their inclination for novelty and change."

Gildas Histor. p. 12.

This unhappiness in their belief seems to have begun in the reign of Gratian, who had Britain, Gaul, and Spain for his

dominions. This emperor published a toleration in the year of our Lord 383, only with an exception of the Photinians, Manicheans, and Eunomians. Now this liberty of almost all persuasions in religion, might probably give the occasion of spreading Arianism in Britain.

Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. cap. 8. p. 106.

The state of the civil government of Britain, from Constantius to Gratian.

And now a short view of the civil government of Britain may not be unseasonable. After the death of Magnentius, already mentioned, the empire fell wholly to Constantius, who gave the government of Britain to Martinus. This viceroy, was offended at the inhumanity of Paulus Catena, who was sent to inquire into the accomplices of Magnentius, which office he managed with unreasonable rigour, informing against the innocent as well as the guilty, obliging them to purchase their peace, and bribe him to stop the prosecution. Martinus being concerned for those who were ill-used, interceded with Paulus, and desired him to desist from some of his impeachments; letting him know, that if he gave the people so much trouble he would quit the island. Paulus being apprehensive Martinus might be as good as his word, brought him into the list of the conspiracy, and moved that he might be seized and guarded off to the emperor. The viceroy being enraged at this affront, immediately drew, with a design to dispatch Paulus, but missing his pass, plunged his sword into his own breast, and so died.

In the year of our Lord 355, Julian the Apostate was made Caesar by Constantius, and the government of Gaul, Britain, &c. assigned him. This prince, who had his residence at Paris, receiving news of the irruption of the Scots and Picts into Britain, sent Lupicinus to put a stop to their ravages, and settle the country. Lupicinus, marching with an army to Bologne, embarked his men, and arrived at Richborough, near Sandwich, in Kent. From hence he continued his march to London, where he fixed his quarters for some time, that he might be in a better posture to prosecute his enterprise.

Ann. Marcell. lib. 20. cap. 1.

Not long after, Julian rebelled upon Constantius, which latter died in his expedition against the revolt, in the year of our Lord 362, leaving the empire to Julian by will, notwithstanding his perfidiousness and ingratitude.

The succeeding reigns of Julian and Jovian being but short, we meet with little remarkable in Britain.

After the death of Jovian, Valentinian was elected emperor,

who took his brother Valens into a partnership of the government, assigning him the eastern provinces for his dominions. This Valentinian, who reserved the western division for himself, while he was making his progress from Amiens to Treves, received a dismal account that the Piets, Scots, Attacots, and Franks had almost overrun and destroyed all Britain, killed Nectaridius, the count or intendant of the sea-coast, and surprised Buchobaudes, duke of Britain, and general of the emperor's forces; who, upon the news of these misfortunes, dispatched away Severus, and afterwards Jovinus, to put a stop to the enemy, but all to no purpose.

Amm. Mar.
cell. lib. 26.
cap. 1. et
lib. 27.
cap. 7.

The affairs of Britain requiring a greater reinforcement, Valentinian at last pitched upon Theodosius for the expedition. This general being a person of great courage and experience, and furnished with a body of good troops, had better success in the business: for after having landed at Richborough, and marched to London, he detached his army in several divisions, and falling upon the enemy, who minded plunder more than military discipline, gave them a defeat, and recovered the prisoners and whatever else they had taken from the country. All which Theodosius returned to their right owners, excepting a small part for the refreshment and encouragement of his troops. And having made a triumphant entry into London, he proclaimed an indemnity to such as had deserted: upon which, most of them returned under the Roman Government. However, the enemy continuing very numerous, being patched into a confederacy of several nations, and distressing the country with several parties, he sent for Civilis, a person of great probity and abilities, and made him his deputy governor, advancing one Dulcitus, an eminent officer, to the quality of duke.

Theodosius being thus successful against the barbarous nations, employed himself in repairing the forts and towns which had suffered damage, and providing for the quiet of the country. While he was thus concerned for the interest of his government, one Valentinus, a Pannonian, a man of an ambitious temper, who was banished into Britain; this man, with some other exiles and soldiers, hoping to rise upon Theodosius's ruin, attempted to take away his life: but the plot being discovered, Valentinus, with some of the most forward in the conspiracy, were put into duke Dulcitus's hands for execution: the rest were unprosecuted by Theodosius, not

*Theodosius's
success in
the govern-
ment of Bri-
tain.*

thinking it proper to make too strict an inquiry into such a formidable conspiracy, for fear it might grow worse by making the criminals desperate.

Amm. Mar-
cell. lib. 28.
cap. 27.

After this, he proceeded in the settlement and security of the island; strengthened the fortifications, and put sufficient garrisons into places bordering upon the enemy. And thus, having recovered that part of the province which was seized, he brought it under the former regulations; giving it the name of Valentia, from the emperor Valentinian.

Amm. Mar-
cell. *ibid.*

Theodosius having managed to this advantage, being recalled, and well received by the emperor Valentinian, was succeeded by one Froamarius, king of the Businobantes, or inhabitants of the country of Weisbaden, upon the Rhine. This Froamarius had the government of Britain given him, about the year of our Lord 374.

Amm. Mar-
cell. lib. 29.
cap. 9.

Upon the death of the emperor Valentinian, Gratian, his eldest son by Severa, succeeded him. This young prince, by the advice of the council, and approbation of the army, took his half brother, Valentinian the younger, into the partnership of the government.

Meantime the affairs of the empire growing more and more perplexed, by the invasion of the Goths and other barbarous people, Gratian was glad to project for a more serviceable expedient; and, not thinking himself big enough for the administration, advanced Theodosius to a share with him in the empire. He was son to that Theodosius who had acquitted himself so honourably in Britain.

Amm. Mar-
cell. lib. 30.
cap. 12. Zo-
zim. lib. 4.

Gratian being a prince of an easy temper, and too much governed by flattery, entertained some renegado Alans in his service, and preferred them to the highest posts of honour and trust. The emperor's native troops, finding themselves thus overlooked, began to remonstrate and mutiny. Things being in this disposition towards a revolt, Maximus, a Spaniard and an officer in the army in Britain, repining at the advancement of his countryman Theodosius, and looking upon himself neglected, heightened the discontent of the troops, and pushed the sedition so far as to get himself proclaimed emperor.

Gildas. His-
tor. p. 12.

This rebellion of Maximus, breaking out about the year of our Lord 383, is mentioned by Gildas, who lashes him for his usurpation, and salutes him very freely in the language of his character. Sulpitius Severus speaks very civilly of him, owns

him to be a person of great abilities, courage, and regularity, and who, had it not been for his invasion of the throne, had deserved the commendation of an excellent prince. Bede likewise, mentioning this Maximus, calls him a stout and unexceptionable person, as to the main of his behaviour; and that he had deserved the imperial purple, had he not made his way to it by perfidiousness and treason. This usurper being supported by the revolt of the troops, he passed over into Gaul, and pursuing the emperor Gratian, by his master of the horse, Adragathius, got him murdered at Sigisdunum or Semandria in Servia.

Sulpit.
Dial. 2. c. 7.

Bede, l. 1.
c. 9.

Being thus successful against Gratian, he turned his arms upon Valentinian, and expelled him from Italy. Valentinian retreated to Theodosius, who was successful against the usurper, and defeated him and his brother Marcellinus in two pitched battles. And thus, Maximus, after five years' usurpation, was taken at Aquileia, brought in chains to the emperor Theodosius; and the troops being apprehensive that the emperor might be overswayed by compassion, immediately struck off Maximus's head.

Zozim. lib. 4.
Baron.
A. D. 388.
p. 570.
A. D. 388.
*The usurper
Maximus
slain.*

About this time, travelling to Jerusalem to visit the holy places was very customary. Gregory Nissen has a tract upon this subject. And St. Jerome, in his thirteenth epistle to Paulinus, gives us his opinion of this practice. "One may find the way to heaven," says he, "with the same ease in Britain as at Jerusalem; for the kingdom of God is within ye. Neither Anthony, nor any of the numerous body of monks of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Armenia, ever saw Jerusalem, and yet the gate of Paradise stands open to them, without taking their journey through this city. St. Hilarion, though he was born and lived in Palestine, was never but one day at Jerusalem; and by managing himself in this manner, he took care neither to put a neglect on the holy places, when they were so near him, nor yet to confine the blessings and protection of providence to a single spot of ground."

*Pilgrimages
to Jerusalem
frequent.*

And that our countrymen, the Britons, used to travel to Jerusalem with the rest of Christendom, appears both from Palladius and from St. Jerome. Palladius mentioning the noble hospitality of Melania, who used to entertain those strangers at Jerusalem, that came thither upon the motives of religion:

"It is not my business alone," says he, "to record the Christian generosity of this lady. The Persians, Britons, and almost all countries being witnesses, and sharers in her bounty; for indeed every quarter of almost the whole universe was obliged by her."

Pallad. Hist.
Lausiac.
cap. 118.
Hieron.
tom. 1.
ep. 17.

And St. Jerome, speaking of these pilgrimages, tells us, "that the Britons, though divided from the rest of the world, when religion gains the ascendant, quit their western sun and go in quest of a climate which they know nothing of, unless by report and the history of the Bible." And a little after, speaking more in general, he adds, "Strangers," says he, "from all parts frequent these places, and show us the particular virtues of their country, and improvement. Their language is different, but their religion is the same." This consent in religion, mentioned by St. Jerome, in which the Britons were likewise unanimous, refers chiefly to the Catholic Church, and not to the particular see of Rome; for here, as we may learn from that Father, was no such singularity of privilege, nor any necessary centre of communion. For in his epistle to Evagrius, he gives us to understand, "That the Churches of Gaul, Britain, Persia, Africa, the Indies, and all the barbarous nations, worship the same Christ, and are governed by the same standard of faith. Neither is the Church of the city of Rome supposed to be different from the rest of Christendom. However, if authority is insisted on, 'Orbis major est urbe;' the rest of the Christian world is preferable to the town of Rome. And wherever a bishop is fixed, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, at Constantinople, Rhegium, or Alexandria, the character and dignity of the office is the same."

As for the Britons, they used to travel to see Rome, according to the custom of other provinces; and from thence falling down the Tiber, set sail for the Holy Land, and from thence passed into Syria, to make a visit to the famous Simeon Stylites. Thus Theodoret, who wrote the life of this holy man, informs us. "There came a great many," says he, "to pay their respects to this celebrated hermit, from the remotest parts of the west; from Spain, Gaul, and from Britain."

Theodor. in
Philotheo.
sive SS.
Patrum.
Hist. cap. 26.

*Usurpation
fatal to the
Britons.*

And here it may not be improper to observe, that the Britons' taking part with the usurpation of Maximus proved fatal to them; for, as Gildas takes notice, the army that em-

barked with Maximus never returned. And thus, the island being exhausted and disfurnished of troops, and unpractised in the exercises of war, was made a prey, and miserably harassed and oppressed for several years by the Scots and Picts. These outlandish nations, taking advantage of the opportunity, invaded the country, the first from the north-west, and the latter from the northern quarter.

Gildas. Hist.
page 12.

Before we take leave of Maximus's memory, it may not be amiss to take notice of his pretended settling colonies of British troops in Armorica, since called Britain in Gaul. The story is told thus: That Maximus sent for a hundred thousand peasants out of Britain, together with thirty thousand regular troops, to defend the colony; and thus, having stocked Armorica with the British nation, gave the country to Conanus Meriadocus, who it seems had such an interest with Dionotus, King of Cornwall, that he not only gave him his daughter Ursula in marriage, but likewise made him a present of eleven thousand single women of quality, and about sixty thousand virgins of ordinary rank, to supply the Armorican Britons with wives. The greatest part of these young women were cast away, and lost in the transportation, and the remainder partly murdered, and partly taken prisoners by Guanius, king of the Huns, and Melga, king of the Picts. This relation, as unaccountable as it looks, is defended by Baronius, who flourishes upon it extremely, and produces it as a great curiosity. But this legendary narrative is so fully exposed by Browerus, that it is perfectly unnecessary to spend any more time about it. Indeed, I had hardly so much as mentioned it, had it not been to satisfy the reader that it was not overlooked.

Nennius.
Hist. Brit.
c. 23.
Galfrid.
Monemuth.
Hist. Britan.
lib. 5.
c. 14, 15, 16.
Fordun.
Scotor.
Histor.
lib. 2. c. 50.
The romantic story of the eleven thousand virgins, &c.
Baron. in
notis ad
Roman.
Martyrolog.
Octob. 21.
Brower. in
Notis ad Venantii Fortunati. lib. 3.
epigram. 8.
Usher Britan. Eccles. Antiquit.
p. 107. and deince.

About this time the heretic Pelagius began to appear in the world. Bede gives the following account of him: "In the year of our Lord," says he, "394, Arcadius, son of Theodosius, began his reign with his brother Honorius, and held the empire thirteen years. In this prince's reign, Pelagius, a Briton, began to spread his pestilent heresy against the doctrine of grace and supernatural assistance. He was seconded by Julianus of Campania, an ambitious man, and who thought himself mortally disobliged by the loss of a bishopric. St. Augustin and the rest of the Catholic Fathers appeared vigorously against this dangerous novelty. However, their answers were not successful enough to silence Pelagius, and his adhe-

A. D. 394.
Eccles. Hist.
lib. 1. c. 10.
The heresy of Pelagius.

Polydor.
Vergil. An-
glic. Hist.
lib. 3.

Augustin.
de Gestis
Palestin.
cap. 14, 19,
20, 33, 35.
Chrysost.
ad Olympi-
ad. epist. 16.
edit. Savil.
Isidor. His-
pal. Origin.
lib. 8. cap. 5.
Phot. Bibli-
oth. num. 53.
Genn. ad
Catalog. vir.
Illust. c. 42.
*The time
when this
heresy ap-
peared.*
Major. de
Gestis Sco-
torum. l. 1.
c. 15.
Chrysost.
ad Olympi-
ad. ep. 16.
Usher. Bri-
tan. Eccles.
Antiquit.
*Something
by way of
character of
this heretic.*
Augustin. de
Gestis Pales-
tinis in causa
Pelagii, c. 27.

rents ; but, on the other hand, the distraction seemed to rise upon opposition, and gain ground by being confuted and exposed. This Pelagius is said to have been born in Wales, and that his name, in the British language, was Morgan, which signifies sea-born, from whence he had his Latin name Pelagius. He was likewise a monk by profession, as we may learn from the testimonies of St. Austin, and the acts of the Palestine Synod ; from St. Chrysostom, Isidor, Hispalensis, and Photius, not to mention several others. This Pelagius wrote several books before he appeared a heretic, particularly three concerning the doctrine of the Trinity.”

As to the time when this heresy broke out, historians are not agreed. Johannes Major dates it from the year of our Lord 394 ; but the learned primate Usher proves it appeared later, from the authorities of St. Augustin and St. Chrysostom : the latter Father mentioning it as a misfortune just sprung up, in one of his epistles which was written from Arabissum in Armenia, in the year of our Lord 405.

As to Pelagius's character : he was a person of learning and sense ; and had a considerable reputation at Rome before he discovered his un-orthodoxy. St. Augustine himself treats him with great respect in a letter. And that Pelagius had no ill hand at writing, we may collect, to mention nothing more, by his letter to the lady Demetrias ; it was written upon the subject of Rome's being sacked by Alaricus, king of the Goths, and soon after that fatal misfortune. “ This dismal calamity,” says he, “ is but just over, and you yourself are a witness how Rome, that commanded the world, was astonished at the alarm of the Gothic trumpet, when that barbarous and victorious nation stormed her walls, and made their way through the breach. Where were then the privileges of birth, and the distinctions of quality ? Were not all ranks and degrees levelled at that time, and promiscuously huddled together ? Every house was then a scene of misery, and equally filled with grief and confusion. The slave and the man of condition were in the same circumstances, and everywhere the terror of death and slaughter was the same ; unless we may say the fright made the greater impression upon those who got the most by living. Now if flesh and blood has such power over fears, and mortal men can frighten us to this degree, what will become of us when the trumpet sounds from the sky, and the arch-

angel summons us to judgment? When we are not attacked by sword or lance, or by any thing so feeble as a human enemy? But when all the terrors of nature, the artillery of heaven, and the militia, as I may so speak, of God Almighty, are let loose upon us?"

This specimen may serve to show that Pelagius was a person of no heavy imagination, but had something of raciness and spirit in his pen. St. Augustine gives him this farther commendation, "of having the esteem of a very pious man, and of being a Christian of no vulgar rank." And that his improvements in sense and learning may be easily accounted for, St. Augustine tells us, "Pelagius lived very long at Rome, and kept the best company there;" and soon after the taking of that city by Alaricus, he set sail for Africa, and was at Carthage when the famous conference was held there, between the Catholics and Donatists: from Carthage he travelled into Egypt; and at last settled at Jerusalem. From hence it appears, though Pelagius was a monk, yet there is no probability that he ever lived, either under this character, or that of an abbot, at Bangor, as our monkish historians will have it; which will appear from these following considerations: first, because according to the most learned Dr. Stillingfleet, the British monasteries were somewhat of later date, being no older than St. Patrick's time. And as for his being a monk, those were called monks at Rome, in Pelagius's time, who had no office in the Church, but yet retired from the common employments of the world, for religious studies and devotion. Thus Garnerius confesses that Pelagius was no otherwise a monk, than as those were so called who led stricter lives than others within their own houses. The chief employment of these persons, next to their devotions, was the study of the Scriptures, as appears from St. Jerome's epistles: and here some person of particular eminency used to instruct his disciples: this was St. Jerome's practice at Bethlehem. This office Rufinus performed to Pammachius, to Melania and her family. And so did Pelagius at Rome, where he was not without his scholars, as appears by Coelestius and Julianus, whom he instructed very young; and by Timasius and Jacobus, who afterwards recovered themselves, and applied to St. Augustine. It was under this employment that Pelagius wrote his short commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, and his letters to Melania and Demetrius: but after he

Inter Augustinas
epist. 142.

August. de
Gestis Palest.
cap. 22.

August. de
Peccat. Orig.
cap. 8. 21.

*Pelagius no
monk of
Bangor, nor
ever re-
turned into
Britain.*

August de
Gest. Palest.
contra Pelag.
cap. 22.
Isidor. Pelusiot.
lib. 1. ep. 314.

Usher. Britan.
Eccles. Antiq. c. 8.
p. 116.

Stillingfleet's
Antiquity of
British Churches.
c. 4. p. 185.

Stilling.
ibid.

was charged with heresy, his time was taken up in his own vindication, and for this purpose he travelled to the places above mentioned; so that, in short, there is no likelihood that either Pelagius or Cœlestius should return to Britain, to spread their heresy here. For Pelagius complained of his age, when he published his commentaries at Rome, about the year of our Lord 404. And he was certainly in the east, at the council of Diospolis, A. D. 415; from whence he wrote apologetical letters to Innocent I., and afterwards to Zozimus, bishops of Rome; and at last, died somewhere in the east.

Stillling.
ibid. p. 185,
186.
Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. cap. 8. p. 116.

And since Pelagius was undoubtedly a Briton, and made such an unfortunate figure in the world, it may not be improper to give a short account of some of his tenets, as we find them charged upon his disciple Cœlestius, by the Church of Carthage.

Augustin. de Gest. Palestin. c. 11. et de Peccat. Orig. c. 11. Some of Pelagius's tenets.

“ 1. That Adam had mortality in his nature, and that whether he had sinned or not sinned, would certainly have died.”

“ 2. That the consequences of Adam's sin were confined to his person; and that the rest of mankind received no disadvantage from thence.”

“ 3. That the Law qualified for the kingdom of heaven, and was founded upon equal promises with the Gospel.”

“ 4. That before the coming of our Saviour, some men lived without sin.”

“ 5. That new-born infants are in the same condition with Adam before his fall.”

“ 6. That the death and disobedience of Adam, is not the necessary cause of death to all mankind, neither does the general resurrection of the dead follow in virtue of our Saviour's resurrection.”

“ 7. That if a man will make the most of himself, he may keep the commands of God without difficulty, and preserve himself in a perfect state of innocence.”

“ 8. That rich men, notwithstanding the advantage of their baptism, unless they parted with all their estate, all other instances of virtue would be insignificant to them; neither could they be qualified for the kingdom of heaven.”

“ 9. That the grace and assistance of God is not granted for the performance of every moral act; the liberty of the will, and information in the points of duty, being sufficient for this purpose.”

“ 10. That the grace of God is given in proportion to our merits.”

“ 11. That none can be called the sons of God, unless they are perfectly without sin.”

“ 12. That our victory over temptation is not gained by God’s assistance, but by the liberty of the will.”

These heterodox assertions were not only objected against Celestius in Afric, but charged upon Pelagius in the council of Diospolis in Palestine, where they were all recanted, and the contradiction of them acknowledged by him. Upon which he was cleared by the council. But Pelagius relapsing, and discovering the insincerity of his recantation, was afterwards condemned by several councils in Afric, and by a synod at Antioch. Innocent likewise, Zozimus, and Nystus, popes of Rome, who had been favourable to him at first, were at last brought over to renounce him, at the instance and information of the African Fathers.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 2.
p. 1529, &c.
42.
A. D. 415.

The synod of Diospolis, where Pelagius was acquitted, consisted of fourteen bishops. But here, St. Augustine seems to intimate, that the council proceeded with too much precipitation, entering upon the decision of the question before those who impeached Pelagius could come up and appear in court. St. Jerome represents Pelagius as a man of art and mystery; that he endeavoured to dive out of sight, and keep his meaning in reserve. “ This is the only heresy,” says he, “ which is ashamed to own that in public, which they teach in private : but then the intemperate confidence of his disciples, discovers that which is secretly instilled by these instructors ; the disciples, I say, proclaimed on the housetops, what they heard in the secret chambers. And if the doctrine is approved, and goes down with the audience, the master has the credit of it : if it displeases, the scholar is only blamed, and the instructor lies under covert. By these methods your heresy has gained ground, and entangled a great many, especially those who admire the conversation of women, and are confident it is impossible for them to sin,” &c. As to Pelagius’s writings, they are as follow. A commentary on the epistles of St. Paul, attributed to St. Jerome : a Letter to Demetria, and some others in the last tome of St. Jerome : a Confession of Faith to pope Innocent : fragments of a treatise, of the Power of Nature and Free-will, in St. Augustine. These are extant.

August. de
Peeccat. Ori-
gin. ad Boni-
fac. lib. 2.
cap. 3, 4.
Marius.
Merc. in
Comment.
cap. 3. Stil-
lingfleet.
Antiquit. of
British
Churches,
c. 4. p. 185,
186.
Retract.
lib. 2. c. 47.
Ep. ad
Ctesiphont.
advers.
Pelag.

He wrote likewise, a treatise of the Power of Nature; and several books concerning Free-will, which are all lost.

*Pelagianism
got footing
in Britain.*
Baron. An.
419.

Prosper in
Chron. Flo-
rent. et Dio-
nys. Cons.

But notwithstanding Pelagianism was condemned by several councils and imperial constitutions, yet it made its way as far north-west, as the British Churches; being conveyed, as Prosper informs us, by one Agricola, the son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop. It appears by the rescript of Valentinian III., A. D. 425, that there were several Pelagian bishops in Gaul. Now the severe execution of the edict there, was probably the occasion of Agricola's quitting that country, and bringing the heresy hither. But Agricola was not the only unfortunate traveller for this purpose; for Prosper tells us, "it had taken possession here by the enemies of God's grace." From hence some have imagined, that Cœlestius at least, if not Pelagius, came hither, being expelled Italy by the interest of pope Cœlestine. But the Commonitorium of Marius Mercator, addressed to Theodosius, in the consulship of Dionysius and Florentius, i. e. A. D. 429, makes it evident, that Cœlestius returned into the east, and was banished from Constantinople by the emperor's proclamation: from whence it follows, that Cœlestius did not travel into these parts, nor do we read what became of him after the council of Ephesus, in which he was condemned by two hundred and seventy-five bishops, as the same Marius Mercator informs us.

Stillington.
Original
British
Churches,
chap. 4.
p. 188.

Bede Ec-
cles. Hist.
lib. 1. c. 17.

Baron.
tom. 5.
A. D. 429.
p. 531.
Baron. ib.
A. D. 420.

But whoever were so unhappy in transporting Pelagianism hither, Prosper is positive they were Britons, and that they were very successful in propagating the heresy. However, the orthodox party were not negligent to check their progress, and that they might be the better prepared to encounter their adversaries, they looked out for foreign assistance, requesting the bishops of Gaul, as Bede tells us, to send them some persons of eminence to manage the contest. Upon this, the Gallican bishops called a great council, and unanimously pitched upon Germanus and Lupus for this undertaking. The matter is thus reported by Bede, who seems to have transcribed Constantius. By the way, this Constantius was a Gallican priest of reputation; and Baronius thinks that he was afterwards preferred to a bishopric: he wrote St. German's life, and particularly his voyage into Britain, addressing this tract to Censurius bishop of Auxerre.

About this time lived Fastidius, a British bishop: he is

mentioned by Gennadius, who tells us, that he wrote a book, *Catal. Script. Eccl.*
De Vita Christiana, to one Fatalis, and another, *De Viduitate*
Servanda; and that the doctrine was sound and suitable to his
character. Trithemius rises in his commendation; says he *Trithem. de Script.*
was a person very learned in the holy Scriptures, an admirable
preacher, and of an exemplary life: that he was remarkable for
style and genius, and wrote several pious tracts, where he men-
tions the two books Gennadius speaks of, with this small differ-
ence of intituling the first, *De Doctrina Christiana*. Bale *Bal. cent. 1. cap. 41.*
reports, that upon his being consecrated bishop, he preached
all over Britain, and was, as the tradition goes, metropolitan
of London. Pits speaks with a more decisive air, and makes
him promoted to the see of London for his merit. Archbishop
Usher thinks they had no other ground for giving him this
metropolitical character, but only a different reading in Gen-
nadius, where he is called *Britanniarum episcopus*; from which
Bale and Pits concluded, he must be archbishop of London,
that being, as they supposed, the metropolis of Britain. But
the primate rather inclines to the opinion of Berterius, who
makes York the metropolis of Britain at this time; not only 43.
because it was a Roman colony, but because the prætorium
and emperor's palace was there. But these arguments, the
learned Dr. Stillingfleet concludes, have not weight enough in
them to disprove London's being the chief metropolis under the
Roman government: for, as he observes, every province had
its metropolis; and the superiority of one metropolis above
another, depended on the residence of the Roman governor,
called *Vicarius Britanniarum*. And that London was the
ordinary seat of the emperor's lieutenant, he thinks may be
probably concluded from its convenient situation for trade, and
for sending and receiving dispatches from abroad. To fortify
this conjecture, this city is called *Augusta* by Ammianus Mar-
cellinus, which shows, it was then the imperial city of Britain;
no other town in the island having that honourable distinction.
To which we may add the remark of the learned Velserus, *Am. Mar- cel. l. 27. c. 8. 28. 3.*
who informs us, that those cities that had the title of *Augusta*,
were the capitals of the country. Now, since according to
the general custom of the Church, the ecclesiastical govern-
ment was modelled in conformity to the state, and the dignity
of sees was regulated by the quality and distinction of cities
in the civil list; from hence we may reasonably infer, that if

De Britan. Script. Ætat. 5.

Britan. Eccl. Antiq. p. 171.

Stilling. Antiquit. British Churches, p. 195.

Am. Mar- cel. l. 27. c. 8. 28. 3.

Vels. Rer. Vindeicar. l. 5.

Fastidius was then bishop of London, he was chief metropolitan of the British Churches.

But waving any farther inquiry into the advantage of his character ; his doctrine in his book *De Vita Christiana*, is of late charged with a tincture of Pelagianism. But this censure, as the learned Dr. Stillingfleet observes, is over rigorous ; the spirit and orthodoxy of this book being such, as makes the commendation which Gennadius and Trithemius give him not at all hyperbolical. Bale and Pits multiply this single book, or, at least, this and the other about widowhood, into four. And Dempster makes him the author of a book called *Chronicon Scotorum* ; but these accounts are not at all to be relied on, Gennadius's authority being the only good voucher in this case.

To Fastidius we may join his contemporary St. Ninian, a noble Briton, born in North Wales, and very eminent for his learning and piety. He was very remarkable, when but a youth, for his abstinence, application to books, and the extraordinary gravity of his behaviour. After having carried the improvement of his education to all the advantages of his own country, he travelled into Italy, and went to Rome, where he furnished himself with the knowledge of the customs and rites of that Church. And here his learning and exemplary life made the pope take notice of him, who is said to have sent him back to Britain, for the farther instruction of that island and the neighbouring countries. In his return he made St. Martin a visit in Gaul, and was received by him with great respect. Being arrived in Britain, he applied himself chiefly to the conversion of the Southern Piets, and was so successful as to bring them over to the faith, and make them quit their idolatry. He had the character of a bishop, and fixed his see at Whithern, or Candida Casa, in Gallaway ; which place, after the coming of the Saxons, was possessed by the English, and made part of the kingdom with Northumberland. Here he built a church of free-stone, which was then unusual, and exceeded the British structures. This church was dedicated to St. Martin's memory, by which name the town is also called. St. Ninian is said to have consecrated several bishops, and divided the country into parishes ; though some are of opinion that there was but one bishop in the whole kingdom of the Piets, and that his see was at Abernethy in Strathern. St.

Hen. de
Noris. Hist.
Pelag.
l. 1. c. 19.

Hist. Scotor.
l. 6. n. 530.

A. D. 420.

Harpsfield.
Hist. Eccles.
Anglic.
p. 35.

Bede Eccles.
Hist.
l. 3. c. 4.
Camden.
Brit. Scotia.
p. 18. Bede
l. 3. c. 4.

Ibid.

Ninian wrote a comment upon the Psalms, and made a book of collections of the remarkable sentences of holy men, as Bale relates, who places his death to the year of our Lord 432, in the reign of Theodosius the younger.

To return to Bede, who tells us, "That St. German, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troy, receiving the commands of the Church with all imaginable inclination, immediately embarked and had a voyage good enough till they were half way over the channel, when all of a sudden the powers of darkness, who envying their enterprize, and apprehensive of their success, overcast the sky, and raised a violent storm. The force of the tempest tore the rigging in pieces, and made the seamen signify nothing, insomuch, that the ship, growing unmanageable, was driven at random, without any direction from the helm. And amidst all this danger, St. German happening to be tired with his voyage, or over-watching, was fallen asleep; and now the tempest grew more furious, and blew so hard, that the ship was almost under water. Things being come to this crisis, Lupus and the other passengers awakened the holy old man, whose courage rising in proportion to the danger, addressed our Saviour; and throwing a little water out of his hands, in the name of the blessed Trinity, exhorted his fellow bishop and the rest of the company to assist him with their devotions, and so they went all hands to prayers. Immediately upon this application, heaven interposed for their relief. The prince of the air retired, the rage of the tempest fell, the air was brightened, and the sea calmed; and the wind chopping about, and blowing gently astern, they were quickly carried to the British shore. There was a great company of people gathered together to receive them at their arrival; for it seems the evil spirits were forced to prognosticate their coming, though against their will. For, being obliged to quit their possession, they unwillingly confessed to the exorcist that these celebrated prelates were shortly to come over, and that their voyage would prove dangerous to them. And now these apostolical bishops filled the island, as it were, with their fame, their preaching, and their miracles. They omitted no opportunity of instructing and recovering the Britons; preaching not only in the churches, but sometimes in the fields and highways; and thus the orthodox were confirmed, and those misled acknowledged their error. As for

Bale Script.
Britan.
cent. l. c. 43.
Usher. Britan. Eccles.
Antiq.
p. 350, 351.
Germanus and Lupus sent for into Britain to oppose the Pelagians.
A. D. 429.

these two reverend prelates, their eminent sanctity gave them the lustre and authority of apostles ; their learning qualified them for the employment, and their miracles made the impression of their other qualifications go much farther. Being thus every way furnished for the employment, they carried the whole country before them. As for the heads of the heresy, they kept out of the way at first, and, like evil and envious spirits, lamented the loss of their proselytes. But, at last, they recollected themselves, and resolved to make a stand, and give Germanus and Lupus a meeting. When they came to the conference, they were richly habited, came attended with a great train of their party, and made a pompous appearance ; choosing rather to enter the lists and run the risk of a public dispute, than to lose themselves among their people, who would conclude them either cowardly, or conscious of the badness of their cause, if they declined the contest. The fame of this conference drew abundance of people together, who came both to hear and pass sentence. The contending parties were very different in their temper, figure, and furniture ; one side relied upon the divine aid, the other presumed on their own abilities ; piety appeared in one, and pride in the other party ; Christ was for the first, and Pelagius for the other. The holy bishops Germanus and Lupus gave their adversaries leave to argue first ; who spent the time and amused the audience with abundance of words, without any thing that was either solid or convincing at the bottom. When they had done, the holy prelates entered upon the confutation with a wonderful force of rhetoric, reason, and scripture proof. They argued from every topic of the question, and made reading and human learning subservient to revelation. In short, the pride of the Pelagians was mortified, and their sophistry exposed ; and being driven to silence by every objection, they owned their being baffled by not answering. As for the people, they gave sentence in their acclamations, shouted for Germanus and Lupus, and could scarce command their temper so far as to forbear beating the Pelagians."

*Germanus
and Lupus
dispute with
the Pela-
gians.*

Constant. de
Vita Germa-
ni. l. i. c. 19.
MS. in Bib-
lioth. Cotton
Floril. Hist.
ad Ann.
Grat. 446.

This conference was held at St. Albans, as Mattheus Florilegus informs us. That Florilegus is in the right seems probable from some old parchment records in the church of St. Albans, where it is said that St. German went into the pulpit and harangued the people, in the place where is still a little

chapel of his remaining. Besides, this tradition is confirmed by Constantius himself, who tells us that St. Alban's tomb was opened at that time. "Germanus," says he, "having the relics of the apostles and several martyrs about him, made a prayer suitable to the occasion, and then ordered the tomb to be opened, with a design to lodge a very honourable present there, thinking it reasonable that this holy collection, made from several countries, should be deposited with others of their own kind and character; and that those eminent saints, whose spirits dwelt together in heaven, might be neighbours to each other in some part of their bodies upon earth. And having laid these venerable remains in St. Alban's tomb, he took away with him some part of the martyr's dust, which seemed tinctured with the colour of blood."

I have observed already, that the orthodox Britons applied to the Gallican bishops to reinforce them against the Pelagians, and that Germanus and Lupus were sent by a deputation of a synod in Gaul; but it is objected on the other side that Cœlestine, bishop of Rome, sent Germanus as his legate hither, and for this, the testimony of Prosper is alleged. But this assertion seems sufficiently overthrown by the authorities of Constantius, Bede, Paulus, Diaconus, Freculphus, Erricus of Auxerre, and Ado of Vienne, who all agree that Germanus and Lupus received their commission for this employment from the bishops of Gaul. Baronius, who is always careful to set the pope at the head of church business, endeavours to reconcile this matter, and offers to make Prosper's testimony consistent with the rest. To this purpose, he tells us, "that the pope might approve of the choice of the synod, or might leave the nomination of his representative to the bishops of Gaul." But neither of these pretences will hold; for Prosper affirms Cœlestine sent him, *vice sua*, in his own stead, which is very different from appointing a council to choose one to be sent. And Constantius affirms, "that Germanus and Lupus undertook their voyage immediately," which is a sign they did not stay for the pope's instructions and approbation. Besides, the Gallican bishops and Cœlestine had no good understanding at this time of day, they being looked upon at Rome as somewhat inclined to Semi-Pelagianism. This makes it highly improbable, that either Cœlestine should refer the choice of his legate to these prelates, or that they should wait for his direction.

Cambden
Hertford-
shire, p. 293.
Usher Brit-
tan. Eccles.
Antiquit.
c. 10, p. 176.
Constant.
l. 1. c. 25.

Constant.
Vit. German.
l. 1. c. 25.
M.S. in Bib-
lioth. Saris-
buriensi, and
Cotton.
Usher. Brit-
tan. Eccles.
Antiquit.
p. 176.
*Germanus
and Lupus
sent into
Britain by a
Gallican
council, and
not by the
pope.*

Baron.
A. D. 429.
p. 351, 532.

Constant. de
Vita Ger-
man.
l. 1. c. 19.

Prosper
Epist. ad
Augustin.
inter
August.
Epist. 22.

45. There are likewise some different accounts in chronology, hardly to be reconciled.

Stillington
Antiquities
of British
chap. 4.
p. 189.

Prosper
contra Cas-
sian, ad fin.

Baron. A. D.
429. p. 531.

As to the testimony of Prosper, about Cœlestine's sending St. German, it may be answered; first, that the Prosper, published by Pithæus, never mentions it. Secondly, Prosper, in his tract against Cassian, which undoubtedly belongs to him, does not affirm it. For there he only declares that Cœlestine took care to disengage Britain from Pelagianism. To this we may add, that supposing Prosper's testimony is not interpolated, yet Constantius's authority is preferable to Prosper's in this matter: for Constantius was not only in a manner contemporary with St. German; but likewise a person of great eminency, as appears by Sidonius Apollinarius's Letters, and wrote with great exactness and impartiality, even by the confession of Baronius. Neither does Constantius stand single for this point, but the author of the Life of St. Lupus gives account, and so does Bede and the rest of the historians above-mentioned.

*A victory
gained by
the prayers
of Germanus
and Lupus.*

Bede Ec-
cles. Hist.
lib. i. cap. 18.
Constant.
Vit. Germ.
lib. i. cap. 23.
Bede, *ibid.*
cap. 20.

Soon after the famous conference was ended, "a person of quality and his lady came to these holy prelates, and brought their daughter of about ten years of age, requesting them to cure her of her blindness. Upon which, they advised her parents to carry her to their Pelagian adversaries: but these men, being discouraged by their conscience to attempt the child's recovery, joined with the parents in their application to the bishops, and desired them to undertake the cure; who, finding their adversaries began to yield and relent, made a short prayer. And thus, when Germanus had invoked the blessed Trinity, with some other religious applications, the miracle was perfected, and the girl restored to her sight. This supernatural performance made these holy men extremely regarded, and made a wonderful impression upon the people, insomuch that multitudes of them were immediately undeceived, and returned to the orthodox belief."

About this time, as Constantius and Bede inform us, the Saxons and Piets attacked the Britons, and obliged them to lie intrenched. And being conscious of the disadvantage and inequality of their forces, they sent to the holy bishops to entreat their assistance. Germanus and Lupus complied with their request, and went immediately to their camp: the troops were wonderfully encouraged at the sight of these

venerable men, and thought themselves as it were reinforced with a new army. This happened in the holy solemnity of Lent, which was kept more strictly by the example and authority of these prelates; and thus the soldiers, being every day instructed in set discourse, were qualified for the privileges of Christianity, and great numbers of them baptized. Thus the army, animated with the grace of baptism, and fortified by their holy religion, depended wholly upon the assistance of heaven, without any regard to their military preparations. The enemy, having intelligence of the posture of their affairs, promised themselves an easy victory, and marched against them with all the cheerfulness and expedition imaginable: however the Britons had scouts, who gave them notice of their coming: and now, the Easter festival being just over, the greatest part of the army baptized and ready to be drawn up in order of battle, St. German offers himself for their general, and being accepted, he detaches a party of horse to scour the fields, and give intelligence: and, being informed of the enemy's march, he ranges his troops in a valley surrounded with hills. And now the advanced guards gave notice of the enemy's approach: upon this, Germanus orders all the troops to be, as it were, an echo, and repeat what they should hear pronounced by him. And the enemy advancing with strong presumptions of success, and expecting to surprise the Britons, the prelates pronounced Hallelujah, with a strong voice, thrice together. This holy sound, being repeated by the whole army, and the force of the noise doubled, and reverberated by the enclosure of the mountains, the enemy was seized with all the terror imaginable, and fancied that not only the mountains, but even the sky was ready to tumble upon them, and thought they could never run fast enough out of the field. Thus they retired with all the speed and confusion imaginable, and, throwing down their arms, were glad to carry off their limbs, and secure themselves: and a great many of them, being hurried and overset with the surprise, were drowned in the river they endeavoured to pass. On the other side, the British army had nothing else to do but to see themselves revenged by miracle, and were only spectators of the victory. However the religious army gleaned up the plunder, and paid their acknowledgments to Heaven. The prelates triumph for their conquest without slaughter, and for

routing the enemy with their faith, and not with their forces. And now, having every way secured and settled the island, defeated the enemy of all kinds, and carried their point against men and devils, they prepared for their return: and taking their leave, with the regret of the country, arrived safe in Gaul.

This victory was gained in Flintshire, near a town called Mold, by the English, and Guid Cruc in Welsh: and the place where the armies were drawn up, has the name of Maes Garmon, or German's Field, to this day.

Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. An objection from chronology satisfied.

But here we have a chronological difficulty to deal with, and to satisfy the query, how the Britons could be relieved against the Saxons in this miraculous manner, since the

46. Floril. Hist. Ann. 448. Sigon. de Occidental. Imper. lib. 12. Ann. 429.

coming of these latter into Britain seems posterior to St. German's being here. Matheus Florilegus and Sigonius, not being able to untie the knot, have ventured, like Alexander, to cut it; and, instead of Saxonum, will needs read it Scotorum. But there is no need of altering the copies, and making use of such strains as this: for, upon consideration, it will appear that the Saxons made several descents upon Britain before the remarkable arrival of Hengist. For in the beginning of the reign of Valentinian I. the Britons used to be frequently disturbed, not only by the Picts and Scots, but by the Saxons too, as Ammianus Marcellinus informs us: and under the emperor Honorius, Claudian introduces Britain making this panegyrical acknowledgment upon Stilicon.

Amm. Marcellin. in lib. 26. Claudian. lib. 2. de Laudib. Stilic.

*Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremere; ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis, venturum Saxona ventis.*

And to secure the island from the insults of this foreign enemy, the emperor had a comes Saxonici littoris, or an intendant to guard the coasts, as appears by the Notitia Imperii. But when the Roman legions were recalled, and the coasts left naked, it is no wonder to find the Britons harassed by frequent descents of the Saxons. This made Gildas astonished at the weakness of Vortigern's council for inviting the Saxons over. Was ever any thing, says he, more short-sighted, or could ever any men lose their senses to a greater degree! To take those into their country, and, as it were,

Gild. Hist.

into their bosom, whom they dreaded more than death ! Indeed the Britons had been for some time in a worse condition to defend themselves than formerly ; for, breaking off by little and little from the sovereignty of the empire, the Romans, it is likely, were not very inclinable to transport forces for their relief. However, this moving towards an independency might be probably with the permission of Honorius, who seems to discharge them of their allegiance, by writing to them to provide for themselves, and manage their own affairs.

Zozim. lib.6.

Not long after, being terribly harassed with the Picts and Scots, they petition the emperor Honorius for recruits, making all the profession of respect and duty imaginable. Honorius, overlooking their former disloyalty, sent them a legion, under the command of Victorinus. This reinforcement gained a great victory over the Picts and Scots, and drove them out of the country. When these Roman troops were recalled, they ordered the Britons to run up a wall between the two friths to guard their frontier. But the natives having not so much skill in building and fortification, and it may be being somewhat lazy, made the barrier of turf instead of stone, and so it signified little. And now, being disfurnished of the Roman assistance, the Picts and Scots make another descent upon them, break through their wall, and ravage the country. Upon this the Britons address the empire for another reinforcement. The Romans, being affected with their lamentable story, dispatched away a legion, which giving a defeat to the Scots and Picts, obliged them to retire, and quit the country. And now the Romans, at their going off, give the Britons to understand, that they could not go through with any such fatigues, nor make any more long marches to their assistance ; and therefore bid them take care of themselves, and practise the exercises of war ; and so leaving them some directions for their defence, embarked their forces.

A. D. 420.
*The civil
affairs of
Britain.*

*Of Dunbri-
ton and
Edinburgh.*
Gildas. Hist.
p. 12. Bede,
Eccles. Hist.
lib.1. cap.12.

Gildas. Hist.
p. 13. Bede,
Eccles. Hist.
lib.1. cap.12.

Gildas et
Bede, ibid.
A.D. 446.

The Romans were no sooner gone, but the old enemy appeared again, and marched up as far as Severus's wall, which the Romans at their last visit had repaired with stone and fortified with towers : and here, at the approach of the enemy, the wretched Britons had not courage enough to man the wall and defend the fort ; but were such notorious cowards as to let the enemy hook them off the battlements, and knock

them on the head. In short, they quickly abandoned the wall and their towns too, and were miserably scattered about the country, gleaned up in great numbers, and slaughtered like sheep by the enemy. And now the ravage of the country occasioned a terrible famine, which pressed the Britons so hard, that they preyed upon their friends, and plundered one another; having at last scarcely any thing to subsist upon, excepting what they took in hunting. Being thus lamentably distressed, they addressed the empire once more, and send the groans of Britain, as they call them, to consul Aëtius; where, amongst other arguments for compassion, they tell him what a dismal condition they were in; “that the barbarians pushed them to the sea, and the sea drove them back upon the barbarians; so that they had only the choice left them of the two ways of dying, either to be drowned, or have their throats cut.”

Gildas et
Bede, *ibid.*

But now they sent an embassy to no purpose, for the Romans had their hands full of business; and having the Huns, Goths, and Vandals to deal with, were in no condition to assist them. And now, as Gildas goes on, the Britons were glad to come to terms, and submit; though some of them chose rather to retire to fastnesses, and live in woods and caves, than part with their liberty.

Gildas, *Hist.*
p. 14. Bede,
lib. 1. cap. 13.

The Picts and Scots having got firmer footing, and continuing their depredations longer than usual, the Britons despairing of human assistance, began to reform, and apply to the aids of religion. It was not long before they found the benefit of this recollection; for the enemy receiving several checks, withdrew to the extreme parts of the island, and grew much more inoffensive than formerly.

47. During this interval of indisturbance, there was wonderful plenty through all the island, and such as had not been known in the memory of man. But then the misfortune was, that luxury and libertinism seemed to increase with their provisions, and keep pace with their prosperity. “For then,” as Gildas continues, “St. Paul’s reproof of the Corinthians might properly be applied to them, that ‘there was such fornication among them, as was not so much as named among the Gentiles.’ But this was not their only vice, for there was scarce any instance of disorder which escaped them; and, which was more particularly their ruin, they hated truth, and all that had

the courage to maintain it: lies and imposture were their delight: they called evil good, idolized wickedness, took darkness for day, and Satan for an angel of light. They set up princes and deposed them at pleasure, and commonly the last choice was the worst. And if any of their princes happened to be of a better temper, and more a friend to virtue than the rest, this was enough to draw a general odium and obloquy upon him." —And having lashed the laity, the historian carries on his satire to the church, and tells us, "that the clergy, who ought to be exemplary, and live for their congregations, as well as for themselves, were sad instances of misbehaviour: and here he taxes them particularly with intemperance and ambition, with envy and litigiousness." This universal corruption of manners proved fatal to the island, as we shall see afterwards.

Gild. Hist.
p. 14, 15.

I shall now proceed to St. German's second voyage into Britain, upon the reviving of Pelagianism; which was not undertaken so soon after the first as Bede seems to imagine; the interval taking almost twenty years, as we may collect from the death of St. German, who, according to Constantius, and all other writers, died soon after his second return. For though the learned Cambden places St. German's death to the year 435, yet he has none but Baronius for his voucher. And that the cardinal was mistaken, appears plainly by the testimony of Honoratus, his contemporary, and bishop of Marsielle, who tells us, "that Germanus was present at a Gallican council, convened upon the account of a bishop called Chelidonius, and held in the year 444." Sigonius makes St. German die in the year 448: and the writer of St. Genovese's life affirms St. German reached the year 451. Florilegus fixes the second voyage to the year 449, in which he agrees with Sigebert's Chronicon.

St. German's second
voyage to
Britain.

Cambden
Britan.
p. 94, 95.
Baron.
A. D. 435.
p. 668.
A. D. 449.

Concil. Gall.
tom. 1.
p. 79 et 597.

And now Germanus had Severus, bishop of Treves, and one of his scholars for his companion; St. Lupus being otherwise engaged.

Upon the arrival of these holy men (or rather before it) a vast number of the Britons were met together to receive them. And here one Elaphius, a person of the first rank, appeared with the rest, and brought his son along with him. This young man had the sinews of his leg and thigh shrunk to that degree that he was not able to walk. The reverend prelates, upon their coming ashore, find the generality of the people

Constant.
Vit. Ger-
man. lib. 2.
Bede, Hist.
Eccles. 1. 1.
c. 21.

orthodox enough, and that the infection had only seized a few : and thus inquiring into those who had revived the heresy, they proceeded to censure. Upon this Elaphius, falling down at the bishop's feet, presented his son, and entreated their assistance and benediction. St. German being touched with the misfortune of the family, ordered the young man to be placed in a sitting posture, and then stroking his hands over the parts affected, motion and strength immediately followed his application ; the withered place returned to its former colour and bulk, the muscles swelled and performed their function, and the youth was returned perfectly cured to his father, before all the company. The people were surprisingly struck with the miracle, and well prepared for the impressions of what the bishops should deliver : and thus, according to the condition of the persons, they were either confirmed in the right or retrieved from the wrong persuasion. And for their better security, they unanimously agreed to banish the chief, and most active Pelagians. These men were delivered to the bishops, to be transported into the Continent. By this assistance and expedient, the island continued orthodox and catholic a great while together. Things being brought to this happy conclusion, the holy prelates took their leave, and had a fair wind to carry them over. Soon after, Germanus taking a journey to Ravenna, to solicit in behalf of the province of Armorica, and being honourably received by the emperor Valentinian, and his mother Placidia, exchanged this life for a better. From this town his corpse was carried to Auxerre, and attended with a great train of quality.

Constant. et
Bede. *ibid.*

This account of St. German's voyages into Britain, was written by Constantius, when Censurius was bishop of Auxerre ; whose coming to that see was about forty years from the death of St. German, as we may learn from Ericus, a monk of the same church, in his preface to his two books of St. German's miracles.

Usher, Britan.
Eccles. Antiquit.
p. 205.

And here it may not be improper to observe, that St. German and his companions are, by our antiquaries, reported to have been serviceable to the British churches, in other respects, besides the confuting Pelagianism ; of which there are two considerable instances. First, the institution of schools of learning ; and, secondly, the introduction of the Gallican liturgy.

Schools of learning settled in Britain by Germanus and Lupus.

First, as to schools of learning, none were of greater reputation than Dubricius and Iltutus; who are both said to have been St. German's scholars. The anonymous author of the *Chronicle in Leland* tells us, "that St. German and Lupus, having suppressed the Pelagian heresy, consecrated bishops in several parts of Britain, and, among the rest, they erected a cathedral at Landaff, and made Dubricius archbishop, who fixed his disciples in several churches: for this purpose, he made Daniel bishop of Bangor, and disposed of Iltutus to a place from him, called Lan Iltut, or the church of Iltutus." Camden relates, "it is still called Lantuit, where the foundations of many houses were to be seen in his time, near the place called Boverton; but there is another place near Nidum or Neath, called Llanylted, which has a great deal of resemblance in the name. The old register of Landaff, after the mention of frequent messages dispatched by the Britons to the bishops of Gaul, to assist them against the Pelagians; and that Germanus and Lupus came over at their request, adds, "that they consecrated bishops in many places, and made Dubricius archbishop over all the Britons, dextralis partis Britanniae, of the right-hand part of Britain." By this right hand part of Britain, primate Usher understands South Wales: but it appears by Asserius Menevensis, that North Wales is called the right-hand part of Britain, no less than the other. And therefore the most learned Dr. Stillingfleet is of opinion that Dubricius was made archbishop over all the Britons in those parts. For Ralph Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, affirms, the bishop of Caerleon had seven suffragans under him; and Matthew Westminster informs us, that Dubricius was made bishop of Caerleon: which province Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, tells us, extended as far as the Severn; and so took in Chester, Hereford, and Worcester. But before Dubricius was raised to so high a station, the authors of his life speak of the great number of scholars which resorted to him from all parts of Britain; and not only the vulgar, but persons of great rank and reputation; for the purpose, St. Thelias, Sampson, Aidanus, and several others. They likewise mention two places where he used to receive and instruct his disciples, one at Hentland, on the river Wye, where he had no less than a thousand students bred to divinity and human learning. The other was at Moch-Ross,

Collect.
vol. 2. p. 42.

Britan.
p. 498.

Monast. Ang-
lic. vol. 3.
p. 188.
Libr. Lan-
davens MS.
fol. 1.

De Gestis
Alfred. ad
A. D. 884.

Stilling.
Antiquit.
British
Churches,
p. 202.
Polyc. lib. 1.
cap. 52.
Mat. West.
A. D. 490 et
507.

where he was furnished with a convenient settlement for study and devotion.

And as to Ilutus, Vincentius, and the author of the life of Sampson, are positive for his being a disciple of St. German's : and the writer of Gildas's life relates, that in the school of Ilutus, a great many noblemen's sons were educated ; among the principal of which, he instances in Sampson, afterwards archbishop of Dol, in Brittany, in Paulus, bishop of the Oxismii, the most northern of the Armorici ; and, in Gildas, called Sapiens, of whom more hereafter. To these, Leland subjoins David and Paulinus ; and affirms, that his school flourished like an university among the Britons. Bollandus makes a very probable conjecture, that when St. German came into Britain and found the decay of learning to have been the great occasion of spreading of Pelagianism ; he appointed Dubricius and Ilutus to undertake the education of the British clergy, and that by this seasonable provision the country continued orthodox.

The story of St. German's making a visit to Oxford and Cambridge being not supported by any good authority, I shall pass it over.

Another benefit the British churches are said to receive from Germanus and Lupus, relates to the public liturgy : for, in an ancient MS. in the Cotton library, treating of the original of divine offices, Germanus and Lupus are said to have brought *Ordinem Cursus Gallorum* into the British churches ; by which we are to understand the Gallican liturgy : for *Cursus*, in the ecclesiastical use of the word, is the same with *Officium Divinum*, as we may learn from Dominicus Macer's *Hierolexicon* ; and in this sense, the word is used by our Saxon writers.

This passage will make it necessary to inquire briefly what the Gallican liturgy was at this time, and how far different from the Roman ? Now it is agreed on all hands, that there was a material difference between them : for when Gregory sent Augustine the monk into England to convert the Saxons, one of the questions proposed to the pope by Augustine was, " that since there was such a diversity between the offices of the Roman and Gallican churches, he desired to know which he should follow ? " Pope Gregory's answer was, " that he should choose what he thought most proper for the English Church : " which plainly implies, that the pope granted, the

Usher Britan. Eccles. c. 13.

Vincent. Spec. Hist. l. 21. c. 105. Biblioth. Floriac. p. 468. Vit. Gild. ibid. c. 3.

Bolland. Act. Sanct. Febr. 9. Vit. St. Telian.

Vid. Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiq. c. 2.

The Gallican liturgy introduced into Britain by Germanus and Lupus.

Concil. Cal. c. 7.

Asser. Vit. Alfred. *The difference between the Roman and Gallican offices.*

Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. 1.

churches of Christendom differed in their liturgical offices, and that he did not think it reasonable all other churches should be concluded by the practice at Rome. If the books of Musæus, mentioned by Gennadius, were extant, we might easily understand the difference between the Roman and the Gallican form: for, he being a priest of the church of Mar-seilles, and a learned divine, was desired by his bishop, Venerius, to draw up a form of public service, consisting of two parts; the ordinary morning service, and the office for the communion. The first of these performances was finished in the time of Venerius, and the second under Eustathius, his successor: and both of them commended by Gennadius, upon the score of their order, usefulness, and decency.

To be somewhat more particular, in pointing out the difference between the Roman and Gallican churches in these two main parts of the public liturgy. And first with reference to the morning service.

Now, in the church of Rome, for above four hundred years they had nothing before the sacrifice, beside the epistle and gospel: but in the fifth century, Celestine appointed the Psalms to be used, or, as Wallafridus Strabo, and Micrologus inform us, ordered antiphonæ to be made out of them and sung. But, in process of time, as Wallafridus Strabo observes, other lessons were taken out of the Old and New Testament, suitably to the occasion, which might probably be transcribed from the Gallican church, as other enlargements of their offices were by the confession of the ritualists. Farther, cardinal Bona observes, that Gregory I. composed the Antiphonæ at the Introitus, and at the Responsoria, &c., out of the old version, made before St. Jerome's time: for which, he gives this reason, "that the people at Rome were so used to it, that they would not learn the New Testament of St. Jerome:" and the same author takes notice, also, "that the old italic version was not only used in Rome, but in all the suburbicary churches, and other foreign churches, Gaul only excepted." And from thence St. Jerome's translation was called Versio Gallicana, because it was immediately received by the Gallican church. To this we may add, that the Ambrosian Hymns were publicly received in Gaul, as appears by the second council at Tours. And Cassander observes, that not only those made by St. Ambrose, but others in imitation of them,

Gennad. de
Scriptor.
cap. 79.

Wallaf.
c. 22. Mi-
crol. c. 1.
Stillling.
Antiquit. of
British
Churches,
chap. 4.
49.

Stillling.
ibid.
Card. Bon.
Rer. Liturg.
lib. 2. cap. 3.
sec. 4.

Lib. 1.
cap. 12.

Concil.
Turon.
cap. 23.
Cassand.
Pref. ad
Hymn. Ec-
cles.

Walafr.
Cassian.
Justif. Mo-
nach. lib. 2.
cap. 8.

Bellar. de
Missa. lib. 2.
cap. 16. Ba-
ron. A. D.
325. Bona
de Psalmod.
c. 16. n. 6.

went under his name ; which opinion is confirmed by Wallafridus Strabo. To proceed, Cassian informs us, that in the Gallican churches, *Gloria Patri*, &c., was said by the people at the end of every psalm : but Wallafridus Strabo takes notice, that at Rome they used it rarely at the end of the Psalms, but more frequently after the Responsoria. From hence, the cardinals, Bellarmin, Baronius, and Bona, all of them conclude “ those ritualists mistaken, who make Damasus the author of adding *Gloria Patri*, &c., to the end of every psalm : and that the letter to that pope, which goes under the name of St. Jerome, is evidently counterfeited.”

From hence it appears, that the morning service of the Gallican Churches consisted chiefly of lessons, hymns, and psalms of St. Jerome’s translation, with the *Gloria Patri* at the end of every psalm. And that in this part of the divine service, they differed in several circumstances from the Roman office.

Gennad. in
Musæo.

As to the communion service, Musæus, as Gennadius reports, composed a large volume of the sacraments, with several offices, suitable to the seasons, together with a proper diversity of lessons, psalms, anthems, prayers, and thanksgivings. This book is called *Liber Sacramentorum* ; and so is Gregory the Great’s ; it being the ancient name for books of liturgic offices. And here, cardinal Bona confesses there is undeniable evidence that the old Gallican liturgy differed from the Roman. And, to fortify the cardinal’s testimony, the emperor Charles the Great informs us, that there was such a difference in the celebration of the divine offices : and more than that, the emperor affirms, that the Gallican Churches were very unwilling to change their form for the Roman.

To mark the distinction a little in some particulars :

Antiquit.
British
Churches,
c. 4. p. 226.

Baron.
A. D. 1014.

Stilling.
Antiquit.
British
Churches,
ch. 4.
Menard.
Notæ in
Græg. Sacr.
p. 370.

First, the learned Dr. Stillingfleet observes from Berno Augiensis, that, in the communion service, the Creed was not said nor sung at Rome, after the Gospel, till the reign of the emperor Henry I., at whose instance it was introduced, A. D. 1014. Before this time, none that mentioned the customs of the Roman missal, say any thing of the Creed ; as may be seen in Alcuinus, Amalarius, Rabanus, and others. And this cannot be understood barely of the Constantinopolitan or Nicene Creed, as Menardus observes ; because then Berno would have spoken more distinctly. And as for the Athanasian Creed, as far as we can trace it, that was first used in the

Gallican Churches ; as we may learn from Abbo Floriacensis in Baronius. It is true, the third council of Toledo orders the use of the Creed in all the churches of Spain and Gallæcia, or as some copies have it, of Gallia ; Gallia Narbonensis being then under the dominion of the Gothic princes. Much about this time, at a council at Narbonne the Gloria Patri was ordered to be used at the end of every psalm ; which, as we have observed, was the custom in other Gallican Churches, in Cassian's time. Now it seems very probable, that the Spanish Churches were governed by the usages of the Gallican, in other parts of the divine offices, as well as this : a passage in the epistle of Carolus Calvus, cited by Cardinal Bona, seems to confirm this observation : this prince, speaking of the ancient Gallican offices, before the introduction of the Roman, takes notice, " that he had seen and heard how much they differed, by the priests of the Church of Toledo, who performed the divine service of their Church when he was present." Now this had been foreign to the emperor's point, unless the Gothic and Gallican offices had been the same. Not that the old Gallican service can be exactly inferred from the form of the Mozarabic liturgy, as it was settled by cardinal Ximenes, in a chapel of the Church of Toledo ; because so long a tract of time may have occasioned a great many alterations. But, as far as we can trace the ancient form of the Gothic Missal, we may probably conclude upon the customs of the Gallican Church at that time, and argue for the difference between them, and the Roman offices ; and of this difference we may give another instance in the prophetical lessons, which by the rubric of the Mozarabic liturgy, were part of the standing service. And thus, as Gregory of Tours observes, three books were laid upon the altar in the Gallican churches : that of the Prophets, of the Epistles, and of the Gospels : but nothing but the Epistle and Gospel were read at Rome, as has been shown already : from whence it appears, that the book, called the Lectionarius, 50. or Comes, assigned to St. Jerome, must be counterfeit ; because here we meet with the lessons out of the Prophets.

To proceed : after the Gospel, in other Churches, the sermon used to follow ; but in the old Roman offices there is no mention of any sermon to the people. Thus cardinal Bona affirms, " That it has been the constant practice of the Church, from the apostolical age to our own, for the sermon to follow the

Baron.
A. D. 1001.
Can. 2.

Concil. Nar-
bon. i. can. 2.

Rerum Li-
turg. lib. 1.
cap. 12.

Gomez. de
Vit. Ximen.
l. 2. Stillling.
ibid.

Gregor. Tu-
ron. l. 4.
cap. 16, &c.

Stillling.
ibid. p. 229.

Rer. Liturg.
l. 2. c. 7. n. 6.

Gospel." The antiquity of this custom the cardinal proves clearly enough, from the testimonies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and the general practice in other Churches, particularly the Gallican. But he does not attempt to prove this usage received in the Church of Rome. But then on the contrary,

Sozom. l. 7.
c. 9.

Sozomen takes notice of it as a singularity in that Church, "that there was no preaching in it, either by the bishop or any one else." This Valesius seems to be surprised at: however, he confesses the truth of the remark; "for had it been otherwise," says he, "Cassidore, who was certainly well acquainted with the customs of the Church of Rome, would never have repeated it."

To mention another difference between the Roman and Gallican Churches: the Gallican began with a peculiar confession of sins, made by the priest: a form of this we have published by cardinal Bona, out of a very ancient manuscript in the Queen of Sweden's library: and this the cardinal proves to have been the old Gallican office. It is true, there are several such confessions in the sacramentary of Gregory, but all different from the Gallican form.

Rer. Liturg.
l. 2. c. 1.

Sacr. Greg.
p. 242.

There is likewise a considerable difference in the canon of the mass or prayer of consecration, between the Roman and the old Gallican Church; the form of the latter making strongly against the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Stilling. ibid.
p. 235, 236.

To conclude this subject: there was a considerable difference between the two Churches above mentioned in their music. And here, the Roman Church had the advantage, insomuch, that the fineness of their music made way for their offices in foreign Churches. Thus Charles the Great says, that his father Pepin introduced the Roman way of singing into the Gallican Churches, and brought in their offices along with it. And notwithstanding, as he continues, the innovation was opposed by several Churches, yet the point was carried by the prince's interest. To this purpose some of the best music-masters in Rome were invited into France, and settled there to teach their manner to the French Churches. By this provision, the old Gallican service was forgotten to that degree, in the reign of Carolus Calvus, that this prince was forced to send as far as Toledo for some of the clergy to perform the old offices. And this may be sufficient to give the reader a specimen of the difference between the Roman offices, and the

De Imag.
l. 1.

Pithæi Glos-
sar. 5.
Cantus Gal-
licanus.
Carol. Calv.
Epist. ad
Cler. Raven.

ancient service of the western Churches. From hence likewise we may discover that the English prelates at the Reformation, rather followed the latter; and where there happened to be a difference, were more governed by the British or Gallican, than by the Roman form.

To return more directly to the history, and go a little backwards. And since Ireland is parcel of the British crown, and was principally converted by St. Patrick, born in Britain, it may not be amiss to touch, in a word or two, upon some of the most early and considerable advances of Christianity in that country. And here, to prevent the chronology from being disturbed, the retrospection shall be marked in the margin.

In the year of our Lord 431, Palladius, as Prosper informs us, was consecrated bishop by pope Cœlestine, and sent ad Scotos in Christum credentes, i. e. to the converted Scots in Ireland. This author in his book, *Contra Collatorem*, mentioning the care Cœlestine had to drive Pelagianism out of Britain, adds, that “the pope by sending the Scots a bishop, not only secured a Roman island in its orthodoxy, but likewise brought a barbarous one to Christianity. By this barbarous island, as primate Usher observes, we are clearly to understand Ireland: for so the Romans called all countries unsubdued by the empire.” And thus Prosper, by distinguishing the island of the Scots from Britain, cannot possibly mean any thing but Ireland. And here, as the primate takes notice, by the barbarous island turning Christian, as Prosper speaks, we are not to suppose that there was no Christianity in the country before Palladius’s mission; for Kiaranus, Albeus, Declanus, and Ibarus, had made some progress in the country before his time, and were all of the episcopal order. How then is Prosper’s testimony to be reconciled with this account; I mean, as to his calling Palladius the first bishop of the Scots? This seeming difficulty of the *primus episcopus*, archbishop Usher disentangles, by interpreting it *primæ sedis episcopus*; so that though the Scots in Ireland had bishops amongst them before, yet Palladius was their first archbishop.

A. D. 431.
Palladius
sent into
Ireland.

Prosper.
Chron.

Usher. Britan.
Eccles. Antiquit.
p. 173. 416.

Usher. *ibid.*
417.

Usher. *ibid.*

As to the time of Palladius’s being sent into Ireland, it was in the consulship of Bassius and Antiochus, which falls in with the year of our Lord 431. This Palladius, though he is said to be an Irish man by some writers, yet his country is uncertain; however, it is plain, he was none of that Palladius that wrote

Baron.
tom. 5.
p. 619.
Usher.
p. 418.

St. Chrysostome's life. To conclude with him : Ireland was not long happy under his instructions, he being quickly taken off by death, as Baronius observes.

Baron. *ibid.*

*St. Patrick
succeeds
Palladius.
Florilegus
ad Ann. 491.
Usher,
p. 417.*

51.

Upon the death of Palladius, Celestine is said to have sent St. Patrick to succeed him, who is supposed to have been the second archbishop in that island. This St. Patrick was furnished with extraordinary qualifications, to make him big enough for his undertaking. As to his birth, he came into the world with advantage enough : his father's name was Calphurnius, a noble Briton, and Conche, St. Martin's sister, was his mother. His education was first formed under his uncle St. Martin, and afterwards improved by the famous Germanus of Auxerre, who called him Magonius. But at his baptism he took the name of Suchar. Afterwards he happened to travel to Rome, where the quality of his birth, the fame of his learning, and sanctity, made Celestine take great notice of him. This pope called him Patrick, and made him archbishop of the Scots. When he came to his charge in Ireland, he was wonderfully successful there, and made, as it were, a thorough conversion of the country.

Usher, Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. c. 17.
A. D. 432.
A short character of St. Patrick, and his progress in Ireland.
Sigebert in Chron.

The writers of St. Patrick's life, Probus, Jocelin, Giraldus Cambrensis, and others, report a great many miracles performed by him. And Sigebert informs us, that he was no less remarkable upon this account, than for his learning and exemplary living ; and that he spent sixty years in that country. Neither have we reason to wonder at St. Patrick's being furnished with such a supernatural assistance, considering the difficulty of the task, and the barbarity of the people he had to deal with. For it was not long before, that St. Jerome tells us, they had no such thing as any property in marriage ; but as if they had been governed by Plato's commonwealth, or Cato's extravagance, there was a perfect community of women amongst them ; their inclinations being under no better regulation in these matters than those of brutes. The same Father takes notice that he had seen these Irish feed upon human flesh in Gaul ; and notwithstanding the country was sufficiently stocked with beef and mutton, yet, if they could surprise a shepherd, and rob him of his haunches, or cut off a woman's breasts, they used to make a meal on it, and think themselves extraordinarily regaled. Cambrensis relates, that St. Patrick came into Ireland in the reign of Laegirius, son

Hieron. l. 2.
Adv. Jo-
vinian.

Cambrensis.
Dist. 2. Tit.
de Mirac.
Hibern.

of Nellus the Great; that he perfectly exterminated idolatry, settled several bishopricks, and made Armagh the principal see. Archbishop Usher places his death to the year 493. Besides the great St. Patrick, there were two more relations of his, of the same name; the younger was his nephew, and survived him; the elder died before him, in the year 449. This elder, or Sen-Patrick, is the person who is supposed to come to Glassenbury, where he found twelve monks, and was made their abbot.

Usher, Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. p. 458.

There is a collection of Irish canons, published by Dacherius, several of which he is of opinion, were drawn up by Gildas and the great St. Patrick. I shall mention some few of them.

Usher, Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. p. 464.

This collection is divided into sixty-five little books. In the first book, or division, it is decreed, that no person ought to be consecrated to a see, without the consent of the metropolitan and the provincial bishops.

That none ought to be preferred to the dignity of a bishop, without a previous examination upon the points of discretion, probity, and learning.

In the fifteenth book, and the second chapter, the Synod assigns four reasons for praying and saying mass for the dead, founded upon the different lives and qualifications of the persons deceased. If they were very good, the offices of the Church import nothing more than giving of thanks for their happiness and exemplary behaviour. If they were very bad, these ministrations were looked on as some sort of ease and comfort to their friends then living. If their virtue was imperfect, and had a mixture of failings, these offices were supposed serviceable, to procure a full remission: and those who were not bad to the last degree, were thought to have their damnation made more tolerable by such assistances.

To return to Britain. Soon after St. German had left the island, the natives were alarmed with another descent of the Scots and Picts; and at the same time, there was such a terrible mortality among them, insomuch, that as Gildas reports, the living were scarce enow to bury the dead: but neither the present judgment, nor the prospect of another at hand, was sufficient to bring them to a reformation; they continued incorrigible, and went the old lengths in licentiousness and

Dacherius Spicileg. tom. 9. in Præfat. et p. 1. et deinc. A.D. 449. Gildas Hist. p. 15.

disorder : “And when God,” as the historian goes on, “called to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth ; behold ! joy and gladness, slaying oxen, and killing sheep ; eating flesh, and drinking wine ; let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.” For now the country grew ripe for vengeance, and the measure of their iniquities, like that of the Amorites, was just filled up.

1sa. 22. 12.

Gild. *ibid.*
The Saxons'
first settle-
ment in Bri-
tain.

A. D. 450.

And now Vortigern and his court began to deliberate about their preparations against the enemy, and finding their own force too weak for the field, they call in the assistance of the Saxons ; which expedient almost puts Gildas out of patience, and makes him call it the most downright frenzy and folly imaginable. For the Saxons, as we observed before, had made several depredations upon the island, and the Romans had kept a guard upon the coast, particularly against that enemy. However, their condition being somewhat low, and their minds infatuated, they were resolved to try so dangerous a remedy. The Saxons receiving this information from Vortigern, king of the Britons, undertook the expedition, and embarking their forces in three vessels, under the conduct of Hengist and Horsa, landed in the isle of Thanet. Soon after their coming ashore, they marched northward, fought the enemy, and defeated them. An account of this victory was presently sent to their countrymen in Germany, together with a relation of the richness of the island, and the sloth and cowardice of the inhabitants. Upon this news they presently equipped more vessels than before, and put a greater number of troops on board ; which, upon their landing, joined the first body, and carried all before them. The Britons assigned their Saxon auxiliaries quarters, and granted them a division of the country, upon condition, they should be ready to appear in the field upon occasion. The Saxon generals, Hengist and Horsa, were the sons of Vietgist, grandsons of Vecta, and great grandsons of Woden. From this family of Woden, a great many royal branches in Germany were extracted. Horsa lost his life in the field against the Britons in East Kent, and had a monument there in Bede's time.

Bede, lib. 1.
c. 15. Usher,
Britan. Ec-
cles. An-
tiquit. c. 12.
52.

Bede, l. 1.
c. 15.

Ibid.

Ibid.

As to the country where the Saxons were seated, whether it was Westphalia, the Duchy of Holstein, or Dithmarch Stormar, and Wageren in Denmark ; or some places upon

the Rhine, nearer Gaul, I shall not nicely examine, nor trouble the reader with the different opinions of learned men about it. However, that the matter may not seem overlooked, I shall set down Bede's account, who being a Saxon, and living near the times of the Saxons coming hither, may be well supposed to understand in what part of Germany his countrymen lived before their removal. This historian informs us, that his countrymen, who came over, at the invitation of the Britons, consisted of three of the stoutest German clans, the Saxons, the Angli, and the Jutes. That the Kentish men, those who lived in the Isle of Wight, and in those parts of Britain over against it, were descended from the Jutes. The historian proceeds to the Saxons, and tells us, that the East, South, and West Saxons came from the country in Germany called Old Saxony. And that the East Angles, the Midland Angles, the Mercians, all those people on the north of the river Humber, together with the rest of the English, are extracted from the Angli, who inhabited a part of Germany, between the Jutes and the Saxons, called Angulus, and which, as the author continues, was, in a manner, dispeopled in his time. To make the division somewhat more intelligible to the reader, I shall just mention the settlement of the Saxons, according to the modern division of the counties. As to the Jutes, their quarters are marked out plainly enough already. To go on to the South Saxons, who settled in Surrey. The East Saxons had their divisions of Essex, Middlesex, and the south part of Hertfordshire. The West Saxons, anciently called Gevissi, seized the counties of Surrey, Southampton, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and part of Cornwall: the greatest part of this last county being held by the remainder of the old Britons. The East-Angles spread into the parts since called Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely, and reached probably into part of Bedfordshire. The Middle-Angles, who were under the jurisdiction of the Mercian kings, were fixed in Leicestershire. The Mercians seated on the south of the Trent took up the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, Huntingdon, Bedford, the north part of Hertfordshire, together with the counties of Buckingham, Oxford, Gloucester, Warwick, Worcester, Hereford, Stafford, and Salop. The northern Mercians dwelt in Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire. The Northum-

Usher, Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. c. 12. p. 209, 210. Stilling. Antiquit. of British Churches, c. 5. p. 307. et deince. Bede, l. 1. c. 15.

The counties in which the Saxon Clans settled.

brians, seated on the north of the river Humber, were subdivided into the Deiri, and Bernicii. The Deiri dwelt in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and the south part of Cumberland, on this side of the Derwent. The Bernicii inhabited the north of Cumberland, with the adjacent parts of Westmoreland, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland; to which we may add the south part of Scotland, as far as the Frith, between Edinburgh and Dunbritton.

I have laid this division of the Saxon Heptarchy together, that the reader may see it at one view, and not be at a loss, when any part of it comes up in the history.

The time of the Saxons settling here is fixed to the year of our Lord 449, by the Cambridge edition of Bede, by Fabius, Ethelwart, William of Malmsbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Florilegus, Polydore Virgil, and others: but the learned primate Usher believes the æra is better fixed at the consulship of Valentinianus and Avienus, which falls in with the year of our Lord 450; or if it is carried two years farther, to the consulship of Herculanius, and Asporatius, he thinks the time not indefensible.

To touch a little farther upon the motives that prevailed upon Vortigern to send for so formidable an old enemy, as the Saxons; and not to repeat what has been already hinted by Gildas, Nennius supposes Vortigern not only apprehensive of the Picts and Scots, but likewise that he was afraid of a rising from the Roman party, being particularly jealous of a competition from Ambrosius. This Ambrosius, Gildas tells us, was a person of the first quality, and of Roman extraction. He commends him very much for his probity, temper, and courage; and adds, that his parents had a sovereign character, and were killed with their purple about them. This author had observed a little before, that after the Romans had left the Britons to themselves, these latter set up kings of their own, and dethroned them with great levity and freedom. Now Vortigern having got into the seat, and perceiving his subjects so false and undutiful as to depose their princes at pleasure; and being afraid of the merit and interest of Ambrosius, and particularly for his Roman extraction; these motives might probably drive him upon the desperate resolve of looking out for a foreign assistance, and venturing upon the Saxons.

Bede, l. 1. c. 1. 12. et l. 4. c. 26.
Usher, Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. c. 12. p. 212.

Usher, Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. c. 12. p. 219.
A conjecture upon Vortigern's motives in sending for the Saxons.

Nenn. c. 28.

Gild. Hist. p. 16, 17.

These foreign troops having received several reinforcements from home, began to grow formidable to the natives; and designing to be the Britons' masters, they concluded a peace with the Picts, and then began to pick a quarrel with their old allies that invited them over. The colour the Saxons made use of to break with the Britons is differently related by historians. Gildas and Bede tell us they pretended injury in their quarters and pay, and that the Britons had broke their articles; and unless they had satisfaction in these points, they threatened them with military execution.

Gildas Hist.
p. 16. Bede
Eccles. Hist.
l. 1. c. 15.

William of Malmesbury reports, that the Britons and Saxons held a good correspondence for seven years after their landing; and then Vortimer, penetrating farther into their designs, and finding they did not deal clearly, persuaded his father Vortigern and the Britons to come to a rupture. And thus the war breaking out, continued twenty years; during which time, beside the skirmishing of parties, they tried their fortune in four pitched battles, in the first of which the day was undecided, Horsa being killed on one side, and Catigis on the other. In the rest, the Saxons having always the advantage, and Vortimer being dead, the Britons were glad to submit to a dishonourable peace; and thus the affairs went ill, till Ambrosius retrieved them.

Malms. de
Gestis
Regum.
l. 1. c. 1.
*The Saxons
break with
the Britons.*
A. D. 453.

Henry of Huntingdon is somewhat different in reporting this matter. By him we are told, that Vortigern was so hated for marrying Hengist's daughter, that he retired to the woods and was afterwards burnt in his castle. Upon this, Ambrosius Aurelianus joining Vortimer and Catigis, Vortigern's two sons, attacked the Saxons. The first battle was fought at Ailestrue, or Elstree; the next, after Vortimer's death, at Creganford, or Crayford, where, he says, the Britons were beaten and quite driven out of Kent, and the Saxons erected that kingdom. The last battle, according to this historian, was fought at Wippedsflede, which was so bloody and equally balanced, that both sides were quiet for a great while, the Saxons keeping within Kent, and the Britons falling out among themselves.

Hist. l. 2.

The Saxon annals and Matthew of Westminster differ from the historians already mentioned, but these I shall pass over.

Cron. Sax.
A. D. 455.
Matt. West.
A. D. 454,
455, 456.

Now whatever was the occasion of the quarrel, the consequence of it was very terrible to the Britons; for, as Gildas

Gild. Hist.
p. 16. Bede
l. 1. c. 15.

and Bede inform us, the victorious Saxons overrun the whole country with fire and sword, and set it blazing from one end to the other. This desolation, brought on by the pagans, was a judgment upon the wickedness of the natives. Gildas and Bede compare it to the burning of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; and the former applies these texts of scripture to the calamity. "They have set fire upon the holy places, and have defiled the dwelling-place of thy name even unto the ground." "O God, the heathen are come into thy inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled," &c.

Psalm
lxxiv. 8.

Psalm
lxxix. 1.
*The terrible
ravage and
burning of
the country.*

In short, there was nothing but slaughter, flame, and ruin, to be met with; public and private buildings, palaces, and churches were burnt down without distinction. The priests were butchered upon the altars; clergy and laity, prince and people, fell under a common slaughter, without any regard to quality or character; and unless they happened to be burnt, their carcasses lay exposed to beasts and vermin, and none paid them the last office of a burial. Some of the remainder retired to mountains; but even here they were often pursued by the enemy and cut in pieces. Others, being almost starved, were forced to surrender, and sell their liberty for a maintenance, taking it for a great favour if the Saxons would spare their lives and admit them to slavery. Some of them got themselves embarked, and transported their fortunes into foreign countries; and some of them, resolving to keep the island and stand upon their defence, retreated to morasses, mountains, and woods, where they passed their time at a very anxious and unfurnished rate.

*The doctrine
and character of Faustus born in Britain.*
Stilling. Antiq. Brit. Churches, p. 197.

Noris. Hist. Pelag. l. 2. p. 297.

About this time, Faustus bishop of Riez, in Gaul, flourished. Now, this person being a Briton by birth, and making a considerable figure in history, it may not be improper to give a short account of him. It seems probable that he quitted the island pretty early, and had most of his education in Gaul, where he had an extraordinary reputation, both for piety and learning. He was worshipped as a saint in the church of Riez. Neither had he only the respect of posterity, but was likewise a person of great name in his own time, as appears by the commendation given him by Sidonius Apollinaris; by the books written by him, and by the Gallican bishops in the council of Arles, who employed him to draw up their sense on the points about predestination and grace. As to his writings, Gennadius in-

forms us that he wrote an excellent tract about grace, in which performance he asserts that the grace of God always precedes, assists, and inclines the will to a good disposition; so that how much soever the exerting ourselves, and the co-operation of our endeavours may be considered, nothing of this concurrence can properly be placed to the score of merit, but ought to be attributed to grace and divine favour. Thus far Gennadius from Faustus. Now, says Baronius, who would suspect that a book of such orthodox expressions should be tinctured with heresy, or that a snake should be lodged under such beautiful flowers as these?

Gennad. de
Script. Ec-
cles. c. 85.

Tom. 6.
A. D. 490.

To this we may add the letter written to Faustus by Sidonius Apollinaris. It goes upon the subject of his receiving 54. Faustus's two books. "You fell into my hands, Sir," says he, "at last, though I think against your will. I confess I cannot take it very kindly, that when your books went just by my house, you should not order them to make me a visit. What! were you afraid I should envy your performance? I thank God I stand clear of no vice more than this; besides, the despair of coming any thing near you in this kind would have been sufficient to have laid that passion asleep. What, then! Were you apprehensive of meeting with an over-nice and ill-natured critic? There was no fear of that; for what reader can be so morose in his judgment, or so heavy and unaffected in his imagination, as not to run a strong panegyric upon the least laboured of your performances? But it may be you slighted a young man, and thought me below your notice; I can hardly believe this. But though you did not undervalue me for my youth, you might do it for my ignorance. I can best bear a neglect upon this score; yet I must say, that though I am too ignorant to write, yet I am not unqualified to read. What, then! Was there any difference or misunderstanding between us in any point? And could you imagine I waited for a revenge, and would have made reprisals upon you in your books? This pretence is out of doors; for even our enemies have no colour to suggest that there was so much as any coldness, or faint friendship between us." After these complaints, he tells Faustus, "That he was obliged to seize his books, and as it were plunder those that had them about them." And upon the reading of them, he gives the author the compliment, "That they would keep him, as it were, alive

in his grave, and make him immortal; particularly that the performance was a very laborious work, and written with a great deal of method, spirit, and force."

Sidon. l. 9.
epist. 9.

Baron.
A. D. 490.

This is enough to show what a value Sidonius Apollinaris put upon Faustus's writings. The books referred to in this letter were written, as Baronius observes, upon the controversy of grace and free-will. In this first book, he disputes against Pelagius, who makes the happiness of man depend entirely upon his own choice; and likewise against those who run into the other extreme, resolving all virtue and final success so entirely into the overruling efficacy and force of grace, as to make the soul nothing better than a mere machine. In his second book, he treats at large of prescience and predestination, as he himself informs us in the preface to his tract to Leontius. To give somewhat a fuller account of this matter, and to show what was commendable or erroneous in Faustus's writings, it will be necessary to observe, that after St. Augustine's decease, his tracts upon this controversy were misunderstood by some people. These Sigebert calls predestinarian heretics. Their assertions were so crude and extravagant, as to maintain that piety and good works would signify nothing if they lay under a decree of reprobation. Neither would a licentious life do any disservice to those that were predestinated to happiness. These tenets they pretended to justify by St. Augustine's doctrine. One Lucidus, a priest of reputation, was entangled in this error. To this clergyman Faustus wrote his letter, which was afterwards subscribed by the council of Arles; and, being a matter of considerable moment, as we may imagine by the solemn approbation given to it, I shall lay some of it before the reader. The superscription runs thus:

Sigeb.
Chron.
A. D. 415.
Baron.
A. D. 490.

Domino Devinctissimo et mihi speciali affectu venerando ac suscipiendo Fratri Lucido Presbytero, Faustus.

In the letter, amongst other things, he tells them that we must take care not to turn to the right or to the left, but to keep straight on, without running into either extreme. After this, he gives an abstract of the Catholic doctrine upon the question; under these articles, giving him to understand, in the first place, that the concurrence of human endeavours must always be joined with the grace of God, and that the asserting

predestination, exclusively of our care and co-operation, is equally to be abhorred with Pelagianism. And therefore those ought to lie under an anathema, who assert that man is born without sin, and that he may be saved by the strength of his own performances, and that there is no necessity of the grace of God to interpose for him.

Those likewise are to be anathematised who maintain that a Christian baptized, and of an orthodox belief, happening to be overborne by the temptations of the world, perishes upon the score of original sin and Adam's transgression.

He is likewise to be anathematised who make's God's pre-science the cause of man's damnation.

He also is to be censured by anathema who maintains that those that perish had no possibility of being saved. This proposition is to be understood of a person baptized, or of a pagan at years of discretion, who had opportunities of believing, and refused them.

Those also are to be anathematised who affirm, a vessel of dishonour cannot mend its condition, nor reform into a vessel of honour.

Lastly, let him be anathematised who maintains Christ did not die for all, nor desire the salvation of all men.

Thus far Faustus goes in his anathemas.

After which, he tells Lucidus, that when this priest either came before him, or was summoned by the council to purge 55. himself, he would then produce his authorities, and show the grounds of his assertions. In the mean time he tells us, it was his positive persuasion, that those who are lost by their own fault, might have been saved by the grace of God, if they had exerted themselves, and made the most of their own strength. And, on the other side, those who doing their own parts, and joining their faculties with the grace of God, have been safe and happy in the event, might have sunk by their sloth, and been ruined by their misbehaviour.

Now, my belief in the point lies between these extremes; for, as we are nothing without God's grace, so neither can we expect a prosperous event without acting upon our own liberty, and doing something for ourselves. Not that we are to trust in our own strength, or grow vain upon our endeavours; but, when we have laboured to the utmost of nature, lest the grace of God should be lost upon us, we must then pronounce

Luke xvii.

all the assistances of heaven to be the mere result of God's goodness, and not at all a due consideration for any thing we have done; and that our good actions are matter of duty and not of merit, confessing with the evangelist, "That we are unprofitable servants, we have only done what was our duty to do." Having explained my opinion briefly and proportionably to the compass of a letter, I expect an answer from you to inform me whether you acquiesce in this doctrine or not; for I must needs say, that whoever does not go this length of truth, giving the first beginnings of virtue to the grace of God, and seconding this assistance with his own endeavours, making both these principles necessary, deserves to be expelled the communion of the Church.

And, a little after, admonishing him to relinquish his error, he continues: That the error of Lucidus, if maintained with obstinacy, would amount to blasphemy; for we must necessarily throw an unaccountable imputation of rigour upon the Author of our being, if we affirm that he refused a possibility of being happy to any person that proves miserable in the event. This procedure, I say, would look incomprehensibly strange; since we cannot deny, but that God's sentence for punishment at the last day will be founded on the transgression of his commands. Now, I cannot understand, that any person, who was in no capacity to make use of the grace of God, can be charged with the abuse of it. And thus, by advancing grace beyond the measures of caution and sobriety, we shall at last be driven to an inconsistency in the divine attributes, and impeach the justice of God.

This letter was afterwards read in the council of Arles, and subscribed by the prelates. It was likewise subscribed there by Lucidus, who made a recantation of his error.

Baron.
A. D. 490.
Faustus's
works cen-
sured after
his death for
Semi-Pela-
gianism.

Notwithstanding the clearness of this letter, and the approbation it met with, Faustus did not afterwards stand straight in the opinion of the Church. Baronius will have it, that he used something of art and mystery; that he was orthodox in public, but discovered his heterodoxy in some of his writings which went privately about. In which, while he made a feint to attack Pelagius, he discovered himself too much his friend. This is certain, his books were severely censured, especially after his death; for, in the west, Cesarius and Avitus, two Gaulish bishops of great learning and piety, wrote vigorously

Baron.
A. D. 490.
p. 455.

against him. And, in Africa, Fulgentius bestowed seven books upon his confutation; and in the east, he was not only prosecuted by the pen of one John, a priest of Antioch, but almost all the orthodox sat hard upon his books and memory. Baron.
A. D. 490.

Farther: Possessor, one of the African exiled bishops, being then at Constantinople, and finding great heats and clashing about Faustus's books, sends to pope Hormisdas to desire his judgment about them. The pope speaks modestly of Faustus, and returns a cautious answer, referring him, for the sense of the Church, to St. Augustin, Prosper, and Hilary, and to what his predecessors had defined. Afterwards, Faustus's doctrine was condemned in the second council of Orange, which maintained the necessity of preventing grace. The denying of this was the main error charged on Faustus, not as to good works, but as to faith and good inclinations, this being one branch of the Semi-Pelagian error.

To return to the condition of the Britons. Some time after the general ravage and burning of the island, the Saxons gave over the pursuit, and marched back to their head-quarters; and thus, the enemy being out of sight, the Britons began to recover their spirits, to peep out of their hiding-places, and draw into a body; and having resolved upon an attempt to recover their country, they unanimously, in the first place, implored the protection of heaven. When the time of action drew near, they pitched upon Ambrosius Aurelianus above-mentioned for their general; and thus encouraged, by being under his conduct, they march up into the country and bid the enemy battle, and by God's blessing gave them a defeat. Jansen.
Hist. Pelag.
l. 8.
*The Britons
recover, and
defeat the
Saxons at
Bannesdown*
A. D. 489.
Gildas and
Bede. Ibid.

After this victory, the fortune of the Britons and Saxons was various, and success seemed to float from the one side to the other. Thus matters hung, as it were, in suspense, till the dispute at Bannesdown near Bath, where the Saxons were entirely routed, and lost a great many men. This battle, Gildas tells us, was fought in the year he was born, and forty-four before he wrote his history. But notwithstanding this advantage, continues Gildas, the cities have not recovered their former condition, but remain uninhabited and in rubbish; and though they are not disturbed with a foreign enemy, they are so unhappy as to quarrel amongst themselves. However, the memory of the late calamity made a serviceable impression for some time; insomuch, that the governors of Church and State Gildas. Ibid.

and all ranks and conditions lived regularly, and did the business of their station. But the sense of the deliverance decayed by degrees, and was worn out in tract of time; for when a new generation came up, who were acquainted with nothing but prosperity, and had no experience of the former misery to keep them in order, they laid the reins upon their fancy, and run riot immediately: and, in short, degenerated so far, that there was scarcely any thing of good faith, justice, or sobriety to be met with. Amongst other instances of disorder, Gildas in Bede takes notice, that the Britons were so careless in propagating Christianity, that they did not so much as attempt the conversion of the Saxons that lived among them. However, he owns there were some that were not carried off with this torrent of vice, but stemmed the tide and preserved their virtue to an exemplary degree.

Bede. l. 1.
c. 22.

Gildas. Hist.
p. 17.
Ambrosius repairs the churches, and provides for the settlement of religious and civil affairs.

Stilling.
Antiquities
of British
Churches.
c. 5. p. 328.

Flores. Hist.
A. D. 488.

Stilling.
p. 329.

He defeats Pascentius and Aella.
Stillingfleet.
p. 330.

After the Britons had defeated the Saxons, and obliged them to retire a great way northward, Ambrosius Aurelianus is said to have convened the princes and great men at York, where he gave order for repairing the churches destroyed by the Saxons. This, though reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth, seems agreeable to matter of fact, in the opinion of the learned Dr. Stillingfleet. For the Britons having a considerable respite, after their advantage in the field, it is reasonable to suppose that Ambrosius and the rest of the people should do their endeavour to re-build the churches, and restore the conveniences and honour of religion. This relation of Geoffrey's is confirmed by Matthew of Westminster, who dilates upon the great zeal of Ambrosius in encouraging the clergy, repairing the churches, and bringing divine worship to the former condition of solemnity and order. And more than this, Geoffrey tell us, that in a council of the Britons, Ambrosius gave directions for two metropolitans to supply the vacancies of York and Caer-leon; Sampson being promoted to the first, and Dubricius to the other. This, Matthew of Westminster affirms, was done A.D. 490, and makes them both flourish to the year 507. He adds, that Sampson, being afterwards forced to quit the country, went over to Armorica, and was made archbishop of Dole.

As to the particulars of the civil dissensions among the Britons, Geoffrey of Monmouth informs us, and that not without probability, that one of Vortigern's sons, called Pas-

centius, formed a British party against Ambrosius, and raised a rebellion in the north. But these revoltors, upon trying their fortune, were defeated and obliged to disperse. Matthew of Westminster, speaking of Ambrosius, tells us, that he was general at the battle of Meccredsburn, against Ælla, king of the South Saxons, and his sons, where he gained so considerable a victory, that the enemy was forced to send for recruits from Germany. About twelve years after this success, Pascentius is said to have hired a Saxon to poison Ambrosius at Winchester, which accordingly took effect.

Flores. Hist.
A. D. 485.

And is poisoned at Winchester.
Galfr. l. 5.
c. 6. Matth. West.
Flores. Hist.
A. D. 497.

To enlarge a little farther upon the condition of the state, and to touch briefly upon the declension of the British affairs, and how the Saxons carried their point by degrees, and gained ground upon the island. This revolution of the State will help to discover the circumstances of the Church ; for, as our historians observe, religion was forced to fly everywhere before the Saxons, those barbarians leaving not so much as the face of Christianity wherever they prevailed.

Radolph.
Nig. in
Chron. Mat.
Westmin.
A.D. 586, 596.
Uther Pendragon's reign.
Galfrid.
Mon. l. 6.
c. 2.

To proceed therefore to the fortune of the island. After Ambrosius's death, according to the British history, his brother Uther Pendragon succeeded, who defeated the Saxons in the north, raised the siege of York, took the sons of Hengist prisoners, marched to London, and there summoning a convention, was solemnly crowned. Then happening to come to a rupture with Goalois, duke of Cornwall, he killed him at the siege of his castle. After this, Uther is said to have routed the Saxons at Verulam ; where, being afterwards poisoned by a practice of that enemy, he was succeeded by his son Arthur.

A. D. 494.

Camden.
Britan.

This is an abstract of Geoffrey of Monmouth upon this matter. But, upon examination, the account seems somewhat defective and partial, and passes over the advantages gained by the Saxons ; for Matthew of Westminster takes notice of the landing of Cerdic, and Kenrick his son, with a reinforcement, at a place near Yarmouth, called from him Cerdic Shore, and that they fought the Britons with success at their first coming ashore ; and opening their passage with their swords, they marched up into the western parts, and erected the kingdom of the West Saxons. Seven years after Cerdic, Port and his two sons, Bleda and Magla, followed ; and, arriving at Portsmouth, left one of their names upon that place, as Florentius and Huntingdon inform us from the Saxon annals. Now,

Geoffrey of Monmouth takes no notice of all this; besides, he omits one of the greatest battles fought between Cerdic and Nathanleod. This the Saxon annals, Florentius and Matthew of Westminster, place to the year of our Lord 508. In this battle, which was fought with all the strength and confederacy on both sides, Nathanleod behaved himself with that bravery, that he drove Cerdic out of the field and followed the pursuit; but Kenric, Cerdic's son, who commanded the other wing, perceiving his father pressed, fell in upon Nathanleod's rear, killing him, with five thousand of his men; the rest of his troops quitting the field upon the death of their king. This battle, so disadvantageous to the Britons, was fought at Charford upon the Avon, between Salisbury and Ringwood. But who this Nathanleod was, is still a question. Matthew of Westminster will not allow him the character of a crowned head, and makes him no more than Uther's general, who lay sick at that time. But Henry of Huntingdon, and Florence of Worcester, are positive for his being a king; the first calling him Rex Maximus Britannorum, which seems to intimate that the Britons, as well as the Saxons, had more than a single monarch, and that one of their princes had an ascendancy of power above the rest. Archbishop Usher is of opinion that this Nathanleod was the same with Uther; that Nathanleod was his right name, the distinction of Uther being given him for the heat and boldness of his temper. But since Gildas affirms that some of the line of Ambrosius were living in his time, and the history of Uther is not altogether unquestionable; for this reason the learned Dr. Stillingfleet conjectures, that the prince slain in the battle above-mentioned might probably be Ambrosius's son.

57.

Camden.
Britan.Usher, Brit.
tan. Eccles.
Antiquit.
p. 249.Gild. Hist.
p. 17.Stilling.
Antiquit.
British
Churches,
p. 334.CENT. VI.
*He is suc-
ceeded by his
son Arthur.*
A. D. 508.Usher.
p. 250. and
Ind. Chro-
nol. p. 524.

Upon the death of Uther, king Arthur his son is said to succeed him, being fifteen, or, as some historians will have it, eighteen years of age at his father's death. Archbishop Usher places the beginning of his reign to the year of our Lord 508. Geoffrey of Monmouth dilates very much upon the bravery and successes of this prince; and Polydore Virgil relates that his memory was very fresh, and wonderfully magnified in his time; that he defeated three Saxon generals, conquered Scotland, with the neighbouring islands, routed the Romans under their general, Lucius, near Paris, over-run Gaul, and killed several giants with his own hand. And after success in so many

glorious adventures, and designing to march onward and sit down before Rome, he was called home by the sedition of his subjects. Being arrived in Britain, he fought his nephew Mordred, who had seized the government in his absence, where, though he had the good fortune to dispatch this usurper, he was mortally wounded himself. But then the inscription about his seal, with which he signed the diploma of the University of Cambridge, is still more magnificent; for here he is styled Patricius Arthurius, Britanniae, Galliae, Germaniae Daciae Imperator.

Polydor.
Virgil. Angl.
Hist. lib. 3. p. 58.

These flourishes upon the extent of his dominions, together with his conquest of Ireland, Norway, and the Orcades, mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, are so groundless and romantic, that they do not deserve the trouble of a confutation. King Arthur was so far from stretching his dominions into foreign countries, that he fell much short of being monarch of this island; as appears by the several Saxon kingdoms which grew up in his reign. To make this out, we are to observe, that king Arthur, according to the general computation, began his reign in the year 508, and died in 542. Now, within this time, and partly before it, we shall find several kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy erected. I shall give the readers sir Henry Spelman's account of this matter, as far as the argument is concerned.

Spelman,
Concil.
tom. 1. and
in Init.

The kingdom of Kent was set up by Hengist about the year 457; the kingdom of the South Saxons began in the year 491; the kingdom of the West Saxons commences at the year 519; the kingdom of the East Saxons bears date from the year 527. Thus we see four kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were either prior to Arthur's reign, or began and continued in it; and therefore it is evident king Arthur could be no such mighty monarch even in Britain as Geoffrey would make him.

Indeed, the achievements of this prince are so enormously magnified by the British history, that upon the reviving of learning, the very being of his person was called in question. However, Leland has proved to satisfaction that there was such a person, from the Caire-Arture in Wales; from Arthur's Gate in Montgomery, and particularly from the abundant testimony he brings about his coffin in lead, found in Glassenbury in Henry II.'s time, with an inscription, where the figure and order of the letters appear very rough and unartificial, and the

Stilling.
Antiquit.
British
Churches,
p. 339.
Assert.
Arthur.

titles very short and modest, which argue the truth and antiquity of the inscription ; which is this :—

HIC JACET SEPULTUS
INCLITUS REX ARTURIUS
IN INSULA AVALONIA¹.

¹ The history of king Arthur has given our critics infinite trouble. It is so full of incredible romance and palpable contradictions, that the most ingenious antiquarians have been foiled and baffled by it. Perhaps, however, some light may be cast on it by the mythologic theory prevalent in Germany. The theory alluded to presupposes that many grand truths of theology, philosophy, and physical science, have been presented to the world under the names of the distinguished men who took pains to teach and illustrate them. It presupposes that a certain analogy subsists between the divine, moral, and historical spheres ; so that the realities of the one may be symbolized by the realities of the other. Thus, for instance, the theogony and astronomy of the ancients have come down to us indissolubly associated with the biographies of the sages and heroes who exhibited their mysteries to the world. The most occult theories respecting theophanies and divine developements, the revolutions of the stars, and the transitions of the seasons, are thus reflected in the lives and actions of “the mighty dead—all the great chiefs of the nations.” This mode of handing down theologic and mythologic doctrines in association with historical facts, was particularly in vogue among the theosophic lodges of initiation. The adepts considered it an admirable plan of impressing abstract verities on the memory of the initiated, and of keeping the profane vulgar in the dark. The poets, too, whose object was to invest the transcendental mysteries of the metaphysical and physical world in forms of humanity, carried this system of biographical symbolization to the greatest extent, and described their favourite heroes as achieving adventures and undergoing trials which they thought analogous to the spiritual experiences that might not be more directly revealed. Hence the apparent confusion that subsists in their mythologic accounts. Hence the sublimest truths of their divine and natural philosophy are discoverable under their narrative of the life and exploits of Hercules. Under this name they signified an eternal principle prevailing alike through spheres of mind and matter, morals and history. And never were they more pleased than when they could illustrate what they conceived of this principle, by the personal characteristics and actions of some living hero, who either bore the name of Hercules, or laboured to extend the knowledge of the Herculean doctrines. If this theory be correct, it may be applied to the history of Arthur. Learned authors have stated that divine truth is symbolized under the name of Arthur ; others have stated that liberty, valour, chivalry, &c., were symbolized under the name of Arthur. Others have maintained that the sun and the solar system are symbolized in the history of Arthur ; others that the progress of theosophy and freemasonry are delineated in his extraordinary records. Now, all these suppositions may be partially correct : they may all stand together without destroying each other ; and granting them all, still Arthur may have been a real man and a royal prince, even as he is represented by the chroniclers. If he was the master, as there is much reason to think, of a great secret society of initiates, it may have been the interest of those initiates to extend their opinions and their influences under the name of their leader. Hence we may account for the rapid growth of the fame of Arthur, not only in this country, but throughout Europe. Hence the indissoluble connection established between his vague and undefined traditions, and the entire framework of chivalry and the orders of knighthood. Arthur thus became the symbol of a *principle*,—call it religion, liberty, truth, or what you will, and his name was used in a mystic sense, which endeared it to the hearts of men. Arthur thus likewise became the symbol of a vast theosophical association, which has ever flourished in the world. In this way we may perhaps explain all that has been written about Arthur and the knights of the round table, and why his name

The form of the letters, as they stand in the cross, may be seen in Cambden.

Cambden.
Brit. p. 228.

And here, as I observed, not only the antiquity of the letters, but the modesty of the inscription is an argument of the genuineness of it; for should we suppose that the monks designed foul play in Henry II.'s time, and laid the coffin there on purpose to produce it as a curiosity,—though, in this case, they might have counterfeited the antique form of the letters,—yet they never would have made such a lean inscription, and lessened the glory of the hero; especially since common tradition and the British history were much more liberal to king Arthur's memory.

It is true, Gildas takes no notice of king Arthur; but Nennius does, who lived in the century after him. And as for Gildas, his principal design is more exhortation and preaching than history, and therefore he passes over other things, only mentioning Ambrosius Aurelianus by the bye, and addresses himself to his main business, which was the repentance and reformation of the Britons.

Nen. Hist.
c. 62.

If it is objected, that Gildas mentions several petty princes in Britain, as Constantine, Aurelius Conanus, Vortiper, Cuneglassus, &c., but makes no application to King Arthur, nor so much as mentions him, to this it may be answered,—first, that these princes were guilty of great disorders both in their administration and private life, and therefore Gildas treats them with great freedom and satire. But king Arthur being a prince of regularity and religious conduct, there was no reason of bringing him within the invective of this epistle.

58.

Gild. Epist.

Secondly, Gildas is said to have lived ninety years; and if so, he must considerably have survived king Arthur. Now, his epistle, where he mentions these British princes, seems to have been his last performance, and therefore might probably be written after king Arthur's death; and then, his saying nothing about him, may be easily accounted for. Nay, according to the chronology of the learned primate Usher, Gildas wrote this satirical epistle in the year of our Lord 544; and if so, the time will fall two years after king Arthur's death.

Usher. Bri-
tan. Eccles.
Antiquit.
p. 253.

was so dearly cherished by Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Spenser, and the poets of chivalry. In this short note we have only been able to drop a hint on a topic that demands a volume. Those who would search further, must examine a range of literature, which is too erudite ever to become popular.

By what has been said, it appears the Saxons had set up several principalities in king Arthur's time, and by consequence that his dominions must be very narrow; it may be, not more than Wales fell to his share. This looks the more probable, because now Christianity seems driven, as it were, into this corner. Here, then, we are to search for the history of the British Church; and upon enquiry we shall meet with several persons that made a considerable figure in this century.

Dubricius.

To begin with Dubricius, of whom something has been said already, which I shall not repeat. As to his birth, it is not known who was his father; but his mother, Eurdila, was a lady of great quality. Upon the death of Aurelius Ambrosius, he is said to have crowned Uther Pendragon, and afterwards king Arthur; in whose reign there was a council held under Dubricius, at Brovi in Cardiganshire. It was convened upon the revival of Pelagianism. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, it was a general synod of all Wales, consisting not only of the clergy, but of the laity; that a great many being infected, St. Paulinus, a person of sanctity, elocution, and conduct, was delegated by the council to go to St. David to persuade him to come to the council; but Paulinus not prevailing in his message, Dubricius and Daniel were sent to try their interest. St. David, being governed by these great men, came up to the council, and by the persuasiveness of his sermons gained the heretics. Now Dubricius, finding himself less qualified for his function on the score of his age, resigned his archbishopric of Caerleon to St. David, and not long after died in the isle of Enlhi, now called Bardsey, in the year of our Lord 522. This St. Dubricius, for so he was called after his death, was the first bishop of Landaff, as far as we have any records to inform us. The old register of Landaff seems to go upon a different chronology, and makes the death of Dubricius fall upon the year 612.

St. David shall come next. He was born in the latter end of the fifth century. His father was Xantus, a prince in Wales; his mother's name was Melearia. He was a person of considerable learning and elocution, and very remarkable for the strictness and austerity of his life. St. David entered into holy orders, and had, as we have seen, the archbishopric of Caerleon resigned to him. He removed his see from Caerleon to Menevia, now called St. David's: king Arthur, who was

In Vit.
Sancti Da-
vidis.
A. D. 519.

Godwin
Catal. of
Bishops of
England.
Monast.
Anglic.
vol. III.
p. 101.
St. David.

his nephew, consenting to it. It seems he disliked Caerleon, on the score of its populousness, and withdrew to the solitude of St. David's for the advantage of contemplation.

Soon after the former synod, there was another convened A. D. 529. under St. David, at a place called Victoria, in which the acts of the first council were confirmed, and several other supplemental provisions made for the advantage of the Church. Gerald. Cambr. Vit. St. David. These two synods were, as it were, the rule and standard of the British Churches, and copies of their proceedings were sent by St. David to most of the Churches in Wales. As for St. David, as Giraldus goes on, he was the great ornament and pattern of his age. He spoke with great force and persuasiveness, but his example was more powerful than his rhetoric; and though he was a most admirable preacher, his piety exceeded his learning and genius, and his life was his masterpiece. He is said to have continued upon his last see sixty-five years; and, having founded twelve monasteries in the neighbourhood, died in the year 642, being a hundred and forty-six years of age; and about five hundred years after his death was canonized by Pope Calixtus II. A great many extraordinary things are reported of him, some of which may very probably be true; for in the infancy of a Church, miracles are more necessary, and therefore may be supposed much more frequent, than afterwards. Cambrensis and Godwin. To mention something of this kind, it is said his birth was predicted thirty years before it happened; that he had always an angel both for his guard and conversation; that he gave the waters at the bath that extraordinary heat which still continues upon them; with a great deal more too long to insert.

About this time lived the famous Sampsons; the elder was The two Sampsons. A. D. 520. archbishop of York, from whence, upon the invasion of the Saxons, he travelled into Armorica, and was made archbishop of Dole. In this see he was succeeded by another Sampson, Usher, Britan. Eccles. p. 276. A. D. 522. scholar to Iltutus, and consecrated bishop at large by Dubricius. And having continued a considerable time in Great Britain, he embarked with several of the clergy and laity, and landed in French Britain, where he prosecuted his function, 59. and was made archbishop of Dole. The old register of Landaff, called Liber Landavensis, reports this Sampson extracted Usher, ibid. p. 277. 528. from a royal family; that his father's name was Amon; that

his birth was little less than miraculous; that he was ordained bishop by the direction of a vision; that he wrought a great many miracles; that at his death he was conveyed to heaven with music in the air; and that many extraordinary cures were wrought at his tomb. Bale reports, this Sampson carried away a great many records of the British antiquity with him into France, which, it seems, we have not had the good fortune to retrieve.

Liber Lan-
davens. MS.
De Scrip.
Britan. in
Sampson.

About this time, for exactness in chronology is not here to be expected, Cadocus, abbot of Llancarvan, flourished. He was son of a prince of that country: he was a person of great discipline and example, yet did not think it proper to renounce all the advantages of his birth; for he reserved part of his patrimonial estate, with which he is said to have supported three hundred clergymen and poor people, besides the constant hospitality of his table. Harpsfield makes him live to the year of our Lord 570.

Johan. Tin-
mouthensis.
in vit.
Hist. Eccles.
Anglic. c.
27.

Paternus.

To proceed to Paternus, another person of eminence: he was extracted from a noble family in Armorica, or French Britain; but, being much more affected with the greatness of virtue and religion than with that of his family, he retired from the world: and that his relations might not divert him from his purpose, he sailed into Ireland, and lived incognito there. From whence he embarked for Wales, where his piety and conduct raised him to an extraordinary interest; inasmuch that several princes of that country, that were upon terms of hostility with each other, laid down their arms and consented to a peace at his application. Cambden tells us, that St. Patern resided in Cardiganshire; and that there is a church there dedicated to his memory, called Lhan Badern Vaur, or "the church of Patern the Great." This place was made an episcopal see, and continued so for some time, till the people happened to be so barbarous as to murder their bishop. There was a great intimacy between St. Patern, St. David, and Teliaus. St. Patern, having done great service to religion in Wales, left the country, and settled in Armorica, at the instance of the French Britons, where he was received with great respect by Sampson the Younger, archbishop of Dole. The French Britons kept three holy days in honour of his memory; one upon the day he procured a peace among the

Brit. Cardi-
ganshire.
A. D. 540.

Harpsfield.
Hist. Eccles.
Anglic. c.
28.

British princes, the second commemorates his going into orders, and the third is kept upon the anniversary of his death. Harfsfield. ibid.

To St. Patern we may subjoin St. Petrock, from whom A. D. 548. Petrocstow, alias Padstow, in Cornwall, has its name. He St. Petrock. was a person of remarkable piety, and took great pains to promote the interest of Christianity. He went from Cornwall into Ireland, where he is said to have spent twenty years in retirement and the study of divinity. And now, being well qualified for an instructor, he returned home; and, living in a monastery near the Severn, he read publicly upon the heads of divinity, having several persons of eminence for his audience. In Harpsfield's time there was a monument of his at Bodmin, in Cornwall, where he was buried.

St. Teliu was another person of character in this age. His St. Teliu. birth was noble. He was instructed in religious learning by Dubricius, bishop of Landaff; and, afterwards, St. David and he were farther improved by Paulinus. The correspondence between St. David and him was cultivated to a most intimate friendship. St. Teliu was afterwards promoted to the see of Landaff, where he managed himself to great exemplariness and commendation. Ang. Sacr. Part 2. p. 662.

After St. Teliu we may add Oudoceus, the third bishop of Landaff. In the year of our Lord 560, he convened the clergy and abbots of his diocese; and, in a full synod, solemnly excommunicated Mouricus, king of Glamorganshire, for his perfidious murder of Cynitus. This prince continued two years under the excommunication; but then, being touched with remorse, came in tears to the bishop Oudoceus, and desired to be restored to communion. Upon which the bishop put him under penance, letting him understand that he was obliged to make reparation to God and the church, by more than ordinary rigours and mortification; and then prescribed him the discipline of fasting, prayer, and charitable distributions: to which A. D. 560. Oudoceus. the king willingly submitted. Spelman. Concil. tom. 1. p. 62.

Oudoceus convened another synod at Llan-Iltut, where king Morcant and his uncle Frioc, being present, concluded a peace between each other, and swore solemnly to the articles:—that if either of them should prove so perfidious as to kill the other, or make any infractions of the peace, the injurious person should immediately quit all claim to his respective dominions,

60.

and spend the remainder of his life in pilgrimage. However, not long after, king Morcant assassinated Frioc ; and, being struck with the horror of the crime, came to Oudoceus at Landaff, to make satisfaction for the perjury and murder. Upon this application, the bishop convened the clergy and three abbots, to give sentence in the case. The synod came to this resolution : that it was not convenient for the government that the king should live out of the country ; therefore they pitched upon a commutation of the penance, discharged Morcant of his engagement to perpetual banishment, and imposed the discipline of fasting, prayers, and alms, upon him : which the king solemnly promised to perform, and to manage the administration with justice and clemency.

Oudoceus, bishop of Landaff, summoned another synod, where he excommunicated Guidnerth, who murdered his brother Merchion, upon a competition for the kingdom. At the end of three years, Guidnerth came to the bishop to tender his submission, upon which he put him under penance ; but Guidnerth not holding out to the end of the course prescribed, Oudoceus refused to take off the censure, and died soon after. Guidnerth, having too much conscience to stand out against the excommunication, applied to Berthguin, Oudoceus's successor, and, giving satisfaction upon the points of discipline, received absolution.

Spelman.
Concil. tom.
i. p. 63, 64.
Monast. Ang-
lic. part iii.
p. 188. and
deince. ad p.
216.

There are several other instances of these censures upon princes, in the old register of Landaff, commonly called *Liber Landavensis*.

Kentigern.

Kentigern flourished much about this time. His mother was daughter to Lothus, king of the Picts ; as for his father, he was a person of condition, but a libertine. Kentigern had his education formed by Servanus, a person of great piety, who had a wonderful affection for his pupil. Indeed, Kentigern gave very early indications of an extraordinary resignation ; abstaining wholly from flesh and wine ; fasting frequently for three days together ; wearing goat-skins with sackcloth next him ; and, in short, living up to all the rigours and self-denial of St. John the Baptist. He converted a great many pagans, and was successful in his contest with the Pelagians. He is likewise said to have cured a great many diseases by miracle. There was an intimate friendship between him and St. Columba. He is likewise said to have been an abbot at Glasgow, in a very

numerous monastery, from whence he used to send several missionaries to convert the pagans. Afterwards he left Albania, now called Scotland, and came into North Wales, where he formed a religious society, and was much celebrated for his preaching. At last he returned into his own country, and died at Glasgow, about the year of our Lord 560.

Harpesfield.
Hist. Eccl.
Anglic. c.
28.

To Kentigern it will not be improper to subjoin St. Asaph, who was born in North Wales, and educated under Kentigern in the monastery of Elgwin, or Lanelwin. He was a person of noble extraction, and very eminent for his learning and piety. Nature seems to have set him upon ground of advantage, both for virtue and letters. Neither was he at all defective in industry and care; so that, in short, he was very remarkable for commendable qualities. Kentigern, being charmed with his behaviour, gave him the government of the monastery, and afterwards made him his successor in the bishopric. He used frequently to repeat this sentence: "That those who hindered the progress of God's word envied the happiness of mankind." He wrote the life of his master Kentigern, and some other things. As for the precise time of his death, or how long he sat in the diocese, is not certainly known; however, Pits makes him live to the year 590.

Godwin. de
Præsulibus
Angliæ.
Pits. de Il-
lust. Britan.
Scriptor.

To this century St. Columba must be reckoned. Primate Usher makes him born in the year of our Lord 522. He was extracted from a noble family of the Scots, then living in Ireland. His father was Feidlimyd, son of Fergus, and his mother's name was Æthnea; but this Fergus, St. Columba's grandfather, was not the son of Ericus, but of Conallus. Bede informs us, that this holy man, being now made a priest and an abbot, came into Britain, and preached Christianity to the northern Picts. This historian assigns his coming thither to the year of our Lord 565; but the learned primate Usher sets it two years sooner. Bede goes on, and tells us, that St. Columba arrived in Britain when Bridius, a powerful monarch, was king of the Picts; and that, by the force of his preaching and example, he converted that nation in the ninth year of Bridius's reign. That prince gave him the island of Jona, or Icolm, for a monastery, where he was buried, at seventy-seven years of age, and about two-and-thirty after his coming into Britain. Before he left Ireland he founded a considerable

St. Columba.
Usher. Brit-
tan. Eccl.
Antiquit.
c. 15.

Bede. Ec-
cles. Hist. 1.
3. c. 4.

Usher ibid.
p. 363.

monastery there, called Dearnach in the Scottish language, i. e. "a field of oaks." These two monasteries of Jona and Dearnach multiplied into a great many religious houses in Britain and Ireland; of all which, the monastery of Jona, where Columba lies buried, is reckoned the principal. This little island was always governed by an abbot in priest's orders, who had not only a jurisdiction over the laity, but, by a strange and unprecedented singularity, "*ordine inusitato*," as Bede speaks, was likewise superior to the bishops of the place; because St. Columba, the first missionary and abbot, was no more than a priest. But, with due respect to St. Columba's memory, this was but a weak ground to found the practice upon. This inverting the order of the hierarchy, giving power and preference to an inferior character, was an unwarrantable innovation, and a flat contradiction to the practice of the Catholic Church.

But here there may be something offered to clear St. Columba, in some measure, from this imputation. For,

*St. Columba
acknowledged the
distinction
and superiority
of the
episcopal
order.*

First, this holy abbot owned the superiority of the episcopal order above that of a priest, and that even within his own monastery and jurisdiction. Of this we have an instance, reported by his successor, Adamnanus, who wrote his life. This Adamnanus was abbot of Hy, or Jona, when Bede was a child; and, therefore, seems well qualified to give his testimony. This author tells us, that a certain bishop, who had a mind to conceal himself, made Columba a visit at Hy; and, to make his character the more unsuspected, was unusually modest and submissive in his behaviour: however, he was willing to pass for a priest. When Sunday came, St. Columba desired him to assist in the consecration of the eucharist. When this stranger came up to the altar, being invited to break the holy bread with St. Columba, this ceremony being the custom of that place when two priests were at church together,—the stranger, I say, coming to the altar, upon this occasion, Columba, looking strongly upon him and discovering his character, desired him to make use of the privilege of his order, and break the bread alone: for, says he, we know you are a bishop; why, therefore, have you endeavoured to conceal yourself, and hinder us all from treating you with due respect and veneration? By this way of saluting the bishop, it is plain

Adamnan.
Vita S. Co-
lumb. in Ca-
nisii Antiq.
Lect. par. 5.

St. Columba acknowledged the episcopal character to be superior to his own order, which was no more than that of a priest. But,

Secondly, there may be something farther alleged on St. Columba's behalf: for he not only acknowledged bishops to be of a distinct and superior order, but likewise believed them necessary for perpetuating the hierarchy, and ordaining others to the functions of priesthood. That this was his persuasion, appears by his taking care to have always a bishop resident upon his monastery, as archbishop Usher informs us from the Ulster annals. Now, why could not the abbot manage without a bishop's assistance? For this we can assign no other reason, but that there was some singularity of privilege, some branch of power, in the episcopal character, which exceeded the commission of a priest; and this distinguishing prerogative it was which made the presence of a bishop so necessary to that little island. St. Columba died about the year of our Lord 597.

Bishop of St. Asaph's Historical Account of Church Government, &c. chap. 5. p. 101, 102.

And now it will be time to mention Gildas, called Badōnicus, *Gildas*.

to distinguish him from Gildas Albanus; though the learned Dr. Stillingfleet is of opinion there was but one Gildas. Indeed, the history of Gildas Albanus has so much the air of a romance that I shall say nothing about him. As for the historian, though authors are agreed as to the century he lived in, yet they differ about the precise time: some will not allow him longer than the year 512, others bring him forward to 565; Polydore Virgil makes him flourish to the year 580, and Radulphus de Diceto affirms that he wrote his history four years after. Archbishop Usher is of opinion that he wrote his book, "De Excidio Britanniae," in the year of our Lord 564. He studied under the famous Iltutus, and had Paulus for his fellow pupil. He was a person of great piety and considerable elocution, making an allowance for the times he lived in. He was a monk in the famous monastery of Bangor, and was contemporary with several petty British princes who held Cornwall, Wales, and, it may be, some other parts of the isle, independently of the Saxons. Archbishop Usher places his birth to the year of our Lord 520, in which the Saxons were defeated by Arthur, at Baden Hills. Gildas, in his epistle, reproves the princes above mentioned with extraordinary freedom and vehemence, and seems to carry his satire to

Antiquities of the British Churches, p. 209.

Edit. Gild. Gale. ad Lector.

Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. p. 278.

Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. p. 278.

somewhat of an excess: however, he was so successful as to recover Constantine, who was one of them. He likewise reproves the clergy very sharply for their irregularities, particularly for being too eager in their pursuit of preferment, for despising the poor, and making their court to the rich. After he has harangued upon their misbehaviour to a great length, he proposes the examples of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp for their imitation, and concludes with a prayer to God to preserve those few good pastors that were left. He died, according to the learned primate Usher and Du Pin, in the year of our Lord 570. He wrote his history and satirical epistle in Armorica, or French Britain.

A. D. 570.
Usher. Britan Eccles.
Antiquit.
c. 13.
Du Pin.
Eccl. Hist.
Cent. vi.
Columbanus.
A. D. 589.

To Gildas we may add Columbanus, born in this century, in Leinster, in Ireland, and scholar to Congallus, abbot of Benacor, in the eastern part of Ireland. Columbanus travelled first into Britain, where having stayed some time, he removed into Burgundy, founded the abbey of Luxevil there, and was abbot of the place. Having continued about twenty years in this post, he was banished by Theodoric, king of Austrasia, for the freedom he took in reproving him for his licentiousness. Upon this he made the tour of France, and then retired into Italy; where, having the grant of a convenient place from Agilulphus, king of the Lombards, he built the monastery of Bobio, near Naples, where he was abbot a year, and then died.

Cave. Hist.
Liter.
par. i.

A. D. 587.

Theonus and Thadiocus retire into Wales.

Usher. Britan. Eccles.
Antiquit.
p. 298, 299.
Usher. ibid.
ex Johan.
Fleto.

It was in the latter end of this century that Theonus and Thadiocus, archbishops of London and York, retired from the Saxon persecution into Wales. And here the learned primate reports the reason of their retreat, and the lamentable prevalence of paganism in the greatest part of the island. Upon the declension of piety and justice, says Fletus, among the Britons, the Saxons, being reinforced by several recruits, grew too big for the natives, and seized the sovereignty of the island; and thus, having the odds of power in their hands, they set up their own heathenism, demolished the Christian churches, and suppressed the true worship, as far as their dominions reached. And now, "the abomination of desolation may be said to have invaded the holy place." The Britons are expelled their country; London sacrifices to Diana, and Thorney spends her perfumes upon Apollo; and, indeed, the whole country is lost as to their faith, and quite sunk in the heathen idolatry. Thus, Radulphus Niger tells us, that the pagan

Now called Westminster.

In Chronico.

Saxons gained, by degrees, upon the creed, as they did upon the country; insomuch, that at last heathenism was the prevailing religion. And, to the same purpose, Wendover and Florilegus relate, that paganism kept pace with the Saxon conquest, and almost overspread the whole island. In short, the Church now lost ground almost every where, was driven, as it were, into a corner, and no where visible to any degree, excepting in Wales, Cornwall, and Cumberland: for in those places the Britons had still some footing.

62.

Rog. Wendover. and Matth. Florileg. ad An. 596.

Usher. *ibid.* p. 299, 535.

And here, before the close of this period, it may not be amiss to throw in a word or two about Armorica, in Gaul; for, since this country was planted by a colony of the Britons, held a close correspondence with this island, and served for a retreat for this Church and nation, I hope it will be nothing foreign to the subject to inquire a little when the British settlement there was first made. Now, though it is hard to determine the precise time, yet it is not improbable, that, after the disturbances occasioned by the revolt of Maximus and Constantine, a colony of Britons might settle themselves upon the sea-coasts in Gaul, near their own island; that, being thus advantageously planted, they might either receive their countrymen, or return to them, as the circumstances of their affairs should require. Besides the authority of Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and William of Malmesbury, for this opinion, the learned Dr. Stillingfleet is inclined to it from these arguments.

When the Britons probably first settled in Armorica.

First, from the testimony of Sidonius Apollinaris, who has two material passages for this purpose. The first is concerning Arvandus, prosecuted at Rome for high treason, for practising with the Goths to invade the emperor Anthemius, and make war upon the Britons on the Loire. This happened about the year of our Lord 467, when Sidonius Apollinaris was living, and before Anthemius was the second time consul. From whence it appears, not only that there were Britons then settled on the Loire, but that they were considerable for their force and interest. And, therefore, this colony cannot be supposed to consist of those vanquished refugees that were lately expelled their country: for which way should a battered handful of men grow up so quickly to such a degree of considerableness? This is still more unlikely if we observe, that, about this time, Ambrosius was successful against the Saxons,

Stilling. *Antiquit. British Churches,* p. 351.

Sidon. Apol. *Epist.* l. i. ep. 7.

and in a fair way of driving them out of the island ; so that it is not at all probable that those Britons who were bred to arms, and were serviceable in the field, should quit their native country, and settle in Gaul, at this juncture,—at this juncture, I say, when they were so much wanted, and likely to be so significant, at home.

A second proof from Sidonius Apollinaris relates to Riethamus, a king of the Britons, in the time of Sidonius Apollinaris, and to whom this author wrote. Now, this prince marched with twelve thousand Britons to assist the Romans against Euricus, king of the Goths, in the year of our Lord 470, as Sigebert computes it. And is not this a clear argument, that a considerable number of Britons were then planted in Gaul, and that they were not only strong enough to stand upon their own defence, but to assist the Romans ? Which strength and figure cannot be supposed to be made out of the debris of a routed army, which was lately forced to transport themselves and leave their country to the enemy. Besides, in Sirmundus's Gallican councils, we find Mansuetus, a bishop of the Britons, subscribing to the first council at Tours, which was held A. D. 461. Thus it appears the Britons had then so thorough a settlement in Gaul as to have a king and bishops of their own : which was great encouragement for other Britons to go over and incorporate with them, when they found themselves so distressed by the Saxons at home ; for, unless they had such a stand to retreat to, a people beaten out of heart would hardly have ventured into a foreign country, where they might probably have been forced to act offensively, and dispute their settlement by inches. From hence the learned Dr. Stillingfleet concludes, there was a large colony of Britons in Armorica before those bodies went over that were broken and routed by the Saxons. But, as to the first colony of the Armorican Britons, whether they came over in the beginning of the public disturbances here, when the people were so rebellious against their princes as Gildas relates, or whether they embarked to assist Constantine and his son, and so continued upon the continent, is hard to determine. But that the Britons were well settled there before Sampson, archbishop of York, and his company crossed the seas, is evident from Matthew Paris, who tells us, that, in the heat of the Saxon persecution, this archbishop transported himself, and retired

Stilling.
p. 252.

Matth. Paris.
Historia.
major. A. D.
1199. p. 199.

to his countrymen in Gaulish Britain; where he had an honourable reception, and, upon the vacancy of the see of Dole, was made archbishop of that province. This election of Sampson to the metropolitical church of Dole, is assigned by the learned primate Usher to the year of our Lord 522. And thus much shall suffice for the first period of Christianity in this island, till the conversion of the Saxons.

Usher. Britan.
Eccles. Antiquit.
p. 526.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

63. I HAVE already related the misfortunes of the island upon the Saxon invasion, and to what a degree of distress the British Church and State was then reduced. But notwithstanding the prevalency of paganism within the enemy's conquest, yet Christianity, as we have reason to believe, was not totally extinguished even there. Malmesbury informs us, that many of the Britons submitted to Cerdic, king of the West Saxons. Those who yielded in this manner were probably the British peasantry, whose circumstances, though too low to keep up the face of a Church, yet many of them were constant to their religion, and endeavoured the conversion of the Saxons. Thus Offa, of the royal Saxon blood, is said to have turned Christian at the instructions of some pious Britons. This is farther confirmed by the letters of St. Gregory the Great, to Theodoric and Theodobert, kings of the Franks; where, complaining of the negligence of the French to propagate the gospel, he has these words: "We are informed," says he, "that through the mercy of God, the English nation is desirous to turn Christian; but the clergy of your nation, notwithstanding their neighbourhood, refuse to assist them in their good motions, and encourage their piety." And in his letter to queen Brunecchild, he gives her to understand, that the English were very willing to quit their paganism, and come into the Church; but that the French clergy wanted the compassion of their character, and took no care to forward that people in their good dispositions.
- The conversion of the Saxons.*
- De Regib. l. 1.
- Godwin de Præsul. Angl. p. 40. Munster in Cosmog.
- Epist. l. 5. c. 58.
- Ibid. c. 159. p. 192. Edit. Langdun.

Now, whence should this inclination to Christianity in the Saxons proceed, but from the information they had received from the Britons, who lived amongst them, or, at least, from the influence of their example? This neglect of the French was, not long after, supplied by the industry of Gregory the Great, whom God was pleased to make very instrumental in the conversion of the Saxons in this island. And here it will be proper to relate, from what a slender occasion this great blessing took its first rise.

St. Gregory, before his advancement to the see of Rome, happened one day to walk through the market where they sold slaves, and here, taking notice that certain youths of fine features and complexion, and well dressed, were set to sale, he asked the merchant that disposed of them what countrymen they were? He answered, "They came from Britain, and that all the country had such good skins, and the same advantage of person." Upon this, Gregory enquired whether these islanders were Christians or heathens? The merchant told him, "They lived under the unhappiness of heathenism." Then Gregory, fetching a deep sigh, said, "It was a lamentable consideration, that the prince of darkness should be master of so much beauty, and have so many graceful persons in his possession, and that so fine an outside should have nothing of God's grace to furnish it within." The seeing these youths made a great impression upon St. Gregory's piety, who from this time projected the Saxon conversion.

Johan.
Diacon. Vit.
Gregor l. 1.
c. 21.

64.

Soon after, therefore, he applied himself to pope Benedict, and earnestly requested that some persons might be sent to preach Christianity in Britain. And perceiving nobody willing to undertake the mission, he offered himself for the service, with the pope's permission. The pope at last gave him leave; and he set forward for his voyage, though with the great regret of the clergy and people at Rome. He had not been gone above two or three days, before the pope had a remonstrance delivered him in the streets, for sending off Gregory, and therefore was forced to recall him.

*St. Gregory
offers himself
for the con-
version of the
English.*

About seven years after this time, when Benedict above-mentioned and Pelagius the second were dead, and Gregory promoted to the papal chair, he resolved to do that by others which had hitherto been impracticable for himself; which Christian design he began to put in execution in the fourth year of his pontificate. For this purpose he dispatched Augus-

Idem. l. 2.
c. 33.

He sends Augustine the monk hither upon this employment.

tine into Britain, with several other monks of his own monastery; who, setting forward at his command, began to disrelish their employment after a few days' travelling, and to sink under the difficulty of the undertaking. Growing thus discouraged, they concluded it more advisable to return than to make a long voyage to a savage, unpolished, and infidel nation, where, besides other disadvantages, they did not so much as understand their language. This resolution being taken, they immediately send Augustine the monk to Rome, to intreat the pope that they might have liberty to come home, and not be obliged to prosecute so fatiguing and dangerous a voyage, and which was so unlikely to answer in the success. Pope Gregory finding his missionaries thus dispirited, writes them a letter to encourage them, which runs thus:—

Bede, Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. 23.
Johan. Diacon. Vit. Gregor. l. 2. c. 23.
A. D. 596.

“Gregory, the servant of those that serve God, greeting, &c. Since it were better not to enter upon a worthy design, than to break off that which is commendably begun: for this reason, my dear sons, you ought to exert yourselves to the utmost to finish that great work, which, by the grace of God, you have engaged in. Do not let the fatigue of the voyage, nor the censures of ill men discourage you; but press forward in your business with all the zeal and application imaginable, being well assured that the troublesomeness of the employment will be rewarded with eternal glory in heaven. I have sent Augustine back to you, and made him your abbot, requiring you to submit entirely to his directions; for I know he will enjoin you nothing but what is serviceable to your best interest. God Almighty take you into his protection, and grant that I may see the success of your labours, even after I am dead. For though my circumstances will not give me leave to go along with you, and bear a part in the fatigue, yet I hope afterwards to have a share in the reward, because I want no inclination to engage. God Almighty have you in his good keeping. Dated the tenth of the calends of August, in the fourteenth year of our sovereign lord Mauritius Tiberius, &c.”

Bede, Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. 23.
Ibid. c. 24.

This holy pope wrote another letter to Etherius, archbishop of Arles, to give Augustine and his company a friendly reception, and to furnish them for their voyage with what conveniences lay in his way. This letter, as appears by the date, was written at the same time with the other. His holiness likewise wrote to the king and queen of the Franks to assist them with their countenance and directions, and not to let them

Epist. Gregor. l. 5. Ep. 58, 59.

suffer for want of necessaries. By the strength of these recommendations, they were everywhere entertained with great civility and respect, and furnished with several interpreters; from whence we may collect, as bishop Godwin observes, that the language of the English and Franks was much the same at that time: which is not unreasonable to suppose, since these two nations were both of German original, and made their removal into Britain and Gaul much about the same time, it being not above a hundred and fifty years since the Saxons, who moved first, transplanted themselves.

De Præsul.
Angl. p. 43.

And now Augustine the monk, and his companions, having recovered their spirits by his holiness's letters and recommendation, pursued their journey through France, and then embarking, arrived in Britain, in the isle of Thanet. At this time Ethelbert reigned in Kent, his dominions reaching, as Bede observes, as far as the Humber. Not but that the kingdoms of the East Saxons and the East Angles were now in being; but Ethelbert, being a more potent prince than the rest, had some of these petty kings for his homagers. Augustine, landing thus in the isle of Thanet, sent some of his French interpreters to king Ethelbert, acquainting him that he came from Rome upon the best message imaginable, and that those that would please to hear him, and be governed by his directions, would be rewarded with immortal happiness, and reign with God Almighty for ever in heaven. The king, receiving this information, ordered Augustine and his retinue to remain in the isle of Thanet till they heard farther from him, taking care to furnish them with conveniences in the mean time. This prince was then married to a Christian queen, called Bertha, daughter of Clotaire the first, king of the Franks. She had the liberty of religion secured her by the articles of marriage. She had likewise one Luidhardus a bishop in her court, to assist with his character and direct her conscience. And thus, having several Christians in her family, they had a church allowed them in the suburbs of Canterbury, called St. Martin's. Christianity having this countenance at Ethelbert's court, we may reasonably imagine that several of the Saxons were either brought over, or, at least, disposed for conversion before the arrival of Augustine. And thus, by these preparatory steps, the missionaries' way was made plain, and, as Malmesbury speaks, the king's inclinations brought

Bede Eccles.
Hist. l. 1.
c. 25.

A. D. 597.

Baron.
tom. 8.
A. D. 597.
65.

Malmesb. de
Regib. l. 1.

In Vit. St.
Augustin.

somewhat forward to hearken to Augustine. For this reason, Capgrave calls Luidhardus Augustine's harbinger, and affirms, that he smoothed his passage, and made his enterprize more practicable; which remark will appear very reasonable to any one that considers with what unexpected kindness Augustine was received at his first coming.

*Augustine
and his com-
panions meet
with a kind
reception
from king
Ethelbert.*

Some few days after their landing, the king came thither, and sitting down abroad in the air, commanded Augustine and his company to come and discourse with him. The reason why he sat abroad proceeded from a heathenish fancy, which made him decline trusting himself in a house with these strangers: for fear, if they had dealt in the black art, they might have surprised his understanding, and proved too hard for him. But these good men, as Bede continues, held no correspondence with the devil, but had their authority and credentials from heaven. When they were introduced to the king, they carried a silver cross for their banner, together with the picture of our blessed Saviour, and singing the Divine service, they put up their prayers to God Almighty for his blessing upon themselves, and those they came to convert. And now, the king making them a sign to sit down, they opened their commission, and preached the Gospel to him, and his whole retinue; when they had left speaking, he told them the proposals they made were noble and inviting, but being new to him at present, and uncertain, he could not abandon the ancient religion of the English, and become their proselyte. However, says he, since you have undertaken a long voyage, and ventured yourselves with a strange nation, upon motives of kindness and good nature; and that you might communicate those truths to us, which you esteem most valuable and important; we shall be so far from giving you any trouble, that you may be assured of a friendly entertainment. And, besides, we shall not hinder you from preaching to our subjects, and gaining as many over to your belief as you can. The king performed his promise, furnished them with houses in Canterbury, the capital of his kingdom, and supplied them with other conveniences. When they drew near the city of Canterbury, they are said to have sung this hymn: "O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, we beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from this city, and from thy holy place; for we have sinned, Hallelujah."

Dan. 9. 16.

Baronius, in transcribing this passage of Bede, falls into some tragical reflections upon the condition of the modern Church of England. He represents the case as if the English, in his time, had, in a manner, apostatised from Christianity, and turned monsters in belief: but, with due respect to the cardinal's memory, his declamation runs strangely upon misapplication. For the terms of communion stand by no means upon the same footing they did in Gregory the Great's time: to give an instance or two from the matter before us: And here Baronius takes notice, that Augustine the English Apostle was a monk, and that the rest of the missionaries were of the same order: that they appeared at their audience, and made their entry into Canterbury with the cross, and the picture of our Saviour carried before them; and then he complains that these things are all forgotten and laid aside by the modern English. To speak to this charge by parts;

It may be replied, in the first place, as to a monastic life, that the Church of England has not declared against it in any of her articles. Besides, the cardinal may remember that the dissolution of abbeys here was an act of the State, and not of the Church; that it was prior to the Reformation, and carried on by a prince and parliament of the Roman communion in all points, excepting the supremacy.

The conditions of communion altered since the time of Gregory the Great.

Secondly, as to the cross and our Saviour's picture, the Church of England has a great regard for both of them; and makes use of the first in the solemn administration of baptism. It is true, we dare not carry our respects to the lengths of the Church of Rome. And if we examine the passage in Bede, though we find St. Augustine and his company carried the cross and our Saviour's picture in their procession, yet there is not the least intimation that they worshipped them. Nay, it is plain that image-worship was none of the doctrine of Rome in that age: for pope Gregory the Great determines flatly against it: it is in his letter to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles. I shall translate so much of it as concerns this matter.

"I am lately informed," says St. Gregory, "that, upon your taking notice that some people worshipped images, you ordered the Church pictures to be broken and thrown away. Now, though I commended you for your zeal in preventing the adoration of anything made with hands; yet, in my opinion, those pictures should not have been broken in pieces. For the design of pictures in churches is to instruct the illiterate, that

66.

people may read that in the paint, which they have not education to do in the book. In my judgment, therefore, brother, you are obliged to find out a temper, to let the pictures stand in the Church, and likewise to forbid the congregation the worship of them. That, by this provision, those who are not bred to letters may be acquainted with the Scripture history; and the people, on the other side, preserved from the criminal excess of worshipping images."

Epist. Greg.
l. 7. ep. 109.

And in another letter of his to the same bishop, he seems to intimate that religious pictures were placed in the churches partly in condescension to the heathens, and to encourage them to Christianity. Therefore, as he is dissatisfied with Serenus's conduct in breaking the pictures, so, on the other side, he advises him to inform his people rightly in this matter, convincing them by the authority of Scripture, that no production of human art is to be adored; because it is written, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." (Luke iv. 8.) "In short," says he, "let no statuary or painter be discouraged in their profession, but take all imaginable care that nothing made by them be honoured to adoration. Thus, by this temper, the understandings of the unlearned may be instructed, and their affections warmed at the sight of church pictures; and our worship at the same time be all of it reserved for God, and directed to the Holy Trinity."

Epist. Greg.
l. 9. ep. 9.

Farther, St. Gregory did not carry the supremacy up to the pretensions, since insisted on by the court of Rome. This we may fairly collect from his complaint against John bishop of Constantinople for taking the title of universal bishop upon him. This, in his letter to Constantia the empress, he inveighs against as great pride and presumption in his brother and fellow-bishop, John. He declares against this haughty title, as a contradiction to the tenor of the Gospel, an infraction of the canons, and an injury to the whole Catholic Church.

Epist. l. 4.
ep. 34.

And that Gregory may not be thought to complain against the bishop of Constantinople, only for usurping above the privilege of his see, and taking a title which belonged to none but the bishop of Rome; that this was not the meaning of his remonstrance, is evident from his letter to the emperor Mauritius. By this letter it appears that Cyriacus, bishop of Constantinople, had made use of the same pompous style begun by John, his predecessor. Now it seems the emperor,

being informed that Gregory had not received Cyriacus's agents with that regard that was usual, and expected, he advises the pope to treat them in a more friendly manner, and not to insist upon the punctualities of style so far as to give a scandal about a title, and fall out about a few syllables. To this the pope replies, "that the innovation of the style was not much in the quantity and alphabet; but the bulk of the iniquity was weighty enough to sink and destroy all. And therefore I am bold to say," says he, "that whoever uses or affects the style of universal bishop, has the pride and character of Antichrist, and is in some manner his harbinger in this haughty quality of mounting himself above the rest of his order. And, indeed, both the one and the other seem to split upon the same rock. For, as pride makes Antichrist strain his pretensions up to Godhead, so, whoever is ambitious to be called the only or universal prelate, prefers himself to a distinguishing superiority, and rises as it were upon the ruins of the rest."

Epist. Greg.
l. 6. ep. 39.

And in his letter to Anastatius, bishop of Antioch, he has these words upon the same subject: "Cyriacus and myself can never be made friends, and come to any good understanding, unless he is willing to give up the vanity and usurpation of his style. This is a point of the last importance, neither can we comply with the innovation, without betraying religion and adulterating the faith of the Catholic Church. For, not to mention the invasion upon the honour of your character, if any one bishop must have the title of universal, if that universal prelate should happen to miscarry, the whole Church must sink with him," &c.

Epist. l. 6.
ep. 24.

And in his letter to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, we have more to the same purpose. Here pope Gregory complains to this patriarch for saluting him with the title of universal bishop in his superscription. "I beg of you," says he, "not to salute me in such language for the future; for by giving another more than belongs to him, you lessen yourself. As for me, I am but a brother of the order, neither do I desire to flourish in respect, but in behaviour: nor do I reckon that an honour to myself, which is paid me at the expense and prejudice of my brethren. My reputation lies in the honour of the universal Church, and in preserving the dignity of the rest of the prelates. I am only then respected to my satisfaction, when

every one else has the privileges of his character secured to him. Now, if your holiness," for so he calls the patriarch of Alexandria, "treats me with the title of universal bishop, you exclude yourself from an equality of privilege. But pray let us have none of this. Let us not feed our vanity with pompous applications; for this is the way to weaken the grace of charity, and disserve us in our best qualities. Your holiness may remember, that this style of universal bishop was offered my predecessors by the Council of Chalcedon, and by some other prelates, several times since; but none of them would ever receive the compliment, or make use of the title, but chose rather to maintain the honour of the whole episcopal college: looking upon this as the best expedient to preserve themselves in the esteem of God Almighty."

67.

Gregor.
Epist. 1. 7.
ep. 30.

I might instance in several other particulars, but history, and not dispute, being the principal business of this work, I shall carry on the controversy no farther.

Bede, Hist.
l. 1. c. 26.

To return to Bede; where we are told, that as soon as Augustine and his company were brought to the houses assigned them, they immediately began to govern themselves by the primitive and apostolical practice, spending their time in prayer, fasting, and other exercises of discipline, preaching as fast as opportunity presented; and living in a noble contempt of secular interest, receiving nothing from those they instructed but bare necessities, acting up to their own doctrine in all instances of duty; and being ready to undergo any hardship, even to the loss of life, in defence of the truths they published. This holy conduct was quickly answered with suc-

King Ethelbert, and a great many of his subjects, converted.

cess; several of the pagans were gained to baptism, being charmed with their behaviour and doctrine. On the east side of Canterbury, near the town, stood St. Martin's church above-mentioned; it was built in the time of the Romans, and was the place where queen Bertha, and the Christian part of her court used to meet. This congregation was now joined by St. Augustine, and the other missionaries, who prayed, preached, baptized, and performed all the solemn offices of religion here. To this Church they were confined at first, till the king was converted. But when the exemplariness of their life, the reasonableness of their doctrine, together with the force of their miracles, had persuaded this prince to turn Christian, and be baptized, then their liberty was enlarged,

A.D. 597.

Augustine and his company wrought miracles.

they had a numerous audience every day, and a great many of the Saxons quitted their paganism and came into the Church. Now though the king was extremely pleased with the conversion of his subjects, yet he compelled nobody to his own belief, only bestowing more countenance and affection upon those that were proselyted to Christianity. For he had learned from Augustine, and his other instructors, that force and dragooning was not the method of the Gospel; that the religion of our Saviour was to make its way by argument and persuasion; to be matter of choice, and not of compulsion. Soon after this, the king provided these holy missionaries with lodgings in Canterbury, suitable to their character and employment, and made them easy in their circumstances.

Having made so successful a progress in Britain, Augustine crossed the seas into France, travelled to Arles, and, pursuant to St. Gregory's orders, was consecrated metropolitan of the English nation by Etherius archbishop of that city. Being thus qualified, he set sail for Britain, and immediately dispatched Laurentius a priest, and a monk called Peter, to Rome, to inform his holiness of the conversion of the English, and of his own consecration at Arles. He likewise gave them instructions to desire the pope's resolution of several questions. He received satisfaction upon the points requested. I shall mention some of them from Bede.

Bede, l. 1.
c. 27.
*He travels
back to
Arles, and
soon after
returns into
Britain.*

Ibid.

His first question is, How the bishops ought to manage themselves, with respect to their clergy, and in what manner and proportion the distributions of what was offered by the faithful ought to be made?

The pope's answer was this; that it was the custom of the Church to divide the offerings or presents of the laity into four parts; one of which was to be for the bishop, to support his family, and put him in a condition to live hospitably: another part was to be divided amongst the clergy: a third part was to be given to the poor; and a fourth reserved for repairing the churches. But then he tells him, that there was something particular in his case: for being under a monastic rule, he ought to be governed by the forms of that institution, and not live separately from the rest of the clergy; and, therefore, it would be his duty to conform to the practice of the Primitive Church, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said of the converts, "that none of them said that ought of

*The pope's
answer to
Augustine's
questions.*

Acts iv. 32.

the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common." He advises him farther, to inspect the manners of the lower orders of the clergy; to keep them strictly to their respective duties in the Church; and take care not only for their maintenance, but that they may be inoffensive and exemplary in every part of their behaviour.

His second question was, that, since there was a diversity in the solemn service of the Church, the Gallican and Roman Church not being uniform in this matter; he desired to know how he was to manage in this affair?

The pope's answer was, that he was left to his own choice in this case; that he might select what he thought fit from the Churches of Christendom, always preferring that which he judged most acceptable to God Almighty, and suitable to the circumstances of the place. But something of this has been mentioned already.

In his third question, he desires to be informed, what punishment ought to be inflicted upon those that stole any thing from the Church?

To this the pope answers; first, by distinguishing between covetousness and necessity: that those who stole out of the latter motive ought to have a gentler punishment; that the whole proceeding should be managed with charity and temper, and nothing of heat nor passion appear in the discipline. And being applied to concerning the measure of the restitution, he answers; God forbid the Church should receive more than she lost, or make her advantage out of the trifles of this world.

68.

Augustine puts another question, and desires to be informed at what distance of consanguinity it is lawful to marry?

Pope Gregory bars this relation no farther than cousin Germans; so that one remove from this nearness of blood leaves the parties at liberty to intermarry: which is more than the present Church of Rome allows of.

His next question is concerning the ordination of a bishop; whether in case the length of the journey makes it inconvenient for the bishops of foreign dioceses to meet, the solemnity of the consecration ought to be performed by a single bishop?

To this St. Gregory replies; that in regard St. Augustine was now the only bishop in the English Church, it was impracticable for him to have any assistant at the first consecration; but when any French bishops happened to travel into

Kent, he advised they might join in the office, so far as to be witnesses of the solemnity. But after the English Church was once furnished with a number of bishops in the neighbourhood, then no clergyman ought to be promoted to the episcopal character, without three or four of that order at his consecration.

Augustine inquires farther, how he ought to manage with respect to the bishops of Gaul and Britain?

The pope tells him, that he allows him no manner of jurisdiction over the French bishops, because the archbishops of Arles had received the pall from his predecessors for a long time; of which privilege the pope did not think it lawful to deprive them. The French bishops, therefore, were to be treated upon the level, and nothing offered but by way of advice and persuasion: for "nobody ought to put a sickle into his neighbour's standing corn." But as to the bishops of Britain, he puts them all under St. Augustine's jurisdiction. Deut. xxiii. 25.

The other questions put by Augustine I shall pass over.

To proceed to the English Church. And here Baronius observes, that the new converts were baptized the Christmas after the arrival of Augustine. This observation of the cardinal is made good by Gregory the Great's letter to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria; in which, among other things, he informs him of the success of Augustine the monk upon the English. He tells him, he had received an account of the progress of this undertaking; that Augustine and his company were so supernaturally assisted in their mission, and worked so many miracles, that in this respect they seemed to come up almost to the character of an apostle: that on the festival of our Saviour's nativity last past, there were above ten thousand A.D. 598. of the English baptized. Gregor. Epist. l. 7. ep. 30.

And here we may take notice of the cardinal's remark, that Augustine was consecrated a bishop before his arrival in Britain, as this letter seems plainly to intimate: and if so, Bede must be mistaken, in reporting Augustine travelled from Britain to Arles, for an episcopal character: for according to this letter, he was consecrated in France, at his first voyage thither. Besides, Virgilius, and not Etherius, was bishop of Arles at this time. But in the beginning of the next century, the cardinal seems to quit the authority of pope Gregory's epistle, and rely upon Bede; for here he tells us, that Augus- Baron. A.D. 597. Sect. 26.

time, pursuant to the pope's instructions, went from Britain to Arles for his consecration.

Baron.
A.D. 601.
Sect. 26.

A.D. 601.

Augustine, in his application above-mentioned to pope Gregory, desired he might be furnished with some more assistance: the pope complied with this request; and when Peter and Laurentius came back for Britain, his holiness sent Melitus, Justus, Paulinus, Ruffinianus, and several others along with them, and furnished them with church plate, vestments, relics, and habits for the clergy, books, and whatever else was requisite for the service and ornament of religion. He likewise wrote to Augustine, giving him to understand that he had ordered him a pall, and laid down some directions about the settling episcopal sees in Britain. The pope likewise recommended those that were travelling for Britain to Clotaire, Brunechild, Theodorick, and Theodobert, kings, and queen of the Franks.

Bede, l. 1.
c. 29.

The antiquity, use, &c. of the pall.

Harpsfield,
Hist. Eccles. Anglic.
c. 6. p. 58.

And here, the sending the pall to Augustine, since it is the first time we have hitherto met with it, may not be an unreasonable occasion to dilate upon this usage. I shall therefore entertain the reader a little, with the form, antiquity, and design of this distinction of habit; by whom it was originally given, and the great consequences it has drawn along with it.

The pall, as Harpsfield describes it, is a small piece of woollen cloth, put on the archbishop's shoulders, when he officiates, and lies over the rest of his habit. It is not at all ornamented with any rich dye, but is just of the same colour the sheep wore it: it is laid upon St. Peter's tomb by the bishops of Rome, and then sent away to the respective metropolitans. This ancient ceremony is supposed to signify these two things: first, that the archbishop may not grow vain upon the pompousness of his habit; and that by looking upon the homeliness of the pall, the gold tissue and jewels about him may not affect his fancy, and make an unserviceable impression. The other lesson held forth in the emblem was, that the prelate considering the pall was taken from St. Peter's tomb at Rome, should be careful to adhere to St. Peter's doctrine. Thus far Harpsfield.

De Marca,
de Concord.
Sacerd. &
Imper. l. 6.
c. 6, 7.
69.

But the learned Peter de Marca, archbishop of Paris, has a much larger and more instructive discourse upon this subject. As to the form, he observes, that the modern pall is much different from the ancient; that the modern one is nothing but a

white piece of woollen cloth, about the breadth of a border, made round, and thrown over the shoulders. Upon this border there are two others of the same matter and form, one of which falls down upon the breast, and the other upon the back, with each of them a red cross, several crosses of the same colour being likewise upon the upper part of it, about the shoulders. This pall is tacked on with three gold pins. Thus the modern fashion of it is described by Honorius of Autun, Hugo a Sancto Victore, and Pope Innocent III. But the old pall was a rich robe of state, and hung down to the ground, and the same with the Greek *omophorion*. This *ὀμοφόριον* the Latins call *pallium*, which is a plain argument, that it was an entire garment, and not only a few borders. Thus Pelagius and Gregory I. inform us, that it was a magnificent habit, designed to put the prelate in mind that his life should answer up to the dignity of his appearance.

Gregor.
lib. 7.
ep. 112.

The learned Peter de Marca observes farther, that the pall was part of the imperial habit; and that the emperors gave the patriarchs leave to wear it. Thus, Constantine's Donation, inserted in Gratian's Decretum, informs us, that the use of the pall was given to the bishop of Rome by that prince. It is true, as De Marca acknowledges, this Donation is a counterfeit evidence; but, for all that, the antiquity of it is not inconsiderable, being extant in the time of Charles the Great and Adrian I. And thus we see, that the pall's being a favour from the emperor, is an opinion of above eight hundred years standing. This point may be farther proved by unquestionable authority; for the purpose, Liberatus Diaconus relates, that Anthimus, patriarch of Constantinople, being expelled his see, returned the pall to the emperor Justinian. The original runs, "*Pallium reddidit imperatoribus;*" that is, to Justinian and Theodora his empress. Now, nothing can be plainer than this expression; for what is returning, but restoring a thing to the person from whom it was received? And, that the force of the argument may not be put by upon pretence that Anthimus returned the pall to their imperial majesties upon the score of his being preferred to that see by their favour and nomination, it may not be improper to support the proof by other testimonies from antiquity. And here we may observe, that the see of Arles, having received some distinguishing marks of respect from Zozimus and Symmachus, bishops of Rome, in the fifth

De Marca.
de Concord.
Sacred. and
Imper. 1. 6.
c. 6. sect. 6.

De Marca.
ibid. and 1. 3.
c. 12.

Breviar.
c. 21.

and beginning of the sixth centuries, Auxanius, being promoted to this metropolitical chair in the year of our Lord 543, desired the privilege of the pall might be added to the honour of his being the pope's legate. This request was made to Vigilius. And here the pope did not think fit to gratify Auxanius till he had gained the emperor's consent. Had it been done without such a permission, it might have been looked on as a failure in duty and respect to the emperor. Thus Vigilius reports the matter : and two years after, upon his gratifying Auxanius at the instance of Childebert, king of the Franks, he puts this bishop in mind to pray for Justinian and Theodora, in return for their consent to his being the pope's legate, and receiving the privilege of the pall. Upon the death of Auxanius, the pope Vigilius, after having done his successor Aurelian the same honour, wrote a letter to advise him to return his thanks to Belizarius, for procuring the emperor's consent for this favour. Upon this De Marca observes, that, in the year 595, Gregory I. continued the legantine power, and the use of the pall, to Virgilius, bishop of Arles, without staying for the emperor's consent ; concluding the approbation of Childebert, king of France, was sufficient, considering it was customary for the bishops of Arles to be thus distinguished. But the next year, when queen Brunichild requested the favour of the pall for Syagrius, bishop of Autun, the pope, though not inclined to refuse her, delayed the grant till he had consulted the emperor, by his agent at Constantinople. After this he returns her an answer of satisfaction, letting her know, that he had now sent the pall as she desired, having received intelligence by his nuncio that the emperor had given his consent, and condescended to the motion. Now, if the reason of the emperor's consent for the bishop's pall is demanded, it seems to be this : that the pall being a royal habit, the emperors had a right to dispose of it ; therefore we find them granted to the pope and the other patriarchs by the civil sovereign, it not being lawful to wear them without leave from the imperial court : for it was high treason, by the Roman laws, for any one to wear any part of the royal habit without licence. De Marca is likewise of opinion, that the use of the pall in the Church was not so early as the reign of Theodosius the Younger.

To proceed : De Marca makes it appear, that the use of the

De Marca.
1. 5. c. 30.
sect. 3. 1. 5.
c. 33. and 36.
1. 6. c. 6.
sect. 10.

Vigil. ep. 1.
ad Auxan.

Vigil. ep. 5.

Gregory.
Epist. 7.
ep. 5.

De Marca.
ibid.

pall was given to none of the Gallican bishops, the see of Arles excepted, till the year 600 ; and that the pall enjoined the archbishops by the council of Maseon, held A. D. 581, was not the Roman, but the Gallican pall. But, in Gregory the Great's time, it was the practice for the bishop of Rome to gratify the metropolitans under his patriarchate with this ornamental distinction ; but, as for the rest, their habits continued as formerly.

De Marca.
l. 6. c. 7.
sect. 1.

And thus the case stood, as to the pall, with the French bishops, till Boniface was sent by pope Zachary into France and Germany. This prelate, convening a synod in the year 742, got a canon passed, that all Christendom, for the future, should own the Church of Rome for the centre of communion, and live in subjection to St. Peter's see ; that the metropolitans should apply to Rome for their pall, and pay a canonical obedience to St. Peter's injunctions. To this period, as De Marca continues, the metropolitans of France had only made use of the Gallican pall ; but now, Boniface obliged them to fetch it from Rome, to make them more subject to that see, and bring them under an unprecedented dependency. But these bishops, being apprehensive they might suffer in their liberties, and lose that archiepiscopal authority which was secured them by the canons, demurred upon the point, and were in suspense for some time whether they should make good their engagements to the late synod or not ; and, therefore, Boniface, having made application to pope Zachary for three palls, for the archbishops of Rouen, Rheims, and Sens, stopped his hand. Zachary, in the year of our Lord 744, expostulates with him for desisting in his suit.

70.

Boniface.
Epist. 105.
ad Cuthbert.

Boniface, in his answer to this complaint, writes the pope word, that the French prelates were very heavy in the point, and likely to fail in the performance. But when the meaning of the pall was agreeably explained to them, that it was designed only as a distinction between the archbishops and their suffragans, and that it suggested an obligation to a more exemplary life, and to defend their metropolitical privileges, they were then contented to accept the favour. In this century, the form of the pall was the same with the modern, as appears from Alcuinus, who lived in the reign of Charles the Great. This author makes the pall resemble the rationale or breast-plate of the Jewish high-priest, and calls it nothing

Zachar.
ep. 5.

Alcuin. de
Divin. Offic.

Rhaban.
Maur. lib. de
Ordin. An-
tiphon.

De Marca.
ibid.

more than a mark of distinction between a metropolitan and the bishops of his province. Rhabanus Maurus likewise describes it to a resemblance with those used at present, adding withal, that it was bestowed upon the archbishops to show they represented the pope, and acted by authority of the apostolic see. These last words of Rhabanus, as the learned De Marca takes notice, are very remarkable: "From hence," says he, "we may learn the reason why the popes have been so diligent in sending palls to the Gallican archbishops: it was to create an opinion that their metropolitical privileges, assigned them by the canons, were owing only to their representation of the pope, or their legatine character;" for, as Rhabanus expresses it, "*Propter apostolicam vicem pallii honor decernitur.*" Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, being aware of the danger of this construction, and well acquainted with the politics and finesse of the court of Rome, told pope Nicholas I.,—who reproached him with ingratitude, and how his see of Rheims had been obliged to pope Bennet for the grant of the pall,—he told this pope, I say, that the pall was no enlargement of his jurisdiction, nor gave him any new privilege; and that he only took it, because he thought it might procure a respect to his character, and signify somewhat with his disorderly neighbours, who had not a due regard for the old canons.

The necessity of procuring the pall was decreed in the eighth general council at Constantinople, held in the year 872, and in the pontificate of Adrian II. Here the council passed a canon to oblige the metropolitans to receive confirmation from their respective patriarchs, either by imposition of hands, or the grant of the pall. This canon is not in the Greek text of the council, but only in the version of Anastasius. However, we may draw this inference, that it was no less customary for the eastern patriarchs to send the pall to the metropolitans within their jurisdiction, than for the pope to those in the west.

De Marca.
l. 6. c. 7.
sect. 5.

After the metropolitans of Europe had digested the canon above mentioned, and owned themselves obliged to receive the pall, they had new conditions of servitude imposed upon them by the see of Rome. First, they were forced to promise obedience and subjection to the apostolic see, under their handwriting; and that they would execute the pope's orders in every thing, in conformity to the canons. "This new law,"

says Peter de Marca, "was introduced by Boniface, arch-Ibid. sec. 6.
 bishop of Mentz, in the synod held by him, A. D. 742, as we
 may learn from his letter to Cuthbert." Before this time the
 metropolitans were under no such engagements; being only
 obliged to make a public profession of their faith at their
 consecration, and to promise the keeping of the canons, to
 the bishops of the province. But as for any promise of
 obedience, there was no such matter. Indeed, this was so
 far from having any warrant from antiquity, that Leo I.
 thought it injurious to the episcopal character. However,De Marca. ibid.
 though this promise of obedience and subjection to St. Peter
 and his successors was perfectly new, yet it was limited by
 a stated rule, and kept within the compass of the canons,
 "Per omnia præcepta Petri canonicè sequi."Ibid.

Thus the case stood till Gregory VII.'s time. This pope,
 to speak softly of him, being of an enterprising temper, clogged
 the form of submission with new clauses, and changed the pro-
 mise of obedience into an oath of allegiance. The tenor of this
 oath may be seen in this pope's register, upon the occasion of
 the patriarch of Aquileia's swearing to him, in a synod at
 Rome, A. D. 1079. And here, after the promise of canonical
 obedience, there is an oath of allegiance superadded, couched
 in the same language that a subject swears to his prince:
 "Non ero in consilio, neque in facto, ut vitam, aut membra,
In Regesto. Gregor. VII. l. 6. post. epist. 17. De Marca. ibid. sect. 7.
 aut papatum perdant, aut capti sint mala captione:" i. e. "I
 will neither be assisting with my person nor advice to the
 intent that they may either lose life, limb, liberty, or pope-
 dom." Besides, the metropolitan swears he will observe
 "Regulas sanctorum patrum;" "the regulations of the holy
 fathers:" for this, and not "regalia," as De Marca observes,Ibid.
 is the true reading. 71.

This form grew up into common law, and was quickly in-
 serted in the decretals. To fortify this invasion upon the
 right of princes, this pope, in another synod, forbade the
 bishops the swearing of homage to the civil sovereign; which
 injunction was confirmed by his successors, Urban II. and
 Paschal II. But foreseeing this argument will come up again,
 I shall reserve it to a farther opportunity. As to the pall, the
 decretals collected, or at least published, by the order of pope
 Gregory IX. in the thirteenth century, oblige every archbishop
 not to call a council, bless the chrism, consecrate churches,

ordain a clerk, or consecrate a bishop, till he had received his pall from the see of Rome, at the delivery of which, he was to swear fidelity to the pope.

CENT. VII.

A. D. 601.
*Gregory's
letter to Au-
gustine.*
Bede Eccles.
Hist. l. 1.
c. 29.

To return to Gregory I., this pope, in his letter to Augustine, having acquainted him that he had sent him the pall, as a mark of his esteem, for the great service he had done in converting the English, proceeds to give him directions to erect twelve sees within his province; and that the bishop of London should receive the pall from the Apostolic see. As for York, he orders Augustine to settle a bishop there, leaving the person to his choice; adding, withal, that if it should please God that city and the neighbouring country should turn Christian, he was to form it into a province, with twelve suffragans under the metropolitan of York; to which archbishop the pope designed to send a pall, with this reservation, that he should be subject to the primate of Canterbury.

The pope proceeds to lay down his directions, by which he provided, that after Augustine's decease the archbishop of York was to preside over the bishops he ordained, and to be perfectly independent of the jurisdiction of the see of London; and that the precedency of the bishops of London and York was to be regulated by the priority of their consecrations. That they were to govern within their respective limits, and not to clash or interfere with each other; but to act with unanimity and joint advice for the common interest of Christianity. In the close of the letter, the pope gives Augustine to understand that all the British bishops, as well as those ordained by himself and the bishop of York, were to be under his jurisdiction, and receive the rule of faith and manners from him.

This letter was written on the tenth of the calends of June. We have another of the same date, directed to King Ethelbert, which, considering the dignity of the person and argument, will be proper to insert. The superscription runs thus: "Domino Gloriosissimo atque Præcellentissimo Filio Ethelberto" (or Aldiberto, as it stands in the epistles of Gregory the Great) "Regi Anglorum Gregorius Episcopus."

Bede Eccles.
Hist. l. 1.
c. 32.
*Another let-
ter of pope
Gregory's to
King Ethel-
bert.*
A. D. 601.

"The design of God Almighty in raising persons of probity to a sovereign station, is to diffuse their good qualities, and make their virtues imitated by their subjects. This design, we understand, is in some measure happily answered in Eng-

land, within your majesty's dominions; where you have the sceptre put into your hands, to bring your people under the same privileges of Divine grace with which God has blessed your royal person. Therefore, my illustrious son, forget not to maintain your ground, and make a suitable return to the Divine bounty. Make use of the first opportunity, and exert yourself to enlarge the pale of the Church within your territories; quicken your zeal for the conversion of the country; prosecute the remains of idolatry, and demolish the temples of false worship: engage your subjects to Christianity, by good example, by encouragement, and discipline, and by all the proper instances of terror and persuasion: that the God, whose majesty you have owned, and whose worship you have published on earth, may reward your piety in heaven. And besides this, your promoting the honour of God Almighty will immortalize your fame, and prove glorious to your memory. Thus, the noble Constantine, by bringing the empire off from paganism, and recovering his subjects to the acknowledgment of the true God, carried his reputation above the pitch of his predecessors, and raised the grandeur of his character in proportion to that of his virtue. In imitation, therefore, of this emperor, may your majesty use your utmost endeavours to promote the adoration of the blessed Trinity among your subjects, that you may exceed the commendation of your ancestors, and, by contributing towards the reformation of your people, you may be the better prepared to have your own pardon passed at the day of judgment. As for our most reverend brother Augustine the bishop, I must do him the justice to say, he is a person remarkable for his knowledge in the Holy Scriptures, and for the regularity of his behaviour; be pleased, therefore, to hearken to what he shall suggest; remember what he delivers, and practise his instructions: for if you attend to his discourses, who speaks to you in the name of God Almighty, God will be more inclined to hear his prayers, put up on your behalf. But if you slight his exhortations, which I hope will never happen, how can you expect that God Almighty should hear Augustine for you, when you refused to hear him for God? Exert your zeal, therefore, and act in conjunction with him for the propagating Christianity, that God may take you into the participation of his own kingdom, for making his revelation acknowledged in yours. Far-

*Gloriose
fili.*

ther, we desire to acquaint your majesty, from the Holy Scriptures, that the world is almost at an end, and that the eternal kingdom of the saints is ready to commence. Now when the world draws towards a period, there will be a great many accidents altogether strange and unheard of; the air and sky will be full of prodigy and terror; the quality of the seasons will be changed; war, famine, mortality, and earthquakes will be unusually frequent. All these prognosticating signs are not likely to happen in our time: but if you find some of them come up in your own country, be not disturbed at the extraordinary appearance. For these preliminary warnings are sent on purpose to awaken our caution, to put us in mind of the uncertainty of our life, and to qualify us the better to give an account of ourselves at the great tribunal. Thus, my illustrious son, I have saluted your majesty in a few words; and when the Christian religion has made a farther progress in your kingdom, I desire to correspond with you more at length: for I shall take the greater satisfaction in conversing thus with you, by receiving a fresh account of the farther conversion of your subjects. I have sent you some small presents, which I hope you will not disesteem, considering they bring St. Peter's benediction along with them. May God Almighty bless you with farther degrees of his grace, finish what he has so mercifully begun; grant you a long life in this world, and eternal happiness in the other."

This letter, though dated the nineteenth year of Mauritius, according to Bede; yet Baronius, by the mark of the indication, assigns it to the fifteenth year of that emperor.

With this letter, the pope wrote another to the queen, to press the king, her husband, to quicken his zeal in the cause of Christianity. It runs thus:—

"Those that desire a crown of glory, after they have quitted their sovereignty on earth, must take care to be serviceable to God Almighty in proportion to the power he has given them; that by this means their good actions may be instrumental to raise them to the height of their desires. And thus we are glad to find your majesty acting upon this view. The intelligence we received from Laurentius the priest, and Peter the monk, was extremely welcome. They informed us how much our brother and fellow-bishop Augustine was farthered in his design by your countenance and assistance. Upon this occa-

Baron.
A. D. 601.
sect. 31.

Greg. Epist.
1. 9. Ep. 59.
Baron.
A. D. 601.
sect. 32, 33.
A. D. 601.
*He writes to
queen Bertha.*

sion we returned our thanks to Almighty God for laying the English in your way, and reserving their conversion for your majesty. For, as Helena, of pious memory, mother to Constantine the Great, animated the good dispositions of the Romans, and encouraged them to Christianity, so we hope your majesty's zeal, by the blessing of God, will have the same happy effect upon the English. To speak plainly, your majesty's obligation has commenced long since, to use your utmost interest with the king your husband, to bring him to the same Christian persuasion with yourself, this being the only expedient to make him and his subjects happy; and to make your own degree of glory much greater in heaven. For, since your majesty has the advantage both of learning and orthodox belief, such an undertaking should neither have begun late, nor been looked on as over-difficult. And now, since God is pleased to furnish you with a proper opportunity, join your endeavours vigorously with so great a providential overture, and do your utmost to retrieve the omissions of what is past. Fortify the good disposition of the most noble king your husband, bring him forward in his esteem for Christianity; make him so thoroughly affected with the mercies of God, and the blessings of Christianity, that he may act with all imaginable inclination for the conversion of his subjects. Such a flaming zeal in both of you for so noble a cause, will be the most acceptable instance of worship to heaven. And thus may the fame of your pious industry increase, and the truth of the report grow unquestionable: for I am obliged to acquaint you, that your commendation upon this score is not only talked of at Rome, where your lives are heartily prayed for; but has spread to more distant countries, and reached the emperor at Constantinople. Therefore, as you have given us great satisfaction for what is already done for the service of Christianity; so I desire that, by pressing forward upon the progress, you may perfect so worthy an undertaking, occasion joy to the angels in heaven, and make an addition to the happiness of the blessed. As to Augustine, our most reverend brother and fellow-bishop, and the rest of the holy men we have sent thither for the conversion of your nation, forget not to assist them to the utmost of your power, that the most noble prince, your husband, and yourself, may reign happily here, and after a long course of prosperity upon earth, may

be translated to eternal glory in heaven. We beseech Almighty God to inspire you with such a degree of his grace, that you may happily pursue and accomplish what is already mentioned, and be for ever rewarded for doing that which is acceptable in his sight."

73.

Bede Eccles.
Hist. l. 1.
c. 30.
Greg. Epist.
l. 9. ep. 71.
*He advises
Augustine
not to pull
down the
heathen tem-
ples, but turn
them into
Christian
churches.*

St. Gregory, in his letter to the king, had given his advice, that the idol temples should be demolished; but, upon recollection, he altered his measures: and therefore in a letter to Mellitus, an abbot, who was upon his voyage into Britain, he orders him at his arrival to acquaint archbishop Augustine that, upon farther thoughts, he had come to a resolution that the pagan temples in that country should not be pulled down; it being sufficient that the idols in them be destroyed. "Therefore let these places of heathen worship be sprinkled with holy water: let altars be built, and relics placed under them: for, if these temples are well built, it is fit the property of them should be altered; that the worship of devils be abolished, and the solemnity changed to the service of the true God: that when the natives perceive those religious structures remain standing, they may keep to the place, without retaining the error; and be less shocked at their first entrance upon Christianity, by frequenting the temples they have been used to esteem. And since it has been their custom to sacrifice oxen to the devils they adored, this usage ought to be refined on, and altered to an innocent practice." He advises, therefore, that "upon the anniversary of the saints, whose relics are lodged there, or upon the return of the day the church was consecrated, the people should make them booths about those churches lately rescued from idolatry, provide an entertainment, and keep a Christian holiday; not sacrificing their cattle to the devil, but killing them for their own refreshment, and praising God for the blessing: and thus, by allowing them some satisfactions of sense, they may relish Christianity the better, and be raised by degrees to the more noble pleasures of the mind: for unpolished ignorant people are not to be cured all at once. He that intends to reach the top of an eminence, must rise by gradual advances, and not think to mount at a single leap: thus God, when he discovered himself to the Israelites in Egypt, did not forbid them the customary rites of sacrificing, but transferred their worship from the devil to himself."—Thus Gregory thought fit to con-

descend to the weakness of the new converts, to comply with part of their prejudices, and gratify their humour, in some measure; looking upon this temper as a more likely expedient to reconcile them to Christianity, than if he had indulged them in no circumstance of their former customs, and drove them wholly from one extreme to another. This letter is dated in June in the same year with the last.

St. Gregory being certainly informed in what a wonderful manner the missionaries were countenanced from Heaven, cautions Archbishop Augustine in a letter against being elated by the gift of miracles. After having premised his great satisfaction at the conversion of the English, he lets him know he was convinced that God had wrought surprising miracles in favour of his mission. "This supernatural assistance," says he, "ought to be a great comfort to you, so you should be very solicitous about the exactness of your behaviour. You have reason indeed to rejoice, because the exterior pomp and dazzling lustre of miracles has brought the English to the inward reformation and spiritual advantage designed by them; but then, on the other side, you ought to be afraid, lest through human infirmity you should grow vain upon your privilege, and make the splendour of the outside prove a loss to you within." He puts him in mind it is his duty to remember that "when the disciples, being overjoyed at the evidence and honour of their credentials, told our Saviour, with an air of transport, 'Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name,' they received this answer, 'Rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven.' For to be pleased with miracles looks like a satisfaction founded on private regards and temporal interest; the pleasure therefore must be refined, the affections enlarged to the public good, and the thoughts transferred from time to eternity. 'Rejoice in this,' saith our Saviour, 'because your names are written in heaven.' All the elect," as the pope goes on, "do not work miracles, and yet their names are all registered in the court of honour above. Those who are in the interest of truth and virtue are pleased with no advantage but that which is beneficial to the world, nor strongly affected with any satisfaction but that which will never end." He proceeds to exhort the Archbishop to guard himself and examine the state of his mind with great niceness and impar-

A. D. 601.

He cautions him against being elated with his miracles.

Luke x. 17.

Verse 20.

AUGUSTINE,
Abp. Cant.

tiality, for otherwise the working of miracles might prove circumstances of danger to him. He advises him likewise to consider how much the English were the favourites of heaven, since God enabled him to alter the course of nature and perform such wonderful things to promote their conversion; he suggests to him the prudence of recollecting his own failings, this being a good expedient to preserve his humility and suppress the tumours of pride; and lastly, he puts him in mind that whatever degrees of supernatural power were bestowed upon him, they were not designed for figure and greatness, nor given for his own sake, but intended principally for their advantage, whose happiness he was sent to procure.

Bede Eccles.
Hist. l. 1.
c. 33.

Godwin de
Præsul.
Angl.

74.

Archbishop Augustine having his see fixed in the capital city, and encouraged by the king's favour, recovered an old church built by some Roman Christians, and dedicated it to the honour of our Saviour. The king likewise soon after made a present of his palace to the church, and retired himself to Reculver; and in the suburbs of Canterbury, on the east side of the town, the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, afterwards known by the name of St. Augustine's, was built by this prince at the archbishop's instance: this, as Bede observes, was designed a burying-place for the kings of Kent, and the prelates of Canterbury. One Peter, a priest, was the first abbot of this monastery, who being sent by the church upon some public business into France, was cast away in the voyage.

The kingdom of Kent being thus happily converted by St. Augustine, it may not be improper to insert a word or two concerning the religion of these people in their paganism. Now the Saxons being a clan of the Germans, a general view of the religion of that nation may direct our enquiry a little in this matter.

Tacit de
Morib.
Germ.
c. 9, 10.

*A brief
description
of the Saxon
paganism.*

Tacitus informs us that Mercury was the principal object of the German worship, and that upon certain days they spent human sacrifices upon him. As for Mars and Hercules, their solemnities had none of these barbarities, the victims at their altars being nothing but beasts. Part of the Suabians sacrificed to Isis: this idol, as Tacitus believes, was not the growth of the country, but imported upon them, which he collects from her figure resembling a fly-boat. The Germans, as this historian goes on, think it beneath the majesty of celestial beings to be shut up between four walls, or to be represented

in a human shape; for this reason they decline the use of temples, consecrate groves to their pretended deities, call those shady retirements by the names of their gods, and are struck with a religious awe at the sight of them. They are great admirers of augury, and casting of lots; this latter practice is very easy and uniform. They cut down a bough of a fruit tree, and, after having sliced it into small pieces, they distinguish them by certain customary marks, and then throw them at random upon a white piece of cloth. If they are to make their enquiry for the public interest, the ceremony is managed by the priest of the town; but if the concern is only private, the master of the family, looking up to heaven, and making a short prayer, takes up all the pieces thrice, and interprets the event by the difference of the marks upon them. If these figures prove negative and forbidding, they throw the business aside for that day; but if the signs appear favourable, they do not determine upon them, but proceed to augury for a farther confirmation, being not at all unskilful in the noises and flight of birds. They have a peculiar fancy for relying upon the presages of their horses; those for this purpose are kept in groves at the public charge. Their colour must be white, and no mortal must presume to mount them, or put them to any drudgery; but when they are to use them for prognostication they are put in a consecrated chariot, and followed by the priest, the king, or principal person of the city, whose business it is to make remarks upon the manner of their neighing. No sort of augury was more depended on than this, not only by the peasantry, but even by the priests and men of quality; being firmly persuaded these horses were conscious they were the gods' interpreters to signify their pleasure. They have another method of augury which they practise to inform them about the events of war; and here their way is to surprise some person of the enemy, and then pitching upon one of their own countrymen they bring them into the lists against each other, furnishing them with weapons and armour suitable to the custom of each nation, and then conclude the success of the war by the fortune of the combatants. Thus far for the Germans in general.

ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.

As to the Saxons in particular, their Woden, from whence Wednesday has its name, is the same with Mercury. He was supposed to preside over their wars, and inspire them with

AUGUSTINE,
Abp. Cant.

fortitude. Frea, or Frico, which has left its name upon Friday, was looked on as the procurer of peace, plenty, friendship, and love. Tuisco was another pretended deity; he is supposed to be the first great ancestor of the German nation. His memory stands perpetuated in Tuesday. But Thor, from whence our Thursday, according to Adam Bremensis, was the principal deity, resembled the qualities of Jupiter, governed the seasons, and was sovereign of the sky. There are several others in this train of idolatry, which I shall pass over; but this may be sufficient for the scheme of their paganism.

Camden.
Britan.
p. 135.

About the time Christianity was first settled in the kingdom of Kent, Bede takes notice, that Ethelfrid, who had the kingdom of Northumberland, being an ambitious and enterprising prince, sat very hard upon the Britons, made incursions upon some of those petty governments, and forced the natives either to quit their country or submit to the Saxons. Edan, king of those Scots that dwelt in Britain, being alarmed at the progress of Ethelfrid, resolved to put a stop to his conquests, and drew down a great army upon him. But Edan miscarried miserably in this attempt, and had almost all his troops cut in pieces. This battle Bede reckons to the year of our Lord 603. This blow discouraged the Scottish princes to that degree, that none of them, says Bede, were so hardy as to attack the English ever after.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 34.

Ibid.

*The time of
the Scots
settling in
Britain.*

And here Bede's mentioning the Scots in Britain may not unseasonably put us upon a brief enquiry when they came first hither; for, that they were a foreign colony, and originally seated in Ireland, has been sufficiently proved already from Gildas and Bede.

75.

Usher. Britan.
Eccles.
Antiquit.
p. 320, 321.

As to this matter, archbishop Usher observes, from the Irish annals of Tigernacus, that Fergus, great grandfather of king Edan abovementioned, came into Albania, now called Scotland, and there settled and died. This Fergus and his clan came from a place called Route, of about thirty miles in length, in the county of Antrim, in Ireland. It was anciently called Dalrieda, or Dalreuda, and this was the extent of his dominions. From this place, according to Jocelin, the writer of St. Patrick's life, and Tigernacus, Fergus, with the Dalriedan clan, set sail, and landed on the opposite shore of Britain. Archbishop Usher is of opinion that this part of Britain where Fergus first settled was anciently called Dalrieda, or Dalreuda.

And though Cambden be somewhat at a loss for this country, yet the primate proves the situation of it on the north side of Dunbritton Frith, from an author who wrote the life of Kenneth II., in the twelfth century ; where, mentioning the kingdom of Dalreuda, or Dalrieta, he takes notice that the Scots planted themselves there at their first coming into Albania. Now, this kingdom of Dalrieta, takes in the divisions of Cantire, Knapdale, Lorn, Argyle, Breadalbain, with the adjacent islands. This testimony may be further fortified by the authority of Bede, who informs us, that the Scottish colony from Ireland settled upon the north side of Dunbritton Frith, and that this arm of the sea was the barrier between them and the Britons. The time of the Scots first settling in this island is, by the learned primate, fixed to the year of our Lord 503. It is plain, however, from Tacitus and Dio, that when Agricola overrun the island with his arms, marched to the northern extremity, and sailed round it, it was inhabited by none but Britons. That the Meatae and Caledonii were the only nations on the north of Dunbritton Frith, and that both of them were British clans. If the reader is inclined to examine this argument any further, he may please to consult the learned Dr. Stillingfleet, in his preface, and fifth chapter of his *Antiquities of the British Churches*, where he will meet with a reply to the counter-evidence offered by Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate of Scotland.

ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
Cambden,
Britan. in
Scot. p. 37.

Bede,
Eccles. Hist.
l. 1. c. 1.
and 12.

Tacit. in Vit.
Agricolæ.

To return to the Church. Augustine being supported with the interest of king Ethelbert, endeavours to settle a correspondence with the British bishops, and bring them to a conformity with the Roman Church. To this purpose, a conference was pitched upon, at a place called Augustine's AC, or Augustine's Oak ; it was upon the frontiers of the West Saxons, and probably in Worcestershire. At this meeting, Augustine endeavoured to persuade them to take him by the hand, to make one communion, and to assist him in preaching to the unconverted Saxons. And here Bede observes, the British Christians were singular in their manner of keeping Easter, and disconformed in several other particulars to the general practice of the Church. But it seems, the British bishops thought their customs defensible enough ; for neither Augustine's arguments, entreaties, or reprimands, could prevail upon them. Being thus unsuccessful, at the close of the dispute

*A Conference between
Augustine,
and the
British
Bishops.*
A. D. 601.

Bede 1. 2.
c. 2.

AUGUS-
TINE,
Abp. Cant.

he was willing to appeal to supernatural evidence, and cast the cause upon a miracle. The British bishops, as Bede reports, agreed to this test, though with some unwillingness. The trial was to be made upon an impotent person, and the party that cured him when their adversaries failed, was to be pronounced orthodox and in the right. Upon this, a Saxon that was blind, was brought for cure to the British prelates, but being carried to Augustine, he immediately recovered his sight. This made all the company cry out that Augustine had truth on his side.

The Britons, though surprised at this extraordinary performance, refused to yield at present, and told him, they could not resign their old customs, without leave from their party: and therefore desired a second meeting. This being granted, they met at the time appointed. And here the appearance was much greater than before; for now there came seven British bishops, and a great many learned monks from the monastery of Bancornaburg, or Bangor, who were under the direction of their abbot Dinoth. These Britons, at their setting forward to the synod, went to a hermit of great eminence for piety and sense. Their business was to inquire whether they should part with the usages and traditions of their Church, and go into St. Augustine's model? His answer was, if he was a man of God, they were to be governed by him. They desired to be informed, how they should know whether he was or not? His answer was, our Saviour says, "Take my yoke upon you, for I am meek, and lowly in heart." If therefore Augustine is a man of an affable unpretending behaviour, it is very likely he has taken the yoke of Christ upon him, and offers you the same privilege: but if his carriage is rough and haughty, it is plain he is no agent from heaven, neither is his discourse to be regarded. They asked him further, which way they might distinguish the temper of his mind, and by what signs they were to be governed? He replied, they were to manage the matter so, as that Augustine and his company might be first upon the place; and then, if he rose to them at their coming in, they might conclude he belonged to God Almighty, and then his doctrine was to be followed. But if he overlooked them to that degree, as not to pay them the civility of standing up, they might return his contempt, and have nothing to do with him.

St. Matth.
11. 29.

Bede *ibid.*

Baronius is by no means pleased with the hermit's criterion, calls him a false prophet, and charges him with laying down a wrong mark of humility. But why all this hard language upon the anchoret, since Bede owns him a man of character, both for piety and prudence? But the cardinal justifies his satire by a text from St. John, as if those who were out of the Catholic Church were not to be treated with the least respect. "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed." But the cardinal seems not to have considered that those who were to be received thus coldly, and kept at such a distance, was such "as denied our Saviour's being come in the flesh." But could Augustine charge the Britons with any thing of this? Not at all. We do not find he had any exceptions to their creed. But Baronius will have it, that Augustine knew them to be an obstinate people; that they were not to be moved by the authority of the apostolic see; that they preferred their own customs to those of the Roman Church; that they were so wilful, as not to surrender to a miracle; that he believed they came purely to wrangle, dispute, and try his patience. But if Augustine was thus knowing, as Baronius makes him, and absolutely despaired of success, to what purpose should he give himself all this trouble, and appoint a second meeting? Besides the cardinal might remember, that a failure in breeding is no part of Christianity, and that it has been the custom of the Church to treat heretics and heathens too, with common civility. But then, that the hermit should make Augustine's not rising a just ground to refuse him; this Baronius can by no means away with. "What," says he, "are malefactors to except against the authority of their judge, because he will not compliment them? No, our Saviour commanded obedience should be paid to the Scribes and Pharisees, because they sat in Moses's seat: for their pride was no forfeiture of their authority." Thus Baronius argues, upon the supposition of the pope's supremacy, which was a doctrine the British bishops knew nothing of; and therefore, when they came into the synod, and found Augustine received them sitting, they resented the affront, took him for a haughty person, and argued strongly upon the points in debate.

The articles insisted on by Augustine were; that they should keep Easter, and administer baptism according to the usages

ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
Baron.
A. D. 604.
sect. 71.

76.

2 John
ver. 10.

Ver. 7.

A second
Conference.

AUGUSTINE,
Abp. Cant.

of the Roman Church, and own the pope's authority. If they would comply upon these heads, and assist in the conversion of the Saxons, he told them he would bear with the disagreement of their customs in other cases. They replied, they could yield none of the points contested: and particularly, as to the pope's authority, what their sense was upon that article, appears by the abbot Dinoth's answer, who spoke the opinion of the rest. The substance of the answer is this:

Dinoth abbot of Bangor, his answer to Augustine, concerning submission to the Pope.

"That the British Churches owe the deference of brotherly kindness and charity to the pope of Rome, and to all Christians. But other obedience than this, they did not know to be due to him whom they called pope: and for their parts, they were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who, under God, was their spiritual overseer and director."

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. i. p. 108,
109.

The manuscript which reports this part of the conference, sir Henry Spelman sets down at large in Welsh, English, and Latin, tells us, he had it from Mr. Peter Mostyn, a Welsh gentleman; that he transcribed it exactly to a tittle; that it appeared to sir Henry to have been an old manuscript, transcribed from an older, but without date or author, and that he believed it to be still in the Cotton library.

However, to weaken the authority of this manuscript, it is objected, "There was then no bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, nor had been since the metropolitical jurisdiction was transferred to Menevia by St. David." In answer to this, it is granted, that from the time of Dubricius, the see was transferred first to Landaff, and then to St. David's; but this latter translation was not agreed to by all the British bishops: for in the time of Oudoceus, the bishops of Landaff challenged the metropolitical privilege of Caerleon to themselves, and therefore would not be consecrated by the bishop of St. David's: and Caerleon having been the ancient metropolitical see, it was no absurdity at all, to mention that place in a dispute which depended upon ancient right: for the authority over the British Churches was not upon the account of St. David's, or Landaff, but lay in the metropolitical jurisdiction, which belonged to the see of Caerleon. But farther, the certainty of the British Churches rejecting the pope's authority, and Augustine the monk's jurisdiction, does not depend on the credit of this Welch manuscript; for this point is sufficiently cleared from Bede's own words, where the British

clergy declare, as we have observed already, against owning Augustine for their archbishop. Whereas, had they owned the pope's authority, they ought to have submitted to Augustine, who acted by the pope's commission, and had his orders to be their superior. Now, it was not possible for them, at such a distance from Rome, to express their disowning the papal authority more effectually than by rejecting him whom his holiness had sent to be archbishop over them. Besides, Nicholas Trivet, in his manuscript history, written in old Norman French, and cited by Sir Henry Spelman: Trivet, I say, in this manuscript, affirms expressly, that Augustine did demand subjection of the Britons to him, as the pope's legate; but Dinoth, in the name of those Churches, refused it. Now, the British Churches being thus independent of the see of Rome, at the coming of Augustine the monk, they were under no obligation to own his authority: and thus their case being the same with the Cypriot bishops, the pope was bound, by the general Council of Ephesus, to leave them in that state of independency, and not to attempt any encroachment upon their liberties. To this pope Gregory was particularly obliged, because, at his first promotion to the see, he declared, in a letter to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, &c., that he received the four general Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, with the same submission and regard he did the four Gospels.

ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.

Spelman.
Concil. v. 1.
p. 111.

77.

Gregor.
Epist. lib. 1.
cp. 24.

If it be enquired, why the British clergy were so tenacious of their old customs, as to break with Augustine, rather than alter their way of keeping Easter, comply in some of the circumstances of Baptism, and in preaching to the Saxons; to this it may be answered, that these terms were not demanded upon the level, not as conditions of brotherly communion, but as marks of submission and inferiority. That the case stood thus appears from Bede's expression, "Si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis," &c., i. e. If they would be governed by his proposal, and own his authority in those three things, he would close with them in the rest. But the British bishops, perceiving their liberties were struck at, answered to the point, and told him, "they could not give him satisfaction upon those heads, nor receive him for their archbishop." Now, why should they refuse the owning his superiority, had it not been demanded? This, very probably, was the reason of their

Some further conjectures upon the reasons of the incompliance of the British clergy.

Lib. 2. c. 2.

AUGUSTINE,
Abp. Cant.

being shocked at his receiving them sitting. It was not the bare missing a compliment that disobliged them; but they looked upon this negligent manner as an instance of authority, and that Augustine received them with this state to distinguish his superiority, and practise upon his pretences: this made them take particular notice of his behaviour, and look upon the omission of usual respect as no good sign. They concluded among themselves, that if he refused rising to them, when they were upon articles, they had reason to expect he would treat them with great neglect when he had them under.

Bede, lib. 2.
c. 2.

Leland de
Script. in
Dinot.

If it be farther enquired, why the British clergy were so backward to assist in converting the Saxons? Leland seems to hint at one reason, which might make them thus disinclined; "This writer charges it as an omission upon Gregory, in not putting the Saxons in mind of their usurpation upon the Britons, in not refreshing their solemn oaths upon their consciences, and pressing them to their restitution; for the pope had no authority to confirm them in their usurpation. The pretence of bringing in the true faith could not justify such a practice; for if principles were thus loose, if this latitude was once allowed, no princes could be safe in their dominions."

Stillingfl.
Antiquit. of
British
Churches,
c. 5. p. 360.

These reasons, it is likely, put together, made the British prelates unwilling to unite with the Roman missionaries, which had otherwise been inexcusable.

Bede, 1. 2.
c. 2.

Augustine, being disappointed in this synod, is said to have menaced the Britons at his going away. He told them, that if they would not accept of peace from their brethren, they should be forced upon a war by the enemy; and if they declined to afford the English the word of life, they should receive their death from them by way of revenge. This unfriendly prediction, as Bede observes, was afterwards made good. This historian, who seems somewhat prepossessed in favour of Augustine, reports it as a judgment. He tells us that Ethelfrid, king of the Northumbrians above mentioned, marched a great army into Caerleon, and made a terrible slaughter among the Britons. This prince having his forces drawn up in battalia, and ready to give the onset, perceived a body of men, but without any military appearance, planted in a place of security by themselves. These men making a figure something unsuitable to the occasion, he enquired who they were, and what their business might be? Now, by the way, these were all

Bede, *ibid.*

priests, who came into the field to pray for the success of their party. Most of them were religious, of the monastery of Bangor, where above two thousand monks lived, under seven directors, and maintained themselves by their labour. Most of this convent came into the field with the rest of the clergy, having fasted three days to recommend their prayers more effectually. When king Ethelfrid was informed of the reason of their being there, he told his officers, "These men," says he, "endeavour to engage their God against us; and though they do not carry arms, and draw their swords, yet they fight against us with their prayers, which is as much an act of hostility as the other." Upon this, he orders his men to charge them in the first place. The falling upon these unarmed Britons looked more like an execution than a battle; for one Brocmail, who had the command of a detachment to cover them, retired at the first charge, and left them naked to the enemy. Of these monks and clergy, who were about twelve hundred, not above fifty made their escape. The British army was likewise cut in pieces; though king Ethelfrid purchased the victory with the loss of a great many of his troops. This battle, Bede takes care to inform the reader, was fought after the death of Augustine. But several writers are of opinion that this passage of Bede is interpolated; first, because it is not found in king Alfred's Saxon version; secondly, bishop Godwin takes notice of a charter signed by Ethelbert and archbishop Augustine in 605, which he makes the year of this battle: and therefore Augustine could not be dead a great while before, as the text in Bede supposes.

ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.

Antiquitates
Britan. in
Augustine.
p. 48. God-
win de Præ-
sulibus
Angl. p. 50.

In answer to these objections, it may be returned, that though the passage contested is not in king Alfred's translation, yet, as Bede's learned editor Whelock observes, it was in all the most ancient manuscripts of the original which he had met with; and that king Alfred omitted the translating it because the history of Augustine's life was not yet finished; for in the next chapter this prelate is said to have consecrated two bishops, Mellitus and Justus.

Augustine
cleared from
being con-
cerned in the
slaughter of
the British
monks.
Note in
cap. 2. lib. 2.
p. 114.

78.

As to the objection of Augustine's signing king Ethelbert's charter, the learned sir Henry Spelman observes, that it was the Saxon custom of that age to pass estates and privileges without instruments in writing: that king Withred, who reigned about the year of our Lord 700, was the first that

AUGUSTINE,
Abp. Cant.

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 125.
Angl. Sacr.
pars. 1. p. 91.

made use of this method; and that all the charters prior to this king of Kent's are to be suspected of forgery.

Further, that Augustine died in the year 604, and before the slaughter of the monks of Bangor, the learned Wharton endeavours to put beyond all question.

As for Augustine's prediction of this calamity, it does not at all infer he was any way instrumental in it. It only amounts to a warm expression, dropped upon a disappointment and a probable conjecture upon the posture of affairs; for at that time the country was much embroiled, and the Britons surrounded with formidable enemies; so that unless, by closing with Augustine, they procured king Ethelbert for their ally, he foresaw the case might probably go hard with them. Besides, we are to observe, that the defeat was given the Britons by king Ethelfrid, a pagan prince, whose dominions lay beyond the Humber, and by consequence could be no homager to king Ethelbert. For these reasons, there is no manner of likelihood that Augustine should have any interest or correspondence with him. To this we may add, in the last place, that the annals of Ulster reckon the slaughter of the British monks by king Ethelfrid to the year of our Lord 613, which was certainly after the death of archbishop Augustine; and this computation is allowed by the learned primate Usher.

Usher. Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. p. 536.
Spelman, Concil. vol. 1. p. 112.

Nicholas Trivet, who wrote a chronicle in Norman French, tells us, as sir Henry Spelman cites him, that the cruelty of king Ethelfrid, in falling upon these naked monks, was quickly revenged upon him. For this prince, marching forward, after the victory, towards Bangor, was encountered by a fresh body of Britons, commanded by Blederic, duke of Cornwall, Margadue, prince of South Wales, and Cadwan, prince of North Wales, who killed above ten thousand of his men, routed the rest, and pursued Ethelfrid as far as the Humber; and receiving a reinforcement here, this prince designed to try his fortune again in the field; but before they came to blows, he and the Britons entered upon articles, and the quarrel was taken up. Thus far Trivet.

A.D. 604.

In the year of our Lord 604, archbishop Augustine consecrated Mellitus and Justus above mentioned; the latter, as Bede reports, was designed for the province of the East Saxons, on the other side of the Thames. London was the metropolis

Bede, 1. 2.
c. 3.

of this territory; and Sebert, Ethelbert's nephew by his sister, Rricula, was king of the country, though under the sovereign jurisdiction of his uncle Ethelbert, who commanded, as lord paramount, as far as the Humber, as has been already observed. This province being so happy as to be gained to Christianity by Mellitus's preaching, king Ethelbert built St. Paul's, in London, and it was made the cathedral of the diocese. As for Justus, he was ordained bishop of Rochester by Augustine; and here king Ethelbert likewise built a church, and dedicated it to the honour of St. Andrew. The king made several rich presents to both these churches, and to that of Canterbury, and settled a revenue upon them for their bishops and chapter.

ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.

This year archbishop Augustine died at Canterbury, and was buried in the churchyard of the monastery that goes by his name, the church being then not finished; but after the consecration of that church, his corpse was taken up and deposited in the north porch, where, as Bede continues, the succeeding archbishops were all buried till Theodorus's time, who was laid in the church because the porch would receive no more.

*The death of
archbishop
Augustine.*

Bede, *ibid.*

Augustine's epitaph, as Bede relates it, makes mention, among other things, of the miracles he wrought for the conversion of the pagans. His tomb likewise informs us that he died on the seventh of the calends of June, in the reign of Ethelbert; but the year is not mentioned, being a thing so well known, that it was probably omitted by the person that cut the letters.

To speak a word or two of him by way of character. He was a very graceful person, lived suitable to the business of a missionary, and practised great austerities; and if he fell into any inequalities of temper, if he was too warm in his expostulations, or strained his privilege too far upon the Britons, it ought to be charged upon the score of human infirmities, and covered with his greater merit. This is certain: he engaged in a glorious undertaking, broke through danger and discouragement, and was blessed with wonderful success. He converted the kingdom of Kent by the strength of his own conduct and miracles, and that of the East Saxons, by his agent and coadjutor, Mellitus. The spreading of Christianity thus far among the Saxons was a great step towards the conversion of the rest. Let his memory therefore be mentioned with honour, and let

*Antiquit.
Britan. p. 49.*

LAUREN-
TIUS,
Abp. Cant.

A. D. 604.

Baron.

A. D. 604.

us praise God Almighty for making him so powerful an instrument in the happiness of this island.

Gregory the Great died the same year with Augustine, as Baronius informs us. Now, since this prelate was the first that projected the conversion of the English Saxons ; since it was he that sent off the missionaries, encouraged them in the design, recommended them to foreign princes, and directed the conduct of the affair ; for these reasons, it may not be amiss to say something of him.

79.

*A brief account of
Gregory the
Great.*

St. Gregory was extracted from a noble family of Rome ; his father's name was Gordianus, and his mother's Sylvia. His great-grandfather was pope Felix II. Gregory was bred to letters at Rome, made a considerable progress in his studies, and by the strength of his quality and merit, was very early preferred to the post of governor of that city. After his father's death, he quitted his secular way of living, and gave all his estate towards the building and maintaining of monasteries. Pelagius II. ordained him deacon in 582, drew him somewhat from his retirement, and sent him to Constantinople in quality of nuncio, to the emperor Tiberius's court. His business here was not much, as it happened : there is only a conference mentioned which he had with the patriarch Eutychius, wherein he maintains against him, that after the resurrection, the bodies of the blessed shall not be so much altered from their present texture, as to be rarefied to air or wind ; but that they shall sensibly resist the touch, and have a palpable solidity, though wonderfully subtle and refined.

After the death of Tiberius he returned to Rome in 586, where he was secretary to pope Pelagius. This pope dying, the clergy and people chose Gregory to succeed him. About this time, the emperors concerned themselves very much, that none might be promoted to the see of Rome who was averse to their interest, and therefore they used to stop the consecration of the person chosen, till they had approved the election. St. Gregory, who avoided this dignity with as much earnestness as any other could make for it, wrote a letter to the emperor Mauritius, entreating him not to consent to his election, but order the proceeding to another. This letter was intercepted by the governor of Rome, who secured St. Gregory's person for fear he should abscond and keep out of the way, and sent the emperor an account of the proceedings. Mauritius, being

no stranger to St. Gregory's character and qualifications, was much pleased with the choice, and ordered he should be immediately consecrated.

ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.

There was a great mortality at Rome about this time, which swept away vast numbers, and almost turned the city into a desert. Pelagius dying of this contagious distemper, Gregory, in the vacancy of the see, exhorted the people to a public appearance of humiliation; this was called a litany, or solemn procession of the whole city, thrown into seven divisions. Some time after, Gregory had himself put in a chest, and passed the guard that were set to prevent his escape. Thus slipping through the gates, he retired to a wood, and hid himself in a cave; but being discovered, he was consecrated September the third, in the year of our Lord 590.

Immediately upon his promotion, he made a publick profession of his faith, and wrote letters to the eastern patriarchs. He regulated the service and singing of the Church of Rome, reformed his clergy, and put the city in good order. He declaimed, with great vehemence and dislike, against the title of universal bishop, as has been already observed. He was very vigilant for the maintenance of discipline, prosecuted vice and disorder with great courage and impartiality: and, in a word, did his utmost to secure the observation of the canons. To conclude, if the rest of his successors had kept close to his doctrine, governed themselves by his plan, and moved within the compass of his pretensions, it is probable the Church might have continued in its primitive good correspondence, and the divisions of Christendom have been prevented.

Johan. Dia-
con. Vit.
Gregor. Du
Pin. New
Eccles. Hist.

Upon the death of Augustine, Laurentius succeeded him in the see of Canterbury. He was consecrated by Augustine, and declared his successor, by him, in his lifetime. He was apprehensive, lest the English Church, being, as it were, in its infancy, might suffer, if left to a vacancy: this put him upon making a provision beforehand.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 4.

And here we may observe, the succession was taken care of, and the person nominated by the ecclesiastical, and not by the secular power. It seems king Ethelbert looked upon the Church as a distinct and independent society, and that his regale received no diminution by leaving the Church in her ancient liberty of choosing her own governors.

LAUREN-
TIUS,
Abp. Cant.

*Laurentius
endeavours
to bring the
British and
Scottish
Churches to
a conformity
with the
Saxon.*

*Baronius's
inferences
upon the
British and
Scots un-
grounded.
Baron.
A. D. 604.
sect. 78.*

*Jerem. v.
1 Sam. xv.*

Laurentius, upon his being promoted to the archbishopric, carried on the progress of Christianity with great vigour and success, and supported his character to advantage, both by his preaching and example; neither was he solicitous only for the English, but extended his care to the ancient inhabitants of Britain, not forgetting the Scots in Ireland: for both these nations, as Bede reports, lived in several singularities, and to speak particularly, differed from the general custom in the keeping of Easter.

And here Baronius complains, that the Scots were dipped in the same schism with the Britons; and guilty, as he calls it, of deserting the Roman Church; upon this account he ventures to say, the judgments of God fell upon them, and delivered them up to the mercy of a barbarous nation, meaning the English and Saxons. Then he quotes several texts of Jeremiah and Samuel against them, and makes their case parallel with the Israelites, who revolted to idolatry. This the cardinal delivers with so decisive an air, as if he had been inspired with the cause and reason of the calamity, and had viewed the records of the court above: or, as Tully expresses it, in his pagan manner, concerning Velleius the epicurean, “quasi ex deorum concilio, aut ex epicuri intermundiis descendisset.” The cardinal goes on, and concludes in several other instances, that going off from the Church has been the only cause all along that the Christians have so often sunk under the arms of the barbarians, and fallen into the condition of servitude: thus, he tells us, the Christians of Africa were overrun by the Vandals, because they grew obstinate in their schism, and declined the communion of the Catholic Church. Thus the Arian Spaniards fell under the Saracen dominion, and thus the eastern Churches lost their civil liberties to the infidels.

But notwithstanding the cardinal's declamation, to assign the reason, and point out the cause of God's judgments, is a task too great for human understandings. “God's ways,” as the Scripture speaks, “are past finding out, his judgments are like the great deep.” The administration of Providence in these cases, is oftentimes too big for conjecture, and too dark for us to penetrate. Baronius, when he laid down this rule, seems to have forgotten, that when Italy was overrun, and

Rome sacked by Alaric king of the Goths, and Gensericus king of the Vandals, the country was orthodox enough upon the cardinal's scheme, and held close to the communion of Innocent I. and Leo the Great.

ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
A. D. 410.
A. D. 455.

To return to Laurentius, who wrote a letter to the Scots, for the purpose above-mentioned: it is directed to the bishops and abbots per universam Scotiam. And here he acquaints them, what a great regard he had for the Britons at his first arrival in the island, going upon the charitable presumption of their conformity to the Catholic Church: but finding himself mistaken, he hoped the Scots were governed by more exact measures: but now he understood by the bishop Daganus, who sailed into this island, and by the abbot Columbanus, whom he met with in France, that the Churches of the Scots and Britons were perfectly alike. "For Daganus the bishop, at his coming hither, refused not only to eat with us," says he, "but would not so much as lodge in the same house." He wrote letters, with the rest of the Saxon bishops, to the British clergy, to press them to catholic unity, as Bede expresses it.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 4.

By this letter it appears, that the bishops of Rome did not intermeddle with the government of the British Churches; for if they had, Laurentius, and the rest of the missionaries, could not have been such strangers to the condition and usages of the British Churches, as to believe them conformable to the Roman, till they came hither and found it otherwise. It is plain, therefore, the British Christians had the spiritual sovereignty within themselves, were under no foreign superintendency, nor used to apply to the see of Rome to pay their homage to the pope's primacy, to get their metropolitans consecrated, or receive directions for discipline or government from thence; and, which is more, neither were they declared schismatics for want of this deference and application: for had they lain under this censure at Rome, Laurentius would never have had so good an opinion of them at his first coming hither, nor presumed so strongly upon their conformity.

Not long after this time, Mellitus, bishop of London, took a voyage to Rome, to consult with pope Boniface about some affairs of the English Church: and when Boniface convened a synod of bishops in Italy to settle some regulations about the monasteries, Mellitus sat with them, and subscribed the canons: and, returning into Britain not long after, he brought

A. D. 607.

LAUREN- a copy of the synod along with him, together with a letter of
TIUS, the pope's to archbishop Laurentius and the clergy, and
Abp. Cant. another to king Ethelbert and the laity.
A. D. 610.

In the pope's letter to the king, he commends him for his zeal in Christianity, and the regularity of his behaviour; and then tells him he was willing to satisfy his desire concerning the monastery, which Augustine had dedicated to the honour of our Saviour; that Laurentius, and the rest of the missionaries under him might take in new monks for a standing order.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 4. Spelm.
Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 130.
A. D. 613.
*The death of
Ethelbert,
king of
Kent.*

In the year of our Lord 613, or, according to the Saxon chronology, 616, Ethelbert, king of Kent, died, having reigned fifty-six years: he was the third English Saxon king, whose sovereignty reached as far as the Humber, Elli, and Celin, or Ceaulin, being the two first. King Ethelbert was buried in the porch of St. Martin's, where queen Bertha was likewise interred some time before.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 5.

Amongst other advantages of this prince's reign, we may reckon the legal provisions he made with the advice of his council. These public regulations were extracted from Roman precedents; they were drawn up in English, as Bede reports, and held in force in his time. Amongst these laws, there is mention of the satisfaction that was to be made by those that stole any thing from the Church or clergy; the king being resolved to protect those who had instructed him in the Christian religion, and furnished him with the means of happiness.

Bede, *ibid.*

*Eadbald
and his sub-
jects relapse
into pagan-
ism.*

1 Cor. v.

Upon the death of Ethelbert, his son Eadbald succeeded him, which was a great misfortune to the Church; for this prince not only refused the profession of Christianity, but was guilty of that incestuous fornication mentioned by the apostle, "of having his father's wife." Laurentius exerted his character upon this occasion, and, like St. John Baptist, reprov'd Eadbald with a becoming freedom, but could not prevail. The king's being thus a libertine both in his principles and practice, had a fatal influence upon his subjects, and made them revolt to the worship and disorders of paganism. This calamity of the Church increased upon the progress, and the storm began to blow higher upon the death of Sebert, king of the East Saxons. This Christian prince left his dominions to his three sons, whom he was not so happy as to recover from their

idolatry : it is true they gave him hopes of their conversion, and kept their heathenism private during his life ; but immediately after his death, they pulled off the mask, declared themselves pagans, and gave their subjects the liberty of as much idolatry as they pleased. And when they saw the bishop Mellitus performing divine service, and giving the people the holy sacrament, they are said to have been so unaccountable as to ask the bishop why he would not give them some of that fine bread their father used to receive from him, and which he still continued to distribute among the people ? He told them, “ if they would be baptized, as their father was, they might partake of the same holy bread ; but if they slighted that initiating sacrament, he could not admit them to the privilege of the other.” They answered, “ they had no need of baptism, and therefore would not be obliged to that ceremony :” but insisted, notwithstanding, upon receiving the consecrated bread. Being still denied by the bishop, at last they fell into a rage, and told him, “ that if he would not gratify them in so easy a matter, he should stay no longer in their dominions.” They made their menaces good immediately, and ordered him to be gone. Being thus forced away from his diocese, he came into Kent, to consult Laurentius and Justus what measures were most proper for the juncture. And here they came to an unanimous resolution, that it was more advisable to quit the island, and retire to a place where they might serve God without disturbance, than to lose their time and hazard their persons among a company of renegado barbarians. Having thus determined the matter, Mellitus and Justus went off first, and embarked for France, where they stayed to see the event. Now it was not long before those princes, who expelled Mellitus and revived idolatry, were punished for their misbehaviour. For, going on an expedition against the Gevissi, or West Saxons, they all three fell in the field, and had their army cut in pieces. But notwithstanding the chief promoters of paganism were taken off, the common people stuck close to their error, neither was there any good to be done upon them at present.

Laurentius being ready to quit the island, and follow Mellitus and Justus, ordered a bed to be made for him in the church at Canterbury ; and here, after he had spent a great part of the night in watching and prayer, St. Peter, as Bede

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.

*Mellitus and
Justus, being
discouraged,
embark for
France.*

LAURENTIUS, Abp. Cant. reports, appeared to him, and, scourging him severely upon the shoulders, asked him, in a very reprimanding manner, “Why he deserted his flock in time of danger, and left the sheep with the wolves about them?” The Apostle asked him farther, “If his example was perfectly lost upon him? If he had forgotten what loss of liberty, what hardships, what imprisonments, and what a tormenting death himself had suffered for the interest of Christianity?”

Bede l. 2.
c. 6.

*Laurentius
designed to
follow them.*

Laurentius being thus remarkably corrected by the vision, went to the king in the morning, and making his shoulders bare, shewed him the marks of St. Peter's discipline. The king was strangely surprised, and enquired who it was that was so bold as to strike Laurentius, and treat a man of his character so ruggedly? But being informed by the archbishop how he came to be thus handled, the king was mightily affected with the relation, and growing now apprehensive for himself, he renounced his idolatry, disengaged from his unlawful marriage, turned Christian, was baptized, and laid out his endeavours for the benefit of the Church. To this purpose he sent into France, and recalled Mellitus and Justus, and gave them the liberty of managing their diocese at their discretion. Thus these prelates, after a year's stay in France, re-embarked for Britain.

Justus, upon his coming to Rochester, entered upon his charge, and continued there; but the Londoners refused to receive their bishop Mellitus, being much better pleased with the pagan worship. Now Eadbald, though he solicited for Mellitus, and pressed his ready mission, yet the Londoners took no notice of his recommendation; and not being so powerful a prince as his father Ethelbert, he was glad to acquiesce, being in no condition to restore Mellitus by force. However he prevailed with his own people, made Christianity the religion of his kingdom, and afforded this prelate an honourable retreat.

A. D. 619.

Lib. 2. c. 7.

In the reign of this Eadbald, Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by Mellitus, who held the see five years. This prelate was nobly extracted, and very remarkable for his parts, piety, and good government. Bede relates, that a terrible fire breaking out in Canterbury, and burning down a great part of the city, the archbishop coming up to the conflagration, and falling to his prayers, the wind

immediately chopped about, and the fire stopped. He died April 24, in the year of our Lord 624.

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.

A. D. 624.

Justus, bishop of Rochester, succeeded to the see of Canterbury, who soon after consecrated a Roman for the diocese of Rochester, having received an authority for the consecration of bishops from pope Boniface V. His predecessor, Boniface III. procured from Phocas the emperor, though not without some difficulty, that the see of Rome should be called the head of all other churches.

Platina in
Bonifac.

About this time the English in the kingdom of Northumberland were converted by the preaching of Paulinus.

The occasion of this happy revolution in their religion was this:—Edwin, king of this country, courted Edelburga or Tate, daughter to the late king Ethelbert, and dispatched ambassadors for this purpose to Eadbald her brother, where, entering upon the subject of their embassy, king Eadbald told them, “that it was not lawful for a Christian to marry with a pagan; such an alliance with a prince of so foreign a belief could not be engaged in without dishonour to God, and profaning their religion.” Edwin, receiving this answer, “promised not to act any thing against the religion the princess professed: that nobody should be molested upon this score, but that herself and all her retinue, both priests and servants, should have the liberty of serving God as they thought fit. And more than this, he did not stick to say he might probably be of the same religion himself, provided that upon inquiry it was found to be a holier institution, and more suitable to the worship of the Supreme Being than his own.”

The conversion of the kingdom of Northumberland.

82.

This satisfaction being given, the princess was contracted to king Edwin; and before she left her brother's court the holy Paulinus was consecrated bishop by archbishop Justus, in the year of our Lord 625. He seems promoted to this episcopal character to qualify him the better to go along with the princess Edelburga; that being thus fortified in his authority he might have the greater ascendant over Edelburga's family, and preserve them from relapsing into paganism, to which they might probably be tempted by the fashion and ill example of a pagan court.

A. D. 625.

Bede l. 2,
c. 9.

Paulinus, at his coming into the kingdom of Northumberland, used his utmost endeavour to convert the pagans, but did not meet with much success. The next year there

JUSTUS,
Abp. Cant.

Bede 1. 2.
c. 9.

*Edwin in
danger of
being
assassinated.*

happened an accident at court, which, in the consequences of it, seemed to bring the king's inclination somewhat nearer to Christianity. Guichelm, king of the West Saxons, practised with an assassin to murder king Edwin: this fellow, to make the murder sure, poisoned his dagger; and that he might be admitted to the king without suspicion, he came with the character of an ambassador. Being introduced into the presence, he takes his opportunity, and, drawing his dagger from under his coat, makes a furious pass at the king; one Lilla, a loyal courtier, perceiving what would follow, interposed his naked body, and received a mortal wound. This good office it seems was not sufficient to protect his master, for the thrust was made with such a force that after it had passed through Lilla's body it reached the king.

About this time the king had a daughter born, and was persuaded that Paulinus's prayers had been serviceable to the queen in her recovery. Upon this he promised the bishop to renounce idolatry and worship our Saviour, if he would please to preserve his life, and give his arms success against that perfidious prince that sent a ruffian to murder him; and, for a security of his promise, he put his daughter into the bishop's hands, who baptized her the Whitsuntide following, with twelve more of Edwin's court.

A. D. 625.

The king, being now cured of his wound, levied a considerable army, marched against the king of the West Saxons, and, giving him battle, cut all those in pieces, or took them prisoners, that had been engaged in the attempt upon his life. And now, though he brought victory home with him, he did not turn Christian immediately. It is true he performed his promise so far as to disengage from idolatry; but, being a person of great prudence, he did not think it fit to precipitate matters, to resign his belief in too implicit a manner, nor take things of that consequence upon trust. Before he determined himself, he conferred frequently with Paulinus about the grounds and reasonableness of Christianity, debated the point with his council, and revolved the arguments of either side in his own mind, to cast the balance and examine the strength of the cause.

The king, being thus inclined by his temper to move slowly and to take wary steps, made a stand for some time, and continued, as it were, in a state of neutrality. Pope Boniface,

being informed of the posture of affairs, wrote a letter to him, to bring him forward and engage him to declare for Christianity. The pope, amongst other arguments to persuade him to take leave of his idols, urges some texts to him out of the Scripture, as that of the Psalmist: "All the gods of the heathen are but idols, or devils; but it is the Lord that made the heavens." "They have eyes, and see not; they have ears, and hear not; noses have they, and smell not; they have hands, and handle not; feet have they, and walk not: they that make them are like unto them, and so are all such as put their trust in them." By the pope's arguing in this manner, we may conclude Paulinus's instructions had succeeded so far with Edwin, as to satisfy him of the inspiration of the Old Testament. For had he not owned the authority of these Scriptures, the pope, we may imagine, would never have gone about to convince him out of them.

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.

Ps. xcvi. 5.

Ps. cxv. 5—
8.

This pope sent another letter to queen Edelburga, to exhort her to make use of all her interest for the conversion of king Edwin her husband: to reason with him, to set the advantages of Christianity before him in the best light, and never to give over praying for the success of her endeavours; that she might have the happiness of accomplishing that which St. Paul mentions, "that the unbelieving husband may be sanctified by the wife."

1 Cor. vii.

Notwithstanding all these endeavours for the conversion of Edwin, he still continued unresolved; but his memory being refreshed concerning a vision he had formerly seen, which foretold his escape of the danger he was then in, and the prosperity and grandeur which afterwards happened to him; the circumstances of this vision being revealed to Paulinus, he put the king in mind of the engagements he made in his distress, and that it was now time to perform his promise. The relation is this:

14.

When Edwin was pursued by his predecessor Ethelfrid, and forced to abscond and wander through a great part of the island, he retired at last to Redwald, king of the East-Angles, and desired his protection. This prince gave him a very generous reception, and promised his person should be safe. Afterwards, Ethelfrid, receiving intelligence that Edwin and his retinue were entertained at Redwald's court, he immediately sent away ambassadors, who offered a great sum of money to

Bede l. 2.
c. 2.

83.

*Edwin's
conversion
hastened by
putting him
in mind of a
prediction.*

JUSTUS,
Abp. Cant.

get Edwin murdered. Being refused in his first offer, he repeated the request by fresh agents, endeavouring to bribe Redwald with a much greater sum, and threatening him with a war in case he refused. Redwald, being now overawed by menaces, or gained by money, promised that he would either kill Edwin, or put him in the hands of Ethelfrid's ambassadors. One of Redwald's courtiers, and Edwin's friend, having notice of this agreement, acquainted Edwin with it, and promised to convey him immediately out of Redwald's dominions, and provide him a shelter where neither that prince nor Ethelfrid should find him. Edwin thanked him for the discovery, and the favour of so seasonable a provision; but told him withal, that he had engaged his honour to continue at Redwald's court, and that he thought the going off so privately would be looked on as a breach of good faith; that he was resolved the rupture should not begin on his side; that he had suffered nothing from Redwald as yet, and, if he must lose his life, he had rather die by the hands of a prince than a mean person. Besides, he did not know how to dispose of himself, or whither to retire. This being his resolution, his friend left him before the palace-gate; where he stayed alone, in a very pensive condition, till late in the night. Being very uneasy and perplexed what to resolve on, there comes a person, altogether unknown, up to him, at which he was somewhat surprised. This stranger presently enters into conversation, and asks him, what was the reason of his sitting alone so melancholy at that time of night? Edwin returning a negligent and uncereimonious answer, the other told him that he was not at all ignorant of the reasons of his melancholy and concern: "I know," says he, "you are troubled, because you apprehend some great misfortune is pretty near you; but what will you give that person that shall bring you out of all this perplexity, and prevail upon Redwald so far, as neither to do you any harm himself, nor put you into the hands of your enemies?" Edwin replied, that he would make his acknowledgments, to the utmost of his power, for so great a favour as this. The stranger went on farther, and asked him, what if this person should give him the certain prospect of a crown, and acquaint him that he should survive his enemies, and be the greatest prince that ever reigned of the English race? Edwin, being somewhat revived with this discourse, answered that he should never

A. D. 625.

forget his obligations to so great a benefactor. Upon this, the other put another question, "What say you," says he, "if the person that has proved a true prophet to you, in all these predictions of prosperity, shall propose a method of life much more for your interest than any thing of this kind your family was ever acquainted with; will you be governed by his directions, and go into the scheme he shall lay down?" To this Edwin immediately replied he would resign himself entirely to that person's conduct, that should disentangle his circumstances, bring him off from danger, and make him so great a prince.

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.

Having received this promise, the stranger that talked with him laid his right hand upon Edwin's head, and advised him, that, when that token happened to come up, he should not forget recollecting the condition he was now in, and the discourse that passed between them, and not fail to make good his promise without delay. After this advice, it is said the stranger went off in so sudden and surprising a manner, that it was plain it was no man, but an apparition, that had made all this conversation. While Edwin was employing his thoughts upon the strangeness of the person and discourse, and projecting his own escape, his friend at court comes to him again, and, saluting him with a very cheerful countenance, bid him get up, go to his apartment, and take his rest, without troubling himself any farther: for now the king had altered his mind, was resolved to be true to his first engagement, and do him no manner of harm. It seems, upon breaking his design against Edwin to the queen, she prevailed with him to desist: she told him it was strangely unbecoming the character of so great a prince to desert his friend in his necessity, to set his honour to sale, and be bribed out of honesty and good nature. The king, upon second thoughts, concluded this advice very reasonable, refused to deliver up Edwin, and ordered the ambassadors to be gone. Neither did his kindness stop here: he carried his friendship much farther, and resolved to assist Edwin in gaining the kingdom of Northumberland. For this purpose he raised an army with great expedition, and falling upon Ethelfrid before he could draw all his troops together, defeated and killed him upon the northern border of the Merc an territories, near the river Idle. Thus far the story.

Now Paulinus, perceiving the king deferred the declaring

JUSTUS, himself a Christian,—that he was debating the case of religion with himself, and not come to a thorough resolution,—and happening to find him alone in a thinking posture, came up to him, and, laying his right hand upon his head, asked him whether he understood the meaning of that token? The king, being sensibly surprised at this question, offered to prostrate himself at Paulinus's feet. But this posture being prevented by the bishop, he put him in mind, that now, since God had rescued him from his enemies, and raised him to such a royal station, he advised him not to delay the performance of his promise: that this was to be done by submitting to the institution, and obeying the commands, of that Sovereign Being that had done so much for him already; and, in case he would comply with the directions the bishop would acquaint him with, he should be secured from the perpetual torments of wicked men, and be happy with God in heaven.

84.

Bede. 1. 2.
c. 12.

I have given the reader this relation at length, because, as Bede reports, such great events depended upon it: no less than the conversion of a king and kingdom. And how strange soever it may appear to an age of slender belief, I do not perceive how the truth of it can well be questioned; for Bede relates it as certain matter of fact. Now, his attestation seems to be an unexceptionable authority, for he was born in this kingdom of Northumberland, but one-and-fifty years after Edwin's conversion; so that it is not improbable but that he might receive the account from those who had it from the king. Besides, in the dedication of his Ecclesiastical History to Ceolwolph, king of Northumberland, he acquaints him, that the memoirs of the history of that kingdom, since their conversion, were unexceptionable. To this we may add, that it is not likely king Edwin and his subjects should quit the prejudices of their education, and the religion of their ancestors, without something of a supernatural appearance. Now, though Paulinus was a person of eminent sanctity, yet Bede does not acquaint us that he wrought any miracles among the Northumbrians, or performed any thing above a human capacity, unless in discovering this vision to the king.

Bede. 1. 2.
c. 13.

The credit of the story being thus settled, I shall proceed to a farther account of this matter.

King Edwin, being surprised by hearing the vision related to him, told Paulinus that he was now fully satisfied, and ready

to receive the Christian faith; but thought it proper, in the first place, to communicate his design to his council and nobility; that, in case he could bring them over to his persuasion, they might all be baptized together. Paulinus consenting to this proposal, the king summoned a council; and, putting the question to each person, asked them what they thought of this new religion? And here one Coifi, the pagan high-priest, answered that he was not at all satisfied with his own religion, and that he thought there was little in it: "For, sir," says he, "none ever served our gods with more heartiness and devotion than myself; and yet I find there are many that have a greater interest with your majesty, and better preferred, than I. Now, if our deities were any thing significant, they would, without question, reward me in proportion to my piety, and make me somewhat more distinguished in my circumstances; therefore, if, upon inquiry, you find this new doctrine more reasonable and better proved, let us submit to the best evidence, and receive it without delay." This priest's speech was seconded by another courtier, who put the king in mind of the shortness and uncertainty of life; and that we knew nothing how we came into the world, nor what became of us when we went out, only the prospect looked somewhat dark and uncomfortable, and that our going off looked something like a man that was forced out of a warm house into bad weather. Several other men of quality approved this motion, and spoke in favour of it. Upon this, Coifi proposed that Paulinus might be heard again upon the subject of religion; which, at the king's instance, was accordingly done. When the bishop had enlarged upon the heads of Christianity to a considerable length, Coifi declared aloud, that as he was formerly convinced of the folly of their own worship, so now he had found out that truth and reasonableness which he was at a loss for before; that the other world was now, as it were, opened to him, and that he had a bottom for the expectation of future happiness. Then, turning to the king, he told him, it was his humble advice, that the temples and altars, which had been treated with respect and expense to no purpose, might forthwith have fire set to them, with all the circumstances of defiance and contempt.

The king, having thus debated the matter in council, made an open renunciation of idolatry, and declared himself a Chris-

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.

King Ed-
win's court,
&c. baptized.

JUSTUS,
Abp. Cant.

tian. And now, asking the priest above mentioned, whom he thought it was proper to employ to demolish the pagan temples, with the other appendages and marks of false worship? Coifi replied, he thought none fitter for such an employment than himself: for, since God had enlightened his understanding, he thought himself particularly obliged to undeceive the people, and take off the force of his former example. Upon this, he desired to be furnished with a sword and lance, and have leave to mount the king's charging-horse. Now, it seems it was not the custom for the pagan high-priests of that country to go armed, or ride upon any thing but a mare: people, therefore, seeing Coifi making this military figure, thought his head had been disturbed. However, without minding the singularity of the appearance, Coifi rode on, and, coming to the heathen temple, tilted against the idols with his lance, and ordered his company to burn the temple, with all its appurtenances. This temple was one of the chief seats of paganism, and stood at Godmundingaham (now Godmundham), near the Derwent, not far from York.

Bede, *ibid.*

Cambden.
Britan.
Yorkshire.
p. 709, 711.

85.

King Edwin, having made this declaration of his conversion, was baptized in the eleventh year of his reign; all the nobility, and a great part of the commonalty, following his example. The king was admitted to baptism on Easter-day, in St. Peter's church, at York. The building was then of wood, and hastily run up, by the king's order, for that purpose. In this city, also, the king gave Paulinus a seat for the bishop's see; and, soon after his baptism, he began a much larger building of free-stone for the cathedral; but, living not many years, it was left imperfect, and finished by Oswald his successor.

Bede, *ibid.*

During the six years Paulinus continued in this country, Christianity was wonderfully spread. To give some instances. Osfrid and Eadfrid, king Edwin's sons, by Queenburg, a daughter of Cearll, king of the Mercians, were baptized with their father; and afterwards three other children of his, by queen Edelburga, were initiated by the same Sacrament: two of which dying in their white baptismal habit, were buried in the church at York. This I mention, because burying in a church, especially for the laity, was not the custom of this age.

To proceed. The people of this country were so charmed with the Christian religion, and pressed into the church with such zeal, that Paulinus, attending the king and queen to one

of their houses in the country, is said to have spent above five weeks in instructing and baptizing great numbers that flocked thither; his time from morning till night being wholly taken up in these pious and serviceable offices. Thus the preaching of the gospel prospered while he attended the court in the province of Bernicii; and the king making his progress sometimes into the province of Deira, Paulinus used to visit him frequently there. And while the court continued in these parts, he baptized great numbers in the river Swale, near Catterick, in Yorkshire; for, as Bede observes, Christianity being, as it were, just begun in this country, there were no fonts or baptisteries till afterwards.

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.
EDWIN,
K. of North-
umberland.

Edwin, after his conversion, was very zealous for the interest of Christianity, and endeavoured to propagate it farther than his own dominions. Eorpwald, or Carpwald, son of Redwald, king of the East Angles, renounced paganism and came into the Church at Edwin's persuasion. His father Redwald was baptized somewhat before this time, in Kent, at his making king Eadbald a visit; but upon his return home his queen and some other bigots for paganism made him relapse. However, he would not sink to a total apostacy, but hoped to compound the matter and take the benefit of both religions. For this purpose he pitched upon the Samaritan expedient: worshipped the true God and the pagan deities together, and had the communion table and an idolatrous altar in the same church. As for Eorpwald, he survived his conversion not long, being murdered by one Richbert, a pagan; and then, as Bede tells us, the country went on in heathenism for three years, till the reign of Sigebert, of whom more afterwards.

*Redwald
and Eorp-
wald turn
Christians.*
Bede, l. 1.
c. 15.

Paulinus having made so happy a progress in the kingdom of Northumberland, crossed the Humber, and travelling southward to Lincoln, converted Blecca, the governor of that town, with his whole family; and here he built a fine church of free-stone, of which nothing but the walls were standing in Bede's time.

*The conver-
sion of Blec-
ca, governor
of Lincoln.*

Of the conversion of this part of the country, Bede received an account from one Deda, abbot of Pertaneu, a person of great credit and veracity. This abbot told Bede, that an elderly person gave him a relation how himself and abundance of other people were baptized by the bishop Paulinus in the river Trent, king Edwin being present. This old man like-

Bede, l. 1.
c. 16.

JUSTUS,
Abp. Cant.

wise described to him Paulinus's stature, his complexion, his air, and almost every thing remarkable in his person. The bishop had one James, a deacon, to assist him; a person of learning and character, who was living in Bede's time.

*Edwin's
admirable
government.*

Malmesbury de Gest.
Reg. Angl.
1. 1. c. 3.

As for king Edwin, he was a very prosperous prince, and governed extremely to the satisfaction of his subjects. There was then, as Malmesbury relates, neither robbery nor house-breaking. He made the country too hot for knaves and libertines, so that nobody durst presume to injure their neighbours, either in their marriage or estate. Bede takes notice of one remarkable thing, to shew the force of his government. He ordered copper pots should be fastened to a piece of wood at most of the springs that lay upon the roads. This was done for the conveniency of travellers. Now, as the historian observes, this prince was either loved or feared to such an unusual degree, that nobody ever stole one of them.

Pope Honorius, who succeeded Boniface, receiving intelligence of the conversion of the Northumbrians, sent Paulinus a pall, and at the same time wrote letters to king Edwin, to continue in that laudable course he had begun. Amongst other things in his letter, he informs him that he had directed two palls for Honorius and Paulinus, the archbishops of Canterbury and York. This he did that the English Church might never be unprovided, and that when either of the metropolitans died, the survivor might consecrate another, to prevent a vacancy.

Bede, 1. 2.
c. 17.

The mention of Honorius's pall makes it proper to take notice of the death of Justus, which happened about this time. Malmesbury allows him but three years in the see of Canterbury, though others make it no less than ten. Honorius being elected for his successor, came into Lincolnshire to Paulinus, where he received his consecration: the pope, as I observed before, giving an authority to the archbishops of Canterbury and York to consecrate upon a vacancy of either see. This favour, as the pope reckoned it, was granted to prevent the fatigue and inconveniences of making a voyage to Rome. The pope dates his letter to Honorius from the consulship of the emperor Heraclius and his son, whom he calls his most gracious sovereigns. It was written in the year of our Lord 634.

Malmesbury de Gestis.
Pontif.
Angl. 1. 1.
Edit. Savil.

86.

Bede, 1. 2.
c. 18.

Pope Honorius being informed that the Scots mistook the time in the keeping of Easter, wrote to them to put them in

mind of their singularity; that they should consider how few they were in comparison of the rest of Christendom; that it could not but appear strange, that they should pretend to be wiser than the ages both past and present; that their paschal computation differed from the general custom, and contradicted the canons of the whole church.

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.

This letter of pope Honorius was seconded by John, who succeeded Severinus; it is directed to Tomianus, Columbanus, Cronanus, Dimanus, and Baithanus, Scottish bishops, and to several priests and abbots. In this letter he takes notice, that the heresy, as he calls it, about mistaking the time of Easter, had but lately gained ground upon them; and that only a party, and not the whole nation, was chargeable with it. After he had dilated upon the paschal controversy, and instructed them in the computation, he proceeds to the subject of Pelagianism, laments the revival of that heresy amongst them, and endeavours their recovery with great earnestness. He tells them, "It is an execrable piece of pride, to affirm that a man's innocence can subsist upon the strength of his own will, and that he does not stand in need of the grace of God to preserve him from sinning; and that it is blasphemous folly to suppose any man without sin, excepting our Saviour."

To proceed. We are now to relate a most unfortunate accident, which overcast the face of the English Church in the kingdom of Northumberland. For Edwin having reigned seventeen years to all imaginable commendation, two of the princes that were homagers to him broke out into a rebellion; their names were Caedwalla and Penda: the first was king of the Britons, and the other of the Mercians. These two princes, joining in a confederacy, gave Edwin battle at a place called Hethfelt, where his army was cut in pieces, and himself slain in the forty-eighth year of his age.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 20. Malm.
de Gestis.
Reg. Angl.
l. 1. c. 3.

The loss of this prince was a great blow to the nation and church of the Northumbrians; for the conquering princes immediately marched forward and harassed the country. Indeed, Penda and his troops being all pagans, little better could be expected from them. And as for Caedwalla, notwithstanding his profession of Christianity, yet the barbarity of his temper was such, that he spared neither age nor sex, but put all that came in his way to death and torture. He hung upon the country a great while, and made a terrible ravage and

*King Edwin
slain.*
A. D. 633.

HONO-
RIUS,
Abp. Cant.

devastation, in hopes either to exterminate the English or force them to quit the island. Neither did he show the least regard to the inhabitants upon the score of their being Christians ; for, as Bede reports, the Britons even in his time had no opinion of the Christianity of the Saxons, neither would they communicate with them in the offices of religion, any more than with heathens. King Edwin's head was afterwards brought to York and deposited in St. Gregory's porch ; from whence we may probably conclude that his children above mentioned, who are said to have been buried in the church, were only buried in the porch, the custom of that age going no further.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 20.

*Paulinus
retires from
York into
Kent.*

Affairs being thus ruffled in the kingdom of Northumberland, and the country overrun by the enemy, Paulinus thought it proper to retire ; and therefore, having provided a vessel, he takes queen Ethelburga, her children, and one Bassus, Edwin's general, aboard, and returns into Kent, where he was honourably received by king Eadbald. Paulinus brought off a great deal of king Edwin's plate along with him, and amongst the rest, a great gold cross and a gold cup, which that prince had given for the altar, and was to be seen in the cathedral at Canterbury in Bede's time.

Bede, *ibid.*

There was now a vacancy in the Church at Rochester, the prelate of that see being cast away upon the coast of Italy, in his voyage to Rome. Paulinus therefore, being forced from his archbishopric of York, and invited to this diocese by archbishop Honorius and king Eadbald, accepted the offer, and sat there the remainder of his life.

Paulinus left his deacon James at his church in York, who having the courage to continue upon the place, preserved the laity from relapsing, and gained a great many converts from heathenism. The village where he used to reside was near Catterick, in Yorkshire, and called by his name in Bede's time. This James was a great master of church music ; and when the storm began to blow over, he made it his business to teach the Roman way of singing in that country.

*Osric and
Eanfrid suc-
ceed Edwin
and mis-
carry.*
Bede, l. 3.
c. 1.

King Edwin falling in the field, as has been related, his dominions were parted between Osric and Eanfrid. Osric succeeded to the kingdom of Deira, and was converted to Christianity by Paulinus. He was son to Elfrick, uncle to king Edwin. Bernicia, or the other division of the kingdom of

Northumberland, was seized by Eanfrid, son of Ethelfrid, Edwin's predecessor. And here it is proper to acquaint the reader, that Ethelfrid's children, with a great many of the nobility that adhered to them, lived in exile among the Scots and Picts during king Edwin's reign. Here they turned Christians, and were baptized. These princes above-mentioned, were no sooner possessed of the kingdom of Northumberland, but they renounced the faith, and apostatized to paganism. But both of them were quickly punished for their infidelity. Osric fell the first campaign: for laying siege to a town without taking proper measures, or not keeping upon his guard, Caedwalla made an unexpected sally upon him, and cut him and his troops in pieces. And now, Caedwalla, over-running the country at pleasure, Eanfrid, perceiving himself too weak, came with a small retinue to beg a peace; but whether he had a safe conduct, or was too uncautious in venturing his person, is uncertain. But let this be as it will, the event proved fatal; for Caedwalla destroyed him as soon as he came within his power.

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.
OSWALD,
K. of North-
umberland.

87.

Upon the death of Eanfrid, Oswald his brother succeeded him. This prince kept firm to his engagements of baptism, and proved prosperous in the field. Caedwalla marched a very numerous, and, as he thought, an invincible army against him; but was defeated and slain at a place called Denises-Burn, or the river of Dennis. This prince, before the battle began, was remarkably devout, obliging all the army to fall upon their knees and pray to God for the success of their arms. And here, to quicken their devotion, he had a cross erected, but without any application either to that religious emblem, or to any of the saints.

*Oswald suc-
ceeds Ean-
frid, and
defeats
Caedwalla.*

Oswald, being a pious prince, and sensibly affected with the advantages of Christianity, endeavoured to bring all his subjects within the same privilege. To this purpose he sent to Scotland, whither he had formerly been banished, to desire some person of character and learning might come for the instruction of his subjects. The Scottish clergy dispatched away a missionary without delay: but this person being a man of somewhat a rugged unplausible temper, was disliked by the English, and made no impression upon them. And thus, finding himself unsuccessful, he returned home, made his report of his mission in a synod, and told his countrymen, "that the

Bede, l. 3.
c. 2.

*Aidan, a
Scotch
bishop, pro-
motes Christ-
ianity in
Oswald's
dominions.*

Bede, l. 3.
c. 3, 5.

HONO-
RIUS,
Abp. Cant.

English were an untractable sort of people, bigotted to paganism, and that it was impracticable to do them any service." The synod, displeased with this account, began to debate whether any farther expedient was to be tried. Upon this, Aidanus, a clergyman of great reputation for piety and conduct, applied himself to the priest that came back from England, and told him, "he thought his measures were not exactly taken, that he was somewhat too incompassionate with his audience, and did not condescend enough to the weakness of their capacities; that he did not follow the apostle's advice, and feed them with milk at first: that he did not begin with the most plain and intelligible truths, and from thence advance by degrees to what was more sublime and mysterious." This discourse was very much approved by the synod, who came to an unanimous conclusion, that Aidan deserved the honour of the episcopal character; and that none was better qualified for the conversion of the English than himself. Upon this he was presently consecrated, and sent off upon the employment.

A. D. 634.

This Aidan, though highly commended by Bede for his piety and discretion, yet he takes notice he was not altogether orthodox in the keeping of Easter, being governed by the custom of the Scots, Picts, and Britons. It is true these Churches were no quarto-decimans, for they always kept this festival on a Sunday. But then, they reckoned from the fourteenth day to the twentieth; whereas the Roman and general practice was to compute from the fifteenth to the one-and-twentieth; and thus, as it is supposed, the rule was settled by the council of Nice. And here Bede observes, that the Scots who dwelt in the southern parts of Ireland, conformed to the usages of the western Church.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 3.

*Aidan's see
fixed in
Holy
Island.*

Aidan, at his coming to Oswald's court, desired the bishop's see might be fixed in Holy Island, which was granted accordingly. Whatever Aidan suggested was cheerfully complied with, the king thinking himself obliged to be governed by his directions in whatever related to religion.

By Aidan's fixing the episcopal see in Holy Island, upon the coast of Northumberland, we may conclude he had no great regard for pope Gregory's regulation; for this pope, in his directions to Augustine the monk, ordered the principal see for the northern parts to be settled at York. It is plain, therefore, Aidan did not think himself under the pope's juris-

diction. Had this been the practice or belief of the Scottish Christians, Aidan would never have altered the seat of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and removed it from York to Holy Island.

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.
OSWALD,
K. of North-
umberland.

As for Oswald, nothing could be more commendable and forward than this prince's zeal: for Aidan, not having a perfect command of the English tongue, the king was his interpreter, and explained his discourses to his nobility and retinue. For living a considerable time in Scotland, he could deliver himself in that language with advantage enough.

Bede, l. 3.
cap. 3.
Malms. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. l. 1.
p. 9. Hunt-
ingdon His-
tor. l. 3.
p. 189.

Aidan, being thus successful in his employment, several of his countrymen came in to his assistance, and preached with great application all over Oswald's dominions.

And now the business of religion went on apace; the audiences were very numerous, and churches were built in several places. Lands were granted, by the king, for the support of monasteries, and a great many of the English put themselves under the discipline of those religious societies. This way of living might probably be recommended to them by the Scottish missionaries, who were most of them monks; Aidan himself being of that order, and belonging to the monastery of Hii or Iona. This religious house was the capital monastery, and had a jurisdiction over the rest, belonging to the Scots and Picts. The island is one of the Hebrides, and was given by the Picts to the Scottish monks, as an acknowledgment for their conversion.

88.

As for Aidan, his practice and behaviour was admirable. He lived up to his doctrine, and made his example wonderfully significant: he minded nothing of secular interest, and was as it were dead to the common satisfactions. Whatever the king, or any persons of figure or fortune presented him with, he generally gave away to the poor. Whoever he met with, whether rich or poor, he used to apply himself to them. If they were pagans, he instructed them in the principles of Christianity, and attempted their conversion: if they were Christians, he confirmed them in their faith, and pressed them to a suitable practice. He took care, that all those that travelled with him, whether clergy or laity, should spend a considerable part of their time in reading the holy Scriptures. For at this time of day the Bible was not counted a dangerous book; it was not kept under restraint, or granted with facul-

*Aidan's
admirable
conduct.*

HONORIUS,
Abp. Cant.

tics and dispensations. The Saxon homilies exhort the people with great earnestness, "to the frequent perusal of the Scriptures, and enforce the advice from the great benefit of that exercise; that the mind was refined, and the passions purged by this expedient: that this was the way to refresh our greatest concern upon us, and make heaven and hell have their due impression. That, as a blind man often stumbles in his motion, so those who are unacquainted with the word of God, are apt to make false steps, and miscarry."

Notæ Whe-
loc. ad
cap. 5.
lib. 3.
Bede.

To proceed, if Aidan happened to be invited to eat with the king, he used to carry two or three of his clergy along with him; where, after taking a very moderate repast, he withdrew with his company, that they might lose no time for reading or prayers. He had one admirable quality among the rest, and that is, never to spare a great man upon the score of his wealth or quality; but always to reprove with freedom when occasion required: neither was it his custom to present the wealthy with any thing, excepting entertainment, when they came to his house. If he had any money, it went either in common charity, or was disposed of for the redemption of slaves and captives.

Bede, 1. 3.
c. 6.

Aidan's instructions, with the force of his example, were very prevalent upon Oswald, who proved an extraordinary prince, and was remarkably blest for his piety; for, as Bede relates, his dominions were much larger than any of his predecessors; he reigned through the whole island, and had the Britons, Picts, Scots, and English, within his jurisdiction: not that we are to suppose him sole monarch of Great Britain; but that he was, as it were, lord paramount, and received some kind of homage or acknowledgment of superiority from the other princes. All this advantage, and distinction of his grandeur, did not give him the least tincture of pride, or make him forget the meanest of his subjects. There goes a story of him, that one Easter day, when he and the bishop were at dinner, there was a fine silver dish with meat, curiously dressed, set upon the table. This being the first dish, they were going to beg a blessing; but before this was done, the king's almoner comes in, and acquaints him there were a great many poor people in the streets who desired some relief from the king. They did not beg to no purpose; for this compassionate prince immediately ordered the meat served up should

be given to the poor, and the silver dish broken into small pieces and distributed. The historian observes farther, that by Oswald's prudent conduct, the divisions of the Deiri and Bernicii laid down their ancient animosities, came to a friendly correspondence, and were, as it were, incorporated into one body.

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.
OSWALD,
K. of North-
umberland.

About this time the West Saxons were converted by the preaching of Birinus. This person offering himself at Rome, to gain the pagan English to Christianity, pope Honorius thought fit to send him with the advantage of the episcopal character: and thus, being consecrated by Asterius, bishop of Genoa, he came on for Britain, and arrived in the territories of the Gevissi, or West Saxons: and here, meeting with nothing but paganism, he enters upon his employment, and was so successful as to prevail upon Kyngil the king. King Oswald happened to be at this prince's court while Birinus was executing his mission: Oswald's endeavours, we may imagine, were not wanting upon the occasion. In short, Kingil was baptized, and Oswald was his godfather. It seems he did not think this office would obstruct his marriage with Kingil's daughter, which was the business of his visit. These two kings, as Bede reports, gave the bishop the town of Dorchester for his episcopal see; where, after having built several churches, and converted a great many people, he departed this life.

A. D. 634.
*The West
Saxons con-
verted by
Birinns.*

A. D. 635.

Cenwalch, who succeeded his father Kingil, refused baptism and the profession of Christianity, and, not long after, lost his kingdom to Penda king of the Mercians. The occasion of the rupture between these two princes was this: Cenwalch, upon some dissatisfaction, parted with his queen, Penda's sister, and engaged in another marriage. Penda, resolving to revenge his sister, marched an army against Cenwalch, seized his dominions, and forced him to retire to Anna, king of the East Angles, where, living three years in exile, he was so happy as to turn Christian. Being afterwards restored, one Agilbert, a French bishop, who had retired into Ireland to get leisure for the study of divinity, came to his court, and offered to preach to his subjects. The king, perceiving him a person of zeal and learning, invited him to stay with him at Dorchester, and make it his episcopal see. The bishop complied with this overture, and sat there several years: at last, the king, who

Bede, l. 3.
c. 7.
A. D. 643.
Bede, *ibid.*

A. D. 645.

A. D. 646.

A. D. 650.

HONO-
RIUS
Abp. Cant.

A. D. 660.

understood no language but the Saxon, grew uneasy at the foreign dialect of Agilbert, and brought one Wina, a Saxon, in upon him. This Wina being consecrated in France, the king divided his dominions into two dioceses, and gave his countryman Winchester for his see. Agilbert, being not consulted upon this occasion, looked upon the partition as an encroachment upon his spiritual jurisdiction. Upon this he quitted the country, sailed into France, and being invited to the bishopric of Paris, accepted the offer, and died there.

It seems, by this resentment of Agilbert's, which is not at all censured by Bede, it was not the custom of this age for princes to canton out a bishop's diocese, and lessen the extent of his authority. And if the Church is an independent society, which we must grant, unless we will charge the Christians of the three first centuries with mutiny and disobedience to the Roman emperors,—I say, if the Church is an independent society, Agilbert had reason to take this usage ill from the king: for, upon this supposition of the Church's independency, the civil magistrate has no more right to wrest the bishop's flock out of his hand, or draw the people from their obedience to their spiritual superior, than the bishop has to pervert the subjects from their allegiance, and grant away parcel of the dominions of the secular sovereign.

Bede. *ibid.*

This king Cenwalch seems to have been somewhat of an arbitrary temper: for, not long after the departure of Agilbert, he ousted Wina of his bishopric; who, retreating to Wulfhere, king of the Mercians, purchased the liberty of acting upon his character at London, where he continued bishop the remainder of his life. And thus the West Saxon territories had no prelate for several years together. During this vacancy in the Church, Cenwalch's affairs grew troublesome and embroiled, and his government was very unfortunate. The king, being thus perplexed, began to recollect himself, and consider, that, by expelling the bishop, he had, as it were, thrown himself out of the divine protection. This reflection going deep with him, he immediately dispatched his agents into France, to offer the bishop satisfaction, and entreat him to return to his see. But Agilbert excused himself, and declined the offer, alleging he was now under engagements to a new diocese, and had not the liberty to remove. However, that he might not be wanting in a due compliance with the king's request, he sent him one

Leutherius, his nephew, and in priest's orders ; acquainting the agents withal, that he was well qualified for the episcopal character. This Leutherius, upon his arrival in the West Saxon territories, was honourably received by the king and his subjects ; and, soon after, at their request, being consecrated by Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, the country was thrown into a single diocese, and the see fixed at Winchester, where Leutherius died, after he had governed about seven years. These affairs of the Church, though falling out at some distance of time, yet belonging to one kingdom of the heptarchy, I have laid them together, to prevent the course of the history from being broken and entangled. And now matter of fact will call us backward.

EAD-
BALD,
K. of Kent.
OSWALD,
K. of North-
umberland.

*The episco-
pal see of the
West Saxons
fixed at
Winchester.*

The murder of Eorpwald, king of the East Angles, soon after his conversion, has been already mentioned, together with something of the progress of Christianity in that kingdom.

Sigebert, brother to Eorpwald, succeeded to his dominions. This prince was a person of great probity and devotion. He had his education in France, where he was baptized ; being forced to retire hither to secure himself from the practices of king Redwald. Upon his accession to the crown, he began to refine the country upon the French model, and introduce those commendable regulations he had observed abroad ; but, in the first place, he took care to benefit his subjects in their best interest, and bring them over to the true religion. He was assisted in these holy purposes by Felix, a Burgundian, who, applying himself about this time to Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, acquainted him that he desired to try his endeavours upon the East Angles. Honorius, approving the generous motion, immediately consecrated him, and sent him thither. Felix was surprisingly successful in his undertaking, and made almost a thorough conversion of the whole country. He had Dommoc, or Dunwich, for his see, where, after having sat seventeen years, he departed this life.

Bede. 1. 3.
c. 18.
A. D. 63

*The conver-
sion of the
East Angles.*

But it seems, after all, the conversion of the East Angles was not solely carried on by the labours of Felix the Burgundian ; for one Furseus, a monk of remarkable piety, had a share in the enterprise. This holy man came from Ireland into the country of the East Angles, in search of a monastic retirement. Sigebert entertained him with great regard, and furnished him with a place for a monastery. But Furseus was

Bede. 1. 2.
c. 15.

HONO-
RIUS,
Abp. Cant.

not so far smitten with a solitary life as not to endeavour to do the world what service he could. In order to this, he preached in the country with great application, proselyted some, and fortified others already converted. This person coming from Ireland, we may reasonably conclude him of the opinion of the Scottish Christians there ; and yet Bede gives him an extraordinary commendation, reports that he was honoured with the conversation of angels before his death, and that his corpse was miraculously preserved from putrefaction.

Bede. 1. 3.
c. 19.

90.

Bede. *ibid.*

Farther : it is probable this Furseus was of the communion of the Scots and Picts ; for Bede not only tells us the Scots were his countrymen, but likewise that he travelled through Wales into the territories of the East Angles. Now, by his taking his journey through Wales, we may fairly suppose he was of the British communion, which was the same with that of the Picts and Northern Scots.

*Sigebert a
great encour-
ager of
learning.*
Malmshur.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
1. 1. c. 6.
Bede. 1. 3.
c. 18.

To return to Sigebert : he went on in the project of polishing his subjects, and gaining them to an inclination for letters, and erected schools for the education of youth. Malmesbury calls them schools, and supposes several of them set up at proper distances ; but Bede speaks in the singular number, as if all this provision had been confined to one place. This improvement of men's understandings the king expected would prove serviceable to religion : for Christianity, standing upon so solid a basis, upon such reasonable doctrine, and such unquestionable matter of fact, having this strength of principle and evidence, there was no fear of bringing it to the light. The more people were qualified to examine so well established a belief, the better they would like it. Sigebert, therefore, looking on learning not only as an ornament to his kingdom, but as a proper expedient to recommend the doctrine of the Gospel, made it his business to encourage it. Felix, the bishop, promoted the execution of this design, and furnished him out of Kent with masters and professors in several of the learned faculties.

Polydor.
Virg. *Histor.*
1. 4. p. 65.
Leland in
Cygneam
Cantionem.
Bale in
Sigebert.

Sigebert is commonly said to be the founder of the university of Cambridge, though some others contend for a much greater antiquity : Polydore Virgil, Leland, Bale, &c., are of this opinion. But the credit of their authority seems weakened by the silence of authors much more ancient ; for neither Bede, Florence of Worcester. Malmesbury, nor Huntingdon, make

any mention of Cambridge. It is true, some of them mention this king's encouragement of learning, and founding schools or seminaries for that purpose ; but then they do not tell us where the Muses settled, nor point upon any place. If the liberty of a conjecture might be allowed, it seems more probable, considering the custom of that age, that the grand seminary of learning should be settled at the episcopal see ; and, upon this foot, Dunwich will have a better claim to this privilege than Cambridge. As for those that bring the antiquity of the university of Cambridge up to the reign of Lucius, or insist on the charter of king Arthur, their assertion is encumbered with unanswerable difficulties, and their vouching records of no credit.

EARCON-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWALD,
K. of North-
umberland.

To finish the remaining part of Sigebert : religion was so much the governing passion of this prince, that all the advantages of his station were disrelished by him ; and, not thinking his government would give him leisure enough for contemplation and pious exercises, he grew weary of the administration at last, and, resigning to his cousin Ecgric, retired to a monastery. After he had lived here a considerable time, Penda, with his Mercians, happened to make war upon the East Angles ; who, finding themselves overmatched by the enemy, desired Sigebert to take the field with them. But Sigebert, being turned monk, refused to gratify their request. However, having formerly the reputation of a great general, and of being remarkably brave, they concluded his appearing in person would be a great encouragement to their troops. Upon this view, they dragged him, as it were, out of his retirement, and conveyed him into the army. This expedient proved little serviceable : for Sigebert, looking upon the military function as inconsistent with his monastic character, refused to be martially accoutred, and would have nothing but a wand in his hand ; and, the battle proving unfortunate to the East Angles, he was slain in this figure. Ecgric the king likewise lost his life, and all the troops were either cut in pieces or dispersed. Anna, the son of Eni, of the royal family, was the next king of the East Angles. He proved an excellent prince, but had the misfortune to fall in the field by the same Mercian king that defeated his predecessor.

*Sigebert
slain in the
field.*

In the year of our Lord 640, Eadbald, king of Kent, departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Earconbert, who

A. D. 640.

HONO-
RIUS,
Abp. Cant.

*Earconbert
destroys the
remains of
idolatry.*

reigned, with great commendation, four-and-twenty years. This Earconbert was the first Saxon prince who made paganism penal, and ordered that the idols should be broken, and their worship forborne. By this injunction it appears there were some remains of heathenism, which continued all along from the time of Augustine the monk: which is the less to be wondered at, if we consider that Ethelbert, this prince's grandfather, compelled nobody to turn Christian; and it seems his son Eadbald indulged the same latitude of toleration. These measures of lenity might be accountable enough at the first preaching of Christianity. To give the pagans time to examine the doctrine of the Gospel, and not hurry them by force into a new and unheard-of belief, was no more than reasonable; but, after they had conversed with Christians for two reigns together, and had so many opportunities for conviction, Earconbert might now think their refusing to come into the Church was nothing but obstinacy and dissolution of manners. This consideration, it is likely, made him put paganism under penalties, and lay the objects of false worship out of his subjects' way. This prince likewise commanded the keeping of Lent, and punished those that broke through the fast before the forty days were expired. His daughter Earcongota, being a very devout lady, retired from the world, and was abbess of a nunnery in France. For, at this time, there were few religious houses within the heptarchy.

Bede, 1. 3.
c. 8.

91.

A. D. 642.

We must now proceed to king Oswald, the shortness of whose reign, considering his character, is much to be regretted. This admirable prince, after he had held the government nine years, lost his life in the field. The contest was between him and Penda king of the Mercians, who was the aggressor. The battle fought at Macerfeld was obstinate and bloody: here Oswald, fighting bravely for his country, was slain by the pagans in the thirty-eighth year of his age: Bede reports a great many cures were done by making use of the dust where his corpse lay. He mentions several extraordinary relations upon this subject, as he does likewise concerning Aidan the bishop, both living and dead. Whether Bede was truly informed or not of these matters of fact I shall not dispute, that which I am to observe is this.

Bede, 1. 3.
c. 9.
*King Oswald
slain at the
battle of
Macerfeld.*
Bede, *ibid.*

Bede, 1. 3.
c. 9, 10, 11,
12, 13, 15,
16, 17.

Oswald and Aidan were both of the Scottish or British church, and died under that distinction. They kept Easter differently from

the Roman custom, and therefore lived independently of that see, conformity in this point being insisted on by Augustine the monk as a condition of communion, without which the British, in consequence of their opinion, were not to be received. Now from Bede's giving so great a character of Oswald and Aidan, notwithstanding they disconformed from the church of Rome, refused to come under the pope's patriarchate, or submit to his regulations; from hence it appears, I say, that Bede, though living in the Romish Church, did not believe the pope a necessary centre of communion; or that the rest of christendom were indispensably obliged to be subject to his orders and authority. Had this been his belief, he would never have raised Oswald and Aidan to so great a distinction of saintship; he would not have told us what numbers of converts they made, and how Christianity flourished under them; he would not have recorded their miracles, and dilated upon the cures wrought by the touch of their relics. Nothing can be more evident than that, as he thought them eminent for their holiness upon earth, so he made not the least question of their being proportionably rewarded in heaven. And thus, even in Bede's opinion, a man might live independently of the pope, and die out of his customs and discipline, and yet be miraculously countenanced by God Almighty, and distinguishably happy in the other world.

OSWI
ad
OSWIN,
kings of Nor.

Oswald, as Bede expressed it, being removed to the regions of the blessed, was succeeded by his brother Oswi, who reigned about eight-and-twenty years. In the second year of this prince's government, Paulinus, who had formerly been archbishop of York, died upon the see of Rochester. Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated one Ithamar to succeed him. He was a Kentish man, and eminent for his piety and learning.

A. D. 644.

Oswi, in the beginning of his reign, had Oswin for his contemporary. This Oswin, the son of Osríc, and of the family of king Edwin, was a prince of remarkable piety; he governed in the division of the Deiri seven years. His subjects lived easy and in great plenty under him, which made him extremely beloved; but Oswi, being an ambitious prince, came to a rupture with Oswin, and made a breach in the prosperity of his kingdom. Things being now come to an extremity, and armies levied on both sides, Oswin perceived him-

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.
*Oswin be-
trayed to
Oswi, and
slain.*

self too weak to venture a battle, for Oswi, it seems, had reinforced himself with a potent confederacy; Oswin, therefore, thought it most advisable to dismiss his troops and reserve himself for a more favourable juncture. His army being thus disbanded, he retired with only one officer in his company to one Earl Hunwald, whom he expected would prove true to him; but this man, being governed either by interest or fear, betrayed him to king Oswi, who was so barbarous as to dispatch him. And thus he went off by treachery and violence in the ninth year of his reign.

A. D. 651.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 14.

*King Oswin's
character.*

King Oswin, as Bede describes him, was a very graceful person, and of an admirable disposition. He was remarkably condescensive and obliging in his behaviour; and both the rich and poor had a large share of his bounty. Being thus doubly recommended by the advantages of person and temper, every body was charmed with him, inasmuch that men of the first quality came from all parts of the island to his court, and offered their service. Amongst the rest of his good qualities his humility was particularly extraordinary, of which Bede gives the following instance:—King Oswin gave Aidan the bishop a fine horse, for the bishop, though he used to walk on foot most commonly, yet wanted the convenience of a horse upon some occasions. The bishop, a little after, happening to meet with a poor man upon the road who begged his charity, dismounts immediately, and gives him his pad, with all his rich housings and equipage; for the bishop was so compassionate that he could not bear the sight of a poor man without relieving him. This coming to the king's ear, he seemed not pleased with the story; and the next time the bishop came to dine with him he accosted him in this manner: “My lord bishop,” says he, “what made you so prodigal of my favour as to give away my pad to a beggar? If there was a necessity of setting him on horseback, could you not have furnished him with one of less price? or if he wanted any other relief you might have supplied him in another way, and not have parted so easily with the present I made you.” To this the bishop replied, “Your majesty seems not fully to have considered the point; for otherwise I know you will grant a son of God is much to be preferred to the son of a mare.” Upon this no more passed, but they went to dinner. Not long after the king came from hunting when the bishop

92.

*Filius Dei.
Filius equæ.*

was at court, and remembering what words had passed between them, he laid by his sword, and making up hastily to the bishop, fell down at his feet, desiring him not to be disgusted at their former discourse about the pad; and that he would neither censure his charity nor prescribe about the proportion for the future. The bishop being very much disturbed to see the king in this posture, took him up immediately, and desired him not to trouble himself about that matter. And now the bishop grew insensibly melancholy in his turn, and wept very much, and being asked the reason by one of his priests, he told him in the Scotch language, which was not understood at table, "That he foresaw Oswin's life was but short; for in my life," says he, "I never saw such an humble prince before; his temper is too heavenly to dwell long among us, and indeed the nation does not deserve the blessing of such a governor."

The bishop proved a true prophet, for the king was soon taken off in the manner above mentioned: and about a fortnight after Aidan himself died, and, as Bede expresses it, received the reward of his pious labours in heaven.

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.

*The death of
bishop
Aidan.*
A. D. 651.
Bede. *ibid.*

About this time Felix, bishop of the East Angles, died. He sat seventeen years, and was succeeded by Thomas, deacon to Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, who provided for this see upon the vacancy. Thomas governed the diocese five years and died, and was succeeded by Boniface, a Kentish man, who was preferred by the archbishop above mentioned. This prelate dying in the year of our Lord 653, the see of Canterbury continued vacant for a year and a half, and was then filled by Deusdedit a West Saxon, who governing the province seven years, died, and had Damianus, a South Saxon, for his successor. These two last archbishops were both consecrated by Ithamar bishop of Rochester.

A. D. 653.

And now it will be time to say something of the Middle Angles, who were converted in the reign of Peada, son of king Penda. This young prince being a fine person, and very promising, had the crown settled upon him by his father. Being thus made heir-apparent, he makes a visit to Oswi king of the Northumbrians, desiring Athfl ede is daughter in marriage. This request would not be granted unless upon the condition of his turning Christian, and using his interest in making his subjects of the same religion. Upon this some of the principal articles of Christianity were laid before him.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 20.
Bede, l. 3.
c. 21.
*The conver-
sion of the
Middle
Angles.*

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.

Now when he understood the doctrine of the gospel gave so noble a prospect, and was so inviting in the rewards—when he perceived the resurrection of the body, a state of immortality, and a kingdom in heaven, were all in the expectation, he declared himself willing to turn Christian, though the princess should be refused him. He was worked up to this holy resolution in some measure by his brother-in-law Alfrid, king Oswi's son, who had married Cyniburgh, daughter to king Penda. Penda, being thus satisfied and prepared, was admitted to baptism with all his train, by Finan the bishop. Being thus successful in his journey, he returned home, taking four priests along with him to promote the conversion of his subjects; they were all well qualified for the employment, with reference both to learning and morals; their names were Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuma; the three first were English, and the last a Scotchman. These priests, coming along with the prince into the kingdom of the Middle-Angles, began to enter upon their function; they were heard with inclination and respect, and a great many, both of the nobility and common people, were persuaded to renounce paganism and come into the church. As for king Penda, though he did not turn Christian himself, yet he gave the missionaries leave to preach and proselyte as far as they were able; but as for such as lived unsuitably to the engagements of baptism he had them in the utmost contempt, looking upon those as a despicable and scandalous sort of people who refuse to be governed by the maxims of their own religion, and disobeyed the commands of that God in whom they believed.

*The East
Saxons re-
covered to
Christianity.*

About this time the East Saxons were recovered to the Christian faith, from which they first revolted when Mellitus their bishop was expelled. This happy revolution was brought on by the zeal and interest of king Oswi; Sigberet, who succeeded Sigberet, surnamed the Little, was then king of the East-Saxons. This prince keeping a good correspondence with king Oswi, used to make him frequent visits. Oswi being desirous to improve his friendship to the best purposes, endeavoured to dissuade him from paganism: he pressed him to inquire farther into the grounds of his persuasion; that it was unintelligible to conceive that men should be able to make an object big enough for application and worship; that wood and stone was by no means a fit matter to produce a deity; that

the Divine Nature was infinitely above such contemptible things; that God was an eternal and omnipotent Spirit; that the world and all mankind were created by him; that the seat of his majesty was in heaven, and not in any little figures of metal or marble; that he would afterwards call mankind to a solemn account for their behaviour, and make those everlastingly happy who made it their business to understand the pleasure and obey the orders of their Creator. Oswi frequently discoursing upon these heads, and recommending his advice with an air of friendship and concern, at last the force of his reasoning and the obligingness of his manner prevailed upon Sigberet, who, consulting his retinue upon the point, and finding them all inclined to turn Christian, was baptized, with his train, by the bishop Finan, at a town where the king resided, called Admurem by Bede; it was situated about twelve miles from the German sea, and was so called because it stood by the Roman wall built by the emperor Severus. Sigberet having made his progress to so happy a purpose, prepared to return, and desired Oswi to furnish him with some clergy for the instruction of his subjects. Upon this Oswi sends for Cedd from the Middle-Angles, who having another priest for his assistant, travelled in king Sigberet's train to the East Saxons; and here, after having pursued their employment with application, and converted a great many people, Cedd took a journey into Holy Island to consult the bishop Finan, and receive some farther directions. Finan being informed of the progress of Christianity amongst the East Saxons, consecrates Cedd, bishop of that province, having first sent for two other bishops to join with him in the solemnity, and make the consecration more canonical.

Cedd, upon his promotion to the episcopal character, returned to the East Saxons, where, upon this enlargement of his authority, he proceeded to finish and form that church; ordaining priests and deacons, to assist him in the functions of preaching and baptism. He built several churches, and began a monastery at Tilbury upon the Thames. Thus the interest of Christianity was carried on for a considerable time, the king being very assisting to the bishop's endeavours.

This pious prince was at last assassinated by two brothers; who being demanded upon what motive they ventured upon such a villany, had nothing else to say for themselves, but

EARCON-
BERT,
king of Kent.

93.

Bede, 1. 3.
c. 22.

*Sigberet, king
of the East
Saxons, as-
sassinated.*

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.

that they were disgusted with the king for showing himself so easy in forgiving his enemies. And thus he fell a martyr to the doctrine of the gospel. It seems the bishop had foretold his death upon this occasion. One of the assassins, who belonged to the court, was engaged in an unlawful marriage: the bishop having admonished him upon this misbehaviour to no purpose, proceeded to excommunication, and forbid all in his diocese either to eat with him, or so much as make him a visit. The king slighted the bishop's injunction; and being invited by this courtier, went to his house, and accepted the entertainment. As he was coming back, the bishop happened to meet him upon the road. The king, being surprised at the sight of this venerable man, alighted from his horse, and falling at the bishop's feet, asked his pardon for his misbehaviour. The bishop likewise dismounted, and touching the king gently, exerted his character with great freedom, and told him with an air of authority, that since he would not decline the visiting that wretched and ungovernable libertine, he should lose his life in his house: which fell out accordingly. This Sigberet was succeeded by Smidhelm, son of Sexbald, who was baptized by Cedd at Rendlesham, in the kingdom of the East Angles. Ethelwald, king of that country, and brother of king Anna, was his godfather. By the way, this Anna was a pious prince, and was slain in the field by the pagans, in the year of our Lord 654.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 22.

A. D. 654.
Chronolog.
Saxon.

And here it will not be improper to observe, that the Middle Angles were converted, and the East Angles recovered by Cedd and his assistants, who received their ordination from Finan, of the Scottish communion. We may observe farther, that before Cedd was consecrated bishop by Finan, he did not pretend to organize the church of the East Saxons, nor give the orders, either of priest or deacon. But I need not insist any longer upon this, nothing being more plain, through the whole history of Bede, than that the power of ordination and supreme government of the Church was always reserved to the bishop.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 21, 22.

To proceed to Cedd. This holy man, notwithstanding his diocese lay in the East Angles, used sometimes to travel into his own country, to exhort the Northumbrians to hold on in their course of piety; and here Ethelward, king Oswi's son, granting him a piece of ground, at his request, he had a

monastery built upon it, where the religious were governed by the rule of Holy Island, where Cedd had his education. While the monastery was building, he desired the king that he might have liberty to continue upon the place all the time of Lent, for the conveniency of his devotions. During this term, according to custom, he fasted every day, Sunday excepted, till the evening; and even then he allowed himself but a very moderate refreshment. Bede mentioned something before of the self-denial of the Saxons upon this head; for, speaking of the austerities of Aidan, he tells us, that those among the Northumbrians who were any thing remarkable for religion, used to fast all the year round upon Wednesdays and Fridays, till three o'clock, excepting the interval between Easter and Whitsuntide. Neither was this any more than the general practice of the Church in other places. "The Saxon Homilies upon this occasion are penned with great conduct and consideration. They commend the discipline of fasting; they declare it founded upon the word of God, and assert the usefulness of it for the restraint of appetite and disorder. But then, they observe that this affair has been sometimes managed with great imprudence; that, either through obstinacy or shortness of thought, things have been pushed to that extremity as to frighten people from this discipline. Thus, for instance, some people in Lent fast beyond the strength of their constitution, and make themselves sick for want of discretion. Others refusing to take any refreshment for four-and-twenty hours together, give their palates a full liberty the next day, and eat almost to gluttony. But this is contrary to the direction of the holy Fathers. They teach us to practice this duty within a rule; that we should take our measures from necessity and convenience; and neither hurt our health, nor make our bodies unserviceable on the one hand, nor encourage our senses too far, and indulge the animal life, on the other. From hence the Homily proceeds to argue, from the disadvantage of this part of the globe, and that in these northern countries, it is impracticable to strain up to the rigour of warmer climates."

About this time, Penda, king of the Mercians, made terrible irruptions into the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and laid the country waste at a miserable rate. King Oswi, being hard pressed, offered to present him with the plate and jewels of his

EARCON-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 23.

Bede, *ibid.*

Bede, l. 3.
c. 5.

94.

Homil. 34.
in Notis
Whelock. ad
cap. 23. l. 3.
Bede.
*Penda, king
of the Mer-
cians, slain,
and his sub-
jects con-
verted.*
A. D. 655.

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.

court, and purchase his peace, almost upon any terms. But this pagan prince, resolving to exterminate the nation of the Northumbrians, would hearken to no proposals. And thus Oswi was forced to try his fortune in the field. His troops were comparatively but a handful; the enemy being said to have thirty times as many, commanded by experienced generals. When they came to the charge the pagans were routed, thirty of their general officers, and most of their forces, cut in pieces; among the rest Edilhere, who succeeded his brother Anna in the kingdom of the East Angles, was likewise slain. This prince had pushed Penda upon the war, and brought him a great body of auxiliaries: the battle was fought in the division of Bernicia, at a place called Winwidfield, near the river Winwid, and here Penda fell with the rest.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 24. Flo-
ren. Wigorn.
ad An. 655.
p. 500.
Hunting-
don. Histor.
l. 3.

Before the fight, king Oswi vowed his daughter to a religious life, if God should please to bless his arms with success: he likewise engaged to give twelve farms for the revenue of a monastery; all which he performed upon the victory; and his daughter Elfede was put into the nunnery called Heroteu, or Hartei, i. e. Hart's Island. The famous Hilda was the abbess of this religious society: from whence, after two years, she removed to Streneshalh, or Whitby, in Yorkshire. This battle was gained in the thirteenth year of king Oswi. The consequences of it were very considerable, for now there was a stop put to the incursions of the pagans. And more than that, the Mercians, after the death of their king Penda, who it seems was a great bigot for heathenism, were brought over to the Christian faith. Diuma, above-mentioned, was the first bishop of the Mercians and the Middle Angles: he died upon his diocese, and was succeeded by Cellach, who, after some time, left his bishopric, and retired into Scotland. Both these prelates were Scots. The third bishop of the Mercians was Trumhere; he was an Englishman by birth, but had his orders and education from the Scots: he had formerly been abbot of the monastery of Ingetling, which was built upon the place where king Oswin was murdered. Here queen Eanfleda persuaded king Oswi to build and endow a monastery, by way of satisfaction, for taking away the life of Oswin in so unjustifiable a manner: and here the grant of the place was made to Trumhere, upon the score of his being a near relation to king

Bede and
Huntingd.
ibid.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 24.

Oswin. The principal design of this monastery was, to pray for the soul both of the prince that was slain, and of him that took him off.

EARCON-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.

After Penda, king of the Mercians, was thus slain, Oswi possessed himself of his dominions, reigned over the other southern provinces, and forced a great part of the Piets under the English jurisdiction: and now he was so frank as to return his kinsman Peadar part of the kingdom of the Mercians. It was that part of it which lay south of the river Trent. This Peadar was barbarously murdered the Easter following; his queen, as some report, being deeply concerned in the plot.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 21. 24.
A. D. 657.
*Peadar, king
of the
Southern
Mercians,
assassinated.*
A. D. 658.

Three years after the death of king Penda, the Mercians revolted from king Oswi, and set up Wulfhere, Penda's son, a young prince, whom they had kept incognito for this purpose. And thus they recovered their liberty, whether fairly or not, is hard to determine: however, they kept firm to the profession of Christianity. Wulfhere held the kingdom of the Mercians seventeen years. There were four bishops of the Mercians who governed in the Church in his reign; Trumhere, Jaruman, Ceadda, or Chad, and Winfred.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 24.

Aidan, as has been already observed, was succeeded in his bishopric by Finan; who, being consecrated and sent into England by the Scots, went to his see in Holy Island, and built the cathedral there. Bede takes notice, it was not built of free-stone, but with timber, and covered with reed, after the Scottish manner.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 25.

And here, the historian repeating the death of Aidan, it may not be amiss to observe, that Baronius speaks favourably of this bishop, allows him to die a Catholic, and for his sake, as it seems, acquits the Scottish Church of the imputation of schism. However, it is plain, by their different way of keeping of Easter, and several other instances of dissent from the Roman Church: from this, I say, it is plain, they did not own the pope for an infallible judge of controversy, nor think themselves obliged by his precedent. Notwithstanding this, the eminent sanctity of Aidan's life, the blaze of his miracles, and the wonderful success of his preaching, made Baronius loth to part with him. But here the cardinal is somewhat embarrassed with his good nature. He seems to have perfectly forgotten how he had formerly loaded the Scottish Church with schism, and pronounced them nationally punished upon that

*Baronius
entangled in
his opinion
concerning
Aidan and
the Scottish
Church.*

Bede, *ibid.*

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.

Eadem
plane qua
Britanni,
pariter et
Scoti erant
schismatis
fuligine
tincti, ac
dissensionis
ab ecclesia
Romana rei,
&c. Baron.
A. D. 604.
sect. 73.
Bede, l. 2.
c. 19.
Bede, l. 3.
c. 25.
Usher, Reli-
gion of
Ancient
Irish, l. 4.
Bede, *ibid.*

Baron.
A. D. 634.
Sect. 12.

No pretence
for the Pres-
byterian
platform
from the is-
land of Hye.
Bede, l. 3.
c. 3.
Bede, l. 3.
c. 3. and c. 5.

The confer-
ence at
Whitby.
A. D. 664.

score. Now the Scots held on their old customs of keeping Easter, notwithstanding they had been pressed to conformity by pope Honorius. They likewise differed from the Roman Church in several other instances. Bede mentions the ecclesiastical tonsure, and gives a general hint of disagreement in other points. And here, archbishop Usher informs us, the Britons and Irish Scots had liturgies distinct from the Roman. Farther, Aidan, and the other bishops they sent to Holy Island, acted independently of the archbishops of Canterbury: they were neither consecrated by them, nor owned their primacy, nor took any of their directions.

From hence it follows, that a Church may live counter to the customs of Rome, slight the pope's admonitions, and take no notice of his patriarchal authority, and yet not be in a state of schism, according to Baronius's reasoning.

But the cardinal endeavours to disengage himself and the Scots by urging, that the errors of that Church related only to discipline, and not to matters of faith. But this will not do; for, had their mistake lain in points of doctrine, they must have been heretics. The notion of schism consists in revolting from their lawful ecclesiastical superiors. Now, which way the Scots could be cleared from this charge, if the pope was supreme pastor, is not to be imagined. The cardinal was hard pressed, otherwise he would never have attempted to disentangle them in this manner. In short, Baronius must of necessity either leave the Scots under the guilt of schism, or else retract his former censure; and, since his last opinion is the most favourable, and the most reasonable too, it is fit it should have the privilege of a will, and stand good against the other.

Before we take our last leave of Aidan, I must observe, that the bishop, sent to king Oswald before Aidan's mission, was consecrated at Hye. Aidan likewise received his own consecration there; where, as it appears by the historian, there were more bishops than one. This makes the island and monastery of Hye, or Iona, no precedent for Presbyterian government, and perfectly overthrows their model and pretensions from thence.

The progress of the history will now bring us to the famous synod at Streaneshalch, or Whitby. The synod or conference was held in the nunnery of the abbess Hilda. It was convened to decide the controversy about Easter, the ecclesiastical ton-

sure, and some other usages, in which the Scottish and Canterbury Churches did not agree. Bede informs us, that one Roman, a Scotchman by birth, but educated in France and Italy, was a great champion in the paschal controversy against the Scots. He used to dispute the point with Finan, and brought a great many off to the general practice; but Finan, as Bede represents him, being a man of some warmth and spirit, grew disgusted by the dispute, and more tenacious of his own opinion. Eanfleda, Oswi's queen, a Kentish princess, and who brought one Romanus a priest out of Kent with her, kept Easter according to the Catholic custom. Now, by the different usages of the Scottish and Kentish Church, it happened sometimes that there were two Easters kept at Oswi's court within the same year; and thus, when the king's Lent was over and he was celebrating the solemnity of Easter, the queen and her part of the court were in their fasting discipline, and came forward no farther than Palm-Sunday. During Aidan's time, this diversity of custom was borne without much disgust. The piety and great character of this prelate was such, that even Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, and Felix, bishop of the East Angles, as well as the rest of the Kentish communion, had a great respect for him.

EARCON-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
Bede. l. 3.
c. 25.

Upon the death of Finan, Colman, who had his consecration from the Scots, succeeded to his bishopric. And now, as Bede continues, the controversy about Easter and some other ecclesiastical usages revived, and was carried on with more concern than formerly. King Oswi was of the Scottish persuasion; but his son Alchfrid, who had Wilfrid for his preceptor, was on the other side. This Wilfrid had travelled into France and Italy, and was a person of learning. Prince Alchfrid preferred him to the government of a monastery; and Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, had lately given him priest's orders: and now, both parties being desirous to determine the question, the conference was opened at Whitby. It was held before king Oswi and the prince his son above mentioned. Bishop Colman and his clergy from Scotland made their appearance, and so did bishop Agilbert, Wilfrid, Agatho, Romanus, and James: these four priests and the bishop were of the Kentish side; the abbess Hilda and those in her interest were for the Scots; and bishop Cedd, who had his consecration from the Scots, was interpreter to both parties.

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.

Before they entered upon the debate, king Oswi made a short speech, putting them in mind, that those who served the same God ought to be governed by the same rule of practice, and not differ about the celebration of the holy sacraments : it was, therefore, their business to inquire which of the traditions was best grounded, and acquiesce in the strength of the evidence.

96.

Upon this, he ordered Colman to deliver himself, and defend the custom of his Church. Colman alleged, that he was governed by the practice of his predecessors, and of those that consecrated him in Scotland ; that all the holy fathers of his country had celebrated Easter in this manner, from the first entrance of Christianity. And if this was no sufficient prescription, it might be farther fortified by the precedent of St. John the Evangelist ; that blessed disciple who had such a particular share in our Saviour's affection. This holy apostle, as Colman alleged, and all the Churches under his jurisdiction, kept Easter according to the usage then observed in the Scottish Churches. When Colman had dilated upon this argument, the king spoke to Agilbert to set forth the rise of the Roman custom, and produce the authorities by which they were governed. Agilbert excused himself by alleging his unskilfulness in the English language, and therefore desired that Wilfrid, who was better qualified in that point, might be allowed to speak the sense of the party.

A. D. 664.

And now Wilfrid, having the king's permission, spoke to this effect : " He set forth, in the first place, that their way of keeping Easter was practised at Rome, where the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul preached, settled, and suffered martyrdom ; that, to his knowledge, this custom was generally observed in Italy and France ; that he was certainly informed the Churches of Afric, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and in short all the world over, kept close to the same circumstance of time, excepting the Scots, Picts, and Britons, and yet even all these were not chargeable with this foolish obstinacy." To this lively way of arguing Colman made a handsome reply, and told him, " He was surprised to find their practice reproached with folly, since they had the authority of so great an apostle for their defence, and whose conduct was never yet charged with the least failure or false step." Wilfrid, who, I suppose, might now be sensible he had spoken with too much freedom, answered the

bishop, "That the charging St. John with indiscretion was far from his intention; that this apostle's governing himself in this matter by the Mosaic institution was no more than necessary at that time; that the Church was obliged, at first, to comply with the Jews in a great many things; and that it was not prudential to throw off the legal ceremonies all at once." A religion of divine appointment, though the period of it was determined, was to be treated with respect, to prevent the Jews being prejudiced against Christianity. For this reason St. Paul circumcised Timothy, offered a sacrifice in the temple, and shaved his head, with Aquila and Priscilla, at Cenchræa. Thus St. James told St. Paul, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the law." And yet this compliance was to be no standing rule: for now, since the Gospel is thoroughly published, and time enough has passed for a full information, it is neither necessary nor lawful for the faithful to be circumcised, or worship God with bloody sacrifices. Thus, St. John, pursuant to the directions of the Mosaic law, begun the solemnity of the paschal feast upon the fourteenth day of the first month in the evening, without regarding whether it fell upon Saturday, or on any other part of the week; but St. Peter, considering that our Saviour rose from the dead and gave us an expectation of the resurrection upon the Sunday, concluded, that, though the Mosaic institution was so far to be followed as to regard the fourteenth day of the first month, yet he did it with this difference: that whereas St. John observed the day at the beginning or upon the evening of the precedent, so St. Peter always waited for the evening or latter end of the fourteenth. And, when this time came, if the Lord's day happened the next morning, it was then his custom to begin the Easter festival in the evening before; which, as Wilfrid urged, was then the practice of the Catholic Church. But, in case the Lord's day or Sunday did not immediately follow the fourteenth day after the vernal equinox, but stood distant to the sixteenth, seventeenth, or any other day forward, then the solemnity of Easter was deferred till the one-and-twentieth, and part of the festival begun on the Saturday at night. And thus the stated time for Easter Sunday was fixed from the fifteenth day to the one-and-twentieth inclusive. This apostolical rule, as Wilfrid would have it, was rather a conformity to the Mosaic law than other-

EARCON-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.

Acts xxi.20.

Bede, l. 5.
cap. 22.
*The vernal
equinox
was reckoned
on the 12th of
the calends of
April, that
is, on the 21st
of March.*

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.

wise : for, in Exodus, we find the passover was to begin on the fourteenth day of the first month at even, and to continue till the evening of the one-and-twentieth. By this circumstance of time, all St. John's successors in Asia, and indeed the whole Catholic Church, were determined : and, that this was the true keeping of Easter, may be farther confirmed by the authority of the council of Nice.

Socrat. l. 5.
c. 21.

But, by the way, Socrates, whose testimony seems preferable to Wilfrid's, is of another opinion. He tells us, the design of the apostles was not to determine the circumstances of holy days, but to set posterity an example of regularity and good life. This historian is of opinion, that, as many other usages began upon custom posterior to the apostles, so he believes this paschal solemnity, at least as to the circumstances of time, commenced from some such private authority. From hence he proceeds to give an account of the "Quarto-Decimans," in the Lesser Asia above mentioned. However, this difference in the keeping of Easter occasioned no rupture in the Catholic Church : for, notwithstanding this diversity of custom in the

97.

Euseb. Ec-
cles. Hist.
l. 5. c. 23.

Eastern and Western Churches, St. Polycarp, and Anicetus, bishop of Rome, kept a friendly correspondence, and received the communion together. This good understanding held on till Victor, bishop of Rome, insisted upon the practice of the Western Church with too much heat. He carried things to an unprecedented extremity ; for which he was sharply reprimanded, not only by the Asian bishops, but also by the famous Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in Gaul. As to the council of Nice, they aimed at an uniformity of practice : and, since the Quarto-Decimans were the smaller part, and seemed to stand too near the Jewish observation, the council, as appears by Constantine's

Euseb. Vit.
Constant.
l. 3. c. 17, 18.

letter, determined for the Western practice, and fixed the solemnity upon the Sunday ; but whether from the fourteenth of the first month to the twentieth, or from the fifteenth to the one-and-twentieth, inclusive, is not so certain. Socrates concludes by observing, that the Eastern Quarto-Decimans appealed to the practice of St. John ; and the Western Church, to that of St. Peter and St. Paul, for their justification.

Socrat. *ibid.*

"They pretend," says he, "they go upon apostolical tradition, but neither side has any written record to support the allegation." From whence this historian infers, that the usage was not originally determined by canon, but grew up from custom.

To return to Wilfrid, who, from what he had already alleged, infers against Colman and his party, that they were wide both of St. John's and St. Peter's practice; and neither conformable to law nor gospel. For St. John, complying with the Mosaic dispensation, never stayed for the Sunday; whereas, it was the Scottish custom always to keep their Easter on the Lord's day. And then, as to St. Peter, he kept the solemnity from the fifteenth to the one-and-twentieth; whereas, Colman and the Scottish Churches, as Wilfrid continues, made their computation from the fourteenth day to the twentieth: so that oftentimes they began the festival upon the thirteenth day in the evening, of which neither the Jewish nor the Christian institution make the least mention. But Baronius is not of Wilfrid's opinion in this point. He argues against the Scottish usage from this inconvenience: that in case the Sunday fell upon the fourteenth day of the month, they must celebrate the festival upon the same day with the Jews.

BARCON-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of North-
umberland.

Baron.
A. D. 664.
Sect. 5.

But to proceed to the conference. Colman endeavoured to justify the practices of his Church by the authorities of St. Anatolius, of St. Columba and his successors. He urged that these men were remarkable for their sanctity, and many of them worked miracles. This eminent piety, these credentials from heaven, he looked upon as sufficient evidence to defend their practice. To this Wilfrid returned, that it was true that Anatolius was a person of great sanctity and learning, but that Colman could not claim under his precedent; for Anatolius formed his paschal computation upon the cycle of nineteen years, which the Scots either knew nothing of, or despised. Anatolius began his reckoning for the paschal Sunday upon the fourteenth day after sunset; and then, according to the Egyptian account, he took it for the fifteenth day. And thus, when the Sunday did not fall till the twentieth, he stayed till the evening, and then the one-and-twentieth commenced. But that Colman and his party, knowing nothing of this distinction, precipitated their Easter to a singularity, and began the festival upon the thirteenth, before the moon was at the full.

But here we may observe, that the bishop of St. Asaph endeavours to prove, from Bucherius and primate Usher, that the Roman Church had changed their cycle; for the time of finding out Easter had been formerly settled by a cycle of

Historical
Account of
Church
Government
&c. chap. 2.
p. 67.

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.
Bucher de
Canon.
Paschal.
p. 133, 190.
Usher, Reli-
gion of the
ancient
Irish,
c. 9, p. 70.

eighty-four years, which, in pope Leo's time, was called the Roman account. The Scots and the Southern Picts used the same cycle from the time of their conversion, and so did the Britons too, without any alteration. Afterwards the Roman Church quitted this cycle for the new one of nineteen years, which, notwithstanding it was better adjusted, was new and unpractised in these north-western parts; and this is that computation which Augustine the monk formerly, and Wilfrid at the present contest, insisted so much upon. From hence it will follow that Wilfrid's argument proceeded upon two mistakes in matter of fact; first, by pretending to receive the paschal computation from St. Peter, since their cycle of nineteen years was drawn up but an age or two before at Alexandria. Neither, secondly, was it received in all the western Churches, excepting Britain and Ireland, as Wilfrid suggests; for, as Bucherius observes, it had not then prevailed in some of the French Churches.

Buch. *ibid.*

To take leave of the conference. As to St. Columba and his successors, Wilfrid does not deny any part of the advantage of their character. He believes they meant well, and lived in the favour of heaven; but then, he adds, it was nothing but misinformation which kept them in this error, which they would willingly have laid down, had they understood the controversy more exactly. But then he tells Colman and his party, that if they continued in their singularity, refused the regulations of the apostolic see, and, which was more, if they went counter to the practice of the universal Church, they could have none of St. Columba's excuse. Here, we see, Wilfrid insists strongly upon the decisions of the Roman see, as if that authority ought to go a great way in overruling the dispute. But pope Honorius, in his letter to Tomianus, Columbanus, and the other Scottish bishops, delivers himself in a more modest, unpretending strain. He only complains of them for computing differently from the rest of Christendom, and not acquiescing in the determination of all the bishops in the world; and afterwards exhorts them not to prefer their inconsiderable numbers to so vast a majority. But then, as to the privileges of his own see, and that they owed an implicit resignation to the orders passed there, he mentions nothing of that.

98.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 19.

Wilfrid concludes his speech by putting this question to

Colman: "Granting your Columba," says he, "was so remarkable for life and miracles, will you prefer him to the prince of apostles, St. Peter? To St. Peter, I say, who had the honour of this sentence from our Saviour: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,'" &c.

EARCON-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of North-
umberland.
Matth. xvi.
18, 19.

And now it being granted, that Wilfrid followed St. Peter's custom; that St. Columba's authority was not to be put in balance with this apostle's; and that Colman had no pretence to vouch St. John for a counterpoise; the king and the audience declared themselves on Wilfrid's side, and quitted the Scottish usage.

The king seems to have been swayed in this controversy by the distinction of St. Peter's apostolate; and by his answer it looks as if he understood the text gave St. Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven, either exclusively of the rest of the apostles, or at least to some degree of advantage, and that this apostle was the rock upon which the Church was principally founded. But that this was not the doctrine of the Saxon Church, appears by their Homilies, or Sermones Catholici, where the text, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," is thus expounded from St. Augustine: "That Peter is put figuratively to signify the Church; that our Saviour was the rock, and that St. Peter was an emblem of the Christian society." The Homily goes on, and adds, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, i. e., upon that faith and confession thou hast now declared, I will build my Church." And in another place they tell us, "The keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to the rest of the apostles, as well as to St. Peter," and quote the text of St. John for their assertion.

Serm.
Cathol. de
S. Petro,
p. 405.
Note Whe-
loc. in c. 25.
l. 5. Bede.

The other part of the controversy argued at this conference was the ecclesiastical tonsure. That which Wilfrid contended for was called St. Peter's tonsure; it was made in the place where our Saviour wore the crown of thorns, and with a design to be an emblem of that figure. The Scottish tonsure was somewhat different from this; but Bede does not inform us on the particulars.

St. John, xx.
21, 22, 23.
Serm.
Cathol. Cal.
Jul. iv.
p. 160.
Note Whe-
loc. ibid.

When the conference was ended, Colman finding his opinion overruled, and his party grow into disesteem, threw up his diocese, and retired with his adherents into Scotland, to consult

Bede, l. 3.
c. 26.
Colman re-
tires into
Scotland.

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.

*Tuda suc-
ceeds him in
his bishopric.*

Bede, l. 3.
c. 26.

Bede, *ibid.*

Bede, l. 3.
c. 26.

*Wilfrid goes
to France for
consecration.*

Eddius Ste-
phan. Vit.
Wilfrid,
c. 12.
Apd. XV.
Scriptor.

about farther measures. Cedde likewise returned to his see, and was brought over to the Catholic way of keeping Easter.

Upon Colman's returning into Scotland, one Tuda, a man of learning and character, was made bishop of Holy Island in his stead. This Tuda, though he received his consecration from the Scots, had now deserted their custom of keeping Easter. When Colman went off, he took some of Aidan's relics along with him; and notwithstanding his nonconformity in the point of Easter, and his refusing to be concluded by the majority, Bede gives him the commendation of an admirable person; that he lived a very mortified and heavenly life; and was perfectly disengaged from secular interest.

Tuda living but a very little while, Alchfrid, king Oswi's son, sent Wilfrid, then only in priest's orders, to the king of France, to recommend him to the French prelates for consecration. And here it may seem a little strange, that Wilfrid should take a journey into France, and not apply to Deusdedit of Canterbury for his episcopal character. Did he not know the metropolitical jurisdiction of that see, and the privileges granted to it by pope Gregory the Great? But it seems the regulations of the see of Rome were not, at that time of day, received with such an absolute submission, even by those of their own communion. It is true, he seems not altogether regardless of the pope in this affair, as appears in his address to the two kings, Oswi and Alchfrid. He represents to them, that since they were pleased to desire his promotion to a bishopric, he thought himself obliged to procure that honour by the most unexceptionable method. He was sensible there were a great many bishops in Britain, against whose authority he would object nothing; though he very well knew they were either British or Scottish Quarto-Decimans, or else ordained by such; and that these bishops, and those of their correspondence, lay under the imputation of schism, and were not admitted to communion by the apostolic see.

But certainly Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, could be no Quarto-Deciman, as Wilfrid calls them. Why, therefore, did he not consult this prelate before his going into France? Especially since there were the bishops of Dunwich and Winchester, of the Canterbury persuasion. Had these prelates, with the metropolitan, joined in the consecration, what exception could have been made against it? From this discourse of

Wilfrid in Eddius, it appears plainly, that the British and Scotch bishops, and those ordained by them, were out of the pope's communion. But, notwithstanding this discountenance at Rome, we find Birinus, who was ordained in Italy, and began the conversion of the West Saxons, joined with those of the Northumbrian communion: for when king Kingil was baptized by Birinus, king Oswald was his godfather; which could not have been, if Birinus had declined his communion. Thus Bede tells us, that Aidan's singularities about Easter, &c. were rightly understood, and borne with by those of the Kentish persuasion; and that Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix, bishop of the East Angles, had a great regard for him. From whence, it is plain, they looked upon him and the Northumbrian Christians as part of the Catholic Church. To give another instance, when Chad was sent to Wine, bishop of Winchester, to be ordained bishop, this Wine, though ordained in France, took two British quarto-deciman bishops, as they sometimes called them, to assist at the consecration. Thus, we see, even those of the Canterbury persuasion, though many of them descended from the mission of Augustine the monk, took the freedom to communicate with those prelates in Britain that lay under the censure of schism at Rome.

One reason why these two British bishops were taken in at Chad's consecration was, because Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, was lately dead, and the see not filled up with another. But then Dunwich was under no vacancy. But the British bishops, being the bigger number, and it is likely more at hand, Wine did not think it necessary to send farther for those of the Roman mission. It is true, Bede tells us, that at this time there was never a bishop in all Britain, excepting Wine, who was canonically ordained: the reason of this exception will be considered by and by.

Chad, being now consecrated bishop of York, was an eminent instance of apostolic piety, and was almost always travelling, and in motion for the benefit of his diocese. He was one of Aidan's disciples, and proposed his pattern for imitation.

And now Wilfrid, having received his consecration from Agilbert, bishop of Paris, returned into Britain, and brought several usages of the French model along with him. And thus

EARCON-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of the
Northumbrians.
WULF-
HERE,
K. of the
Mercians.

99.

*The Saxons
communicate
with the
British and
Scottish
bishops.*
Bede, l. 3.
c. 7.
Bede, l. 3.
c. 25.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 7.

Bede, l. 3.
cap. 20,
compared
with l. 4.
cap. 1, 2.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 28.

DEUS-
DEDIT,
Abp. Cant.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 28.
*A part of
the East
Saxons re-
volt from
Christianity,
and are re-
covered.*

Bede, *ibid.*

the Scottish Christians, who resided in England, either surrendered their old customs, or retired to their country.

About this time, Sighere and Sebbi succeeded Swithelm in the kingdom of the East Saxons, though both of them homagers to Wulfhere, king of the Mercians. Now there happening to be a great mortality in the country, the East Saxons grew impatient under the calamity, insomuch that Sighere relapsed into paganism: and since Christianity did not relieve them, they resolved to apply to their old religion. By Bede's description of this prince and his court, their practice was irregular, and their belief but slender at the best. But Sebbi and his subjects continued firm to their creed, and lived suitably to their baptismal engagements.

When king Wulfhere received intelligence that part of the East Saxons had deserted Christianity, he sent bishop Jaruman to recover them; who was so successful, that he prevailed with the king and country to demolish their temples, disengage from paganism, and return to their Christian profession. When Jaruman had thus happily recovered the East Saxons, he and his company returned home with satisfaction. This account Bede received from a priest that attended Jaruman, and had a share in the undertaking.

Bede, *ibid.*

This year, which was remarkable for a great mortality, Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, died in July: Earconbert, king of Kent, died likewise at the same time, and was succeeded by his son Ecgbert, who reigned seventeen years. After the death of Deusdedit, the see of Canterbury was vacant about four years. During the vacancy, the two kings of Kent and Northumberland, Ecgbert and Oswi, had a consultation about filling up the see, and making a farther provision for the English Church. As for Oswi, Bede observes, that notwithstanding his Scottish education, he was fully satisfied that the Church of Rome was a catholic and apostolic Church. The historian means, that since the late conference at Whitby, king Oswi had got over the prejudices of his education; that the Scottish bishops, who were his first instructors, did by no means look upon the see of Rome as the rule of faith and the standard of practice; otherwise they would not have held on in their customs against the pope's admonitions, nor have refused being concluded by the late conference. But now Wil-

A. D. 664.
Bede,
Epitome.
Chronolog.
Saxon.

Bede, l. 2.
c. 19.

frid's flourish about the apostolic see, and St. Peter's prerogative, had made an impression upon the king, and altered his belief in these matters. And now Oswi, being gained to the Kentish persuasion, Ecgbert and himself furnished one Wighard, a Kentish priest, and recommended him to pope Vitalian for consecration. He was to return with an archiepiscopal character, and to have power of ordaining bishops in all the English dioceses.

ECGBERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of North-
umberland.
WULF-
HERE,
K. of
Mercia.

Bede, l. 3.
c. 29.

And here we may observe, that Gregory the Great's regulation, in his letter to Augustine, had slept, and been disregarded a great while: for this pope gives Augustine the primacy of all Britain, as a personal privilege: he likewise designed London for the metropolitical see for the southern part of the island; and that after the death of Augustine, the archbishops of London and York should be independent of each other, and have precedency according to the priority of their consecration. The archbishop of York was likewise to have twelve suffragans under him when the country was converted. But this scheme of pope Gregory's never took effect, but was laid aside almost in every particular. For as to the northern parts, the see of York was removed, not long after, to Holy Island: and when the jurisdiction was brought back, and the metropolitical power revived, those archbishops fell always very much short of the superintendency of twelve dioceses besides their own. And then, as to the southern part of the island, London was never advanced to the archiepiscopal dignity; that privilege was annexed to the see of Canterbury, where it has all along continued; I say all along, for the short encroachment of the see of Lichfield is not worth mentioning.

Gregory the Great's regulations set aside in the provinces of York and Canterbury.

Bede, l. 1.
c. 29.
Ibid.

100.

To return to Wighard, who, though sent to Rome by Ecgbert and Oswi, yet these two princes did not drive the regale so far upon the Church as to exclude her from a share in this affair: for Bede tells us, that Wighard was pitched upon for this voyage and character, by the choice and consent of the English Church. Wighard, being thus recommended, arrived at Rome, and acquainted the pope with his business, but did not live to receive the honour intended him: for soon after, himself, and most of his retinue, were taken off by the plague.

The pope Vitalian, upon this accident, thought it proper to

THEO-
DORUS,
Abp. Cant.

Pope Vitalian consecrates Theodorus to the see of Canterbury.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 1.
A. D. 668.

provide an archbishop for the English Church. And after having offered the promotion to two monks, Adrian and Andrew, who excused themselves upon the score of their insufficiency or ill health; at last, one Theodorus, a religious, and born at Tarsus in Cilicia, was recommended to the pope: he was a person well qualified in respect of age, morals, and learning. Adrian above-mentioned, presenting this person to the pope, he was accepted by his holiness, upon condition that the other, who had been a traveller, would attend him in his voyage. Things being thus adjusted, he was consecrated archbishop by Vitalian in April, A. D. 668.

A. D. 669.

Theodorus makes a general visitation, and introduces the Roman customs.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 2.

About twenty miles from Oxford.

Bede, *ibid.*

Theodorus and Adrian took their journey through France; and here, visiting several bishops in their way, and being stopped for some time by Ebbo, mayor of the palace, they did not arrive in Britain till June, A. D. 669.

Theodorus, soon after his coming to Canterbury, made a visitation through all the English part of the island, settled the Catholic way of keeping Easter, and brought the people to a thorough conformity, as is most likely, with the customs of Rome: and which is remarkable, this Theodorus was the first archbishop that was universally submitted to by the English Church: for before this time, as has been already observed, the bishops of the kingdom of Northumberland governed without any dependence on the see of Canterbury. This prelate, being a great master in most parts of learning, both sacred and secular, drew an audience together; the place of their meeting is supposed to be Grekislake, or Crecgelade, from whence the university of Oxford might possibly be afterwards supplied. But let the place be where it will; let the seminary be fixed or ambulatory, it is certain Theodorus and Adrian took upon them the functions of professors. And besides their instructions in divinity, they used to read arithmetic, astronomy, and music to their audience. Bede informs us, there were some of their disciples living in his time, who had made so great a proficiency under these masters, that they could deliver themselves in Greek and Latin with as much ease and propriety as in their own language. The historian continues, that Britain was never more happy since the arrival of the Saxons, than at this time: that the Christian kings here were much superior in strength, and overawed the pagans; that the people were generally regular, and hearty in their zeal for

Christianity. He tells us, Eddi, surnamed Stephen, upon his receiving an invitation from Wilfrid, came from Kent into the north, and taught the Northumbrians church music. This Wilfrid, as Bede remarks, was the first prelate of English extraction that introduced the Catholic usages. By the Catholic usages, Bede means the ecclesiastical customs practised in Italy, France, &c. From whence it follows, that before this time the English bishops, especially those in the north, did not believe themselves obliged to follow the Roman customs. Theodorus, in his progress through the country, ordained bishops, and brought the form of the Church to the Roman standard.

ECGBERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of North-
umberland.
WULF-
HERE,
K. of Mercia.
Catholicam
vivendi Mo-
rem. Bede,
ibid.

When this archbishop objected against the canonicalness of Chad's consecration, the holy prelate made this modest reply, "that if he questioned the manner of his promotion, he was willing to lay down his authority; for that he always thought himself unworthy of the episcopal character, and took it upon him only in obedience to his superiors."

Bede, *ibid.*

One reason of Theodorus's dissatisfaction about Chad's episcopal authority, may be learned from Eddius, who informs us, that when Theodorus visited in the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and brought the pope's injunctions along with him; he understood that Chad had made a breach upon the canons, by accepting the see of York after Wilfrid had been elected to it; for which reason he, in conjunction with other bishops, decreed his deprivation. To which Chad submitted with all imaginable resignation.

*St. Chad
deprived of
his see at
York, was
afterwards
bishop of
Lichfield.*
Eddius. Vit.
S. Wilfrid.
c. 15.

Secondly, Theodorus might probably question the canonicalness of Chad's consecration, because he received it from the Scottish bishops, who kept Easter after their old manner, and paid no submission to the Roman see. That Theodorus's scruples went upon this ground, appears by his capitula, where those who are ordained by the Scottish or British bishops, who dissent from the Catholic Church in the tonsure, and keeping of Easter, were to have their character confirmed by receiving imposition of hands from a Catholic bishop. This usage was practised upon the Cathari, or Novatians, upon their return to the Church. Now, by Theodorus's order in his capitula, it is plain he applied the canon of the council of Nice against the Scottish and British bishops, and by consequence took them for schismatics, and for that reason made 101.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 6.
p. 1877.

Concil.
Nican.
can. 8.

THEO-
DORUS,
Abp. Cant.

an exception to the character of St. Chad. But, notwithstanding Théodorus's opinion, it is not long since the see of Rome owned the authority of these Scottish bishops' predecessors; and saluted them in the style of their order. This was no longer ago than the time of pope John IV., as may be seen in his letter transcribed by Bede.

Bede, lib. 2.
cap. 19.

St. Chad submitting with so much temper, Théodorus dissuaded him from laying down his episcopal function: and, to take off all pretences of any defect, brought him to pass through the Catholic forms, as Bede calls them; that is, to receive imposition of hands: and, upon the death of Jaruman, bishop of Lichfield, he was, by the interest of Théodorus, recommended to that see.

Eddius, Vit.
Wilfrid.
c. 15. Bede,
l. 4. c. 3.

About this time Théodorus consecrated Putta, bishop of Rochester; the see having been vacant a considerable time after the death of Damianus.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 2.
*St. Chad's
piety and
death.*
Bede, l. 4.
c. 3.

As for St. Chad, he lived after a most exemplary, seraphic manner; and, as Bede reports, had the honour of a visit from heaven, the angels acquainting him with the time of his death. Among other instances of his piety, Bede relates this: that if it happened to blow a storm, or the weather proved tempestuous in thunder and lightning, that he used to go to Church, and spend the time in prayer and singing of psalms, till the disturbance of the weather was over: and being demanded the reason of this custom, he asked if they had not read, "that the Lord thundered out of heaven, and the Highest gave his thunder, hailstones, and coals of fire. He sent forth his arrows, and scattered them; cast forth his lightnings, and destroyed them?" "God," says he, "puts the air into a rapid motion, raises the winds, darts his lightning, speaks in thunder, and draws up the terrors of the sky, that he may awaken mankind to a due regard of his majesty, refresh the expectation of a future judgment, and mortify their pride; that so, by these warnings, they may recollect the dreadful appearance of the last judgment, when heaven and earth shall be flaming and flying in pieces, when God shall appear in the clouds to judge the quick and the dead, and exert his Deity with astonishing magnificence and terror. Upon these considerations," says this holy bishop, "when God speaks to us in the creation in an unusual and awakening manner, we ought to behave ourselves with proportionable submission and regard. Thus," says he,

Ps. xviii.

“when there is an alarm in the air, and a judgment seems ready to be discharged against us, we ought to implore the mercy of God, that we may not feel the stroke with which we are threatened.”

St. Chad lies buried at Lichfield. Theodorus consecrated Winfrid, one of St. Chad's deacons, for his successor. By the way, the diocese of Lichfield was very large at this time, comprehending the country of the Mercians, Middle Angles, and that afterwards called the county of Lincoln: for thus far king Wulfhere's dominions extended.

ECG-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
OSWI,
K. of North-
umberland.
WULF-
HERE,
K. of Mercia.

Bede, *ibid.*

Colman's laying down his bishopric and retiring into Scotland has been already observed: to which we may add, that all the Scots and about thirty English monks went off with him. Malmesbury takes notice, that neither Colman nor his predecessors Aidan and Finan, notwithstanding they governed the diocese of York, which had been advanced to a metropolitical privilege, would ever make use of the pall. Indeed, if they would have worn this distinction, they must have given it themselves, there being no correspondence kept on foot between these prelates and the pope. For this reason, Malmesbury tells us, that when Wilfrid was elected to the see of York with general approbation, he refused the honour, for fear of being obliged to receive his ordination from the Scottish prelates, or those ordained by them, all which were out of the pope's communion. And this was the reason of his travelling, for his consecration, into France.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Pon-
tificum de
Archiepiscop.
Eborac.
l. 3.

Malmesb.
ibid.

In the year of our Lord 670, Oswi, king of the Northumbrians, fell sick and died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. In this last sickness he was gained to such a veneration for the Roman customs, that he resolved, in case of recovery, to go to Rome and spend the remainder of his life there; but the execution of this purpose was prevented by his death, which happened about the middle of February.

A. D. 670.
*The death of
king Oswi.*

In the third year of his son and successor Ecgfrid, Theodorus convened a synod of bishops, with several priests of character and learning. They met at a place called Herudford, now, most probably, Hertford. The bishops present were, besides the archbishop, Bisi, bishop of the East Angles; Putta, of Rochester; Lutherius, of the West Saxons; and Winfrid, of the Mercians. Wilfrid of York was not there, but sent his proxies. The bishops being seated, Theodorus opened the

Bede. l. 4.
c. 5.
A. D. 673.
*A synod held
at Hertford
under Theo-
dorus.*
Magistris
Ecclesiæ
pluribus.
Florent.
Wighorn.
and Matth.
West. ad
A. D. 673.

THEO-
DORUS,
Abp. Cant.

102.

council with a short speech, pressing them to act unanimously, and enter upon proper measures for the security of the faith and discipline of the Church; that those points which have been decreed by the holy Fathers might be handed down to posterity without the least variation, and adhered to with a just deference and regard; that they should lay out their endeavours to promote charity and good correspondence, and prevent all occasions of division. Having delivered himself to this purpose, he put the question to each of the bishops distinctly, Whether they were willing to stand by the ancient canons? to which they all answered, "Content." Then the archbishop produced a book of canons, whether transcribed from the councils, or drawn up by himself, is not certain. He pitched upon ten articles out of this book, and asked their consent to each of them.

1. Article, or Canon. That the festival of Easter might be uniformly kept, and the time fixed upon the first Sunday after the full moon, in the first month.

2. That every bishop should be contented with the government of his own people, and not invade a foreign diocese.

3. That the monasteries should not be disturbed in their temporal concerns, nor have their property wrested from them by any of the bishops.

4. That the monks should not have the liberty to remove, and ramble from one monastery to another, without leave from their abbot, but keep strictly to the terms of their engagement.

5. That it should not be lawful for any of the clergy to desert their bishop; and that, if any of that order came into another diocese, they should not be received without a recommendation under their own bishop's hand: and, in case any such person shall be received and refuses to return home upon invitation, both the entertainer and the person entertained shall be excommunicated.

6. That bishops and other clergy that are strangers ought to be contented with a hospitable reception in their travels, and that none of them execute any part of their function without permission of the bishop of the diocese.

7. That a synod shall be convened twice a-year: but this form of the canon was, upon farther consultation, altered to

once a-year: the first of August was to be the time, and Clofesho the place.

8. That no bishop should set his pretensions above the rest of his order, but be governed, in this respect, by the priority of consecration.

9. That new sees should be erected upon a farther conversion of the country. This canon was proposed, but not passed.

10. That nobody should be allowed any farther than lawful marriage; that no married person should disengage himself, unless upon the score of adultery; and that if any one should part with his lawful wife, he ought to marry nobody else, but either be reconciled or remained single.

ECG-
BERT,
K. of Kent.
ECG-
FRID,
K. of North-
umberland.
WULF-
HERE,
K. of Mercia.

These canons or articles, being agreed to, were engrossed by a public notary, and signed; the archbishop pronouncing degradation and excommunication upon those that should make any infraction upon them.

Baronius will have this synod convened by the pope's authority, and that the archbishop of Canterbury acted upon a legate character. But Theodorus, in Bede, gives the cardinal no ground for this assertion: for there, Theodorus only tells the bishops that he was consecrated by the pope to the see of Canterbury. Now, the bare consecration of a bishop by the pope was never understood as sufficient to make him his legate. Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester are altogether silent about the pope, and only mention that the synod was convened by Theodorus of Canterbury.

Baron.
A. D. 672.

As to the persons who had the legislative power in this synod, it seems they were none but the bishops, and that the priests or second order were excluded; that the authority of decreeing was lodged only in the bishop seems very probable by Theodorus's list of the council, in which he mentions none but the prelates; and when the canons were passing he applies himself to none but those whom he styles consacerdotes nostri, which expression, when used by a bishop, always implies one of the same order; besides, Malmesbury mentions none but the bishops in the subscription. That the sanction of provincial councils rested in the bishops seems farther probable by the fourth council of Toledo, where, amongst other circumstances relating to the form and proceedings of provincial councils, it is decreed, "That the acts of the council shall be subscribed

Malmesb.
Flores His-
toriar. An.
Grat. 673.
Florent.
Wighorn.
A. D. 673.

THEODO- by all the bishops ; but as for the priests, deacons, or laity, if
 RUS, they had any business to propose to the council, they were
 Abp. Cant. obliged to do it by the archdeacon of the province." This
 Concil. council of Toledo being held near the beginning of this century,
 Toler. Can. 4. A. D. 633, and going, as we may believe, upon ancient practice, it is
 in tom. 5. probable Theodorus and his synod might be governed by it ;
 Concil. but I mention these only as hints for farther consideration,
 Labbe, p. 1705, and determine nothing.
 A. D. 673.
The death of

king Ecgbert.
 Bede, l. 4. This year, in July, Ecgbert departed this life, and was suc-
 c. 5. ceeded by his brother Lothaire, who held the kingdom of Kent
 eleven years and a half. After relating the death of this
 prince, Bede informs us, "That Bisi, bishop of the East
 Angles, a person of a very exemplary piety, falling into ill
 health, and disabled from managing his diocese, Theodorus
 consecrated Eccie and Badwin in his stead ; and from that time
 forward that kingdom had always two bishops."

Bede, l. 4.
 c. 5.
Winfrid
deposed by
Theodorus.
 Peter- Not long after Winfrid, bishop of the Mercians, being not
 borough. so compliant with his metropolitan as was expected, Theodo-
 rus, who seems to have had his share of the spirit of govern-
 ment, made no difficulty to depose him, and consecrated
 Sexwulf, who built and governed the monastery of Medesham-
 sted in his stead. Winfrid acquiesced in the sentence, and,
 returning to his old monastery, spent the rest of his time in
 the exercises of devotion. Bede, notwithstanding his deposi-
 tion, gives him the character of an admirable man.

Bede, l. 4.
 c. 6. If it be inquired whether Theodore deposed Winfrid by
 his single archiepiscopal authority, or in conjunction with the
 suffragans of the province ? The first seems most probable,

103. for Bede, who mentions Theodore's convening the bishops at
 Herudford and Hethfeld, takes no notice of any other pre-
 lates joining with him in this sentence. To this we may add,
 that Theodore exercised his metropolitanical jurisdiction with a
 great deal of vigour, and settled and displaced bishops at plea-
 sure. Now in case Theodore tried the cause, and pronounced
 sentence in virtue of his archiepiscopal character, the question
 will be, whether he acted arbitrarily or not ? But this being
 too long a business to examine, I shall only observe that
 by the apostles' canons he seems to have overstrained his
 metropolitanical jurisdiction ; for there, as the provincial bishops
 are to undertake nothing of moment without the consent
 of their metropolitan, so neither is he to act in such cases,

Malmesbury
 de Gest.
 Pontif.
 Anglor. in
 Archiepisc.
 Dorobern.

without the concurrence of his suffragans. It is true the canon speaks in general words without pointing upon any particular case.

To pass from this question to another, and that is, from whence Theodore derived his metropolitan jurisdiction? That is, whether it was conferred on him and his see by the Church or the State? That this privilege was no grant of the civil magistrate will appear from the following considerations:

First, because it is evident by the records of the Church that the metropolitan distinction was prior to Constantine the first Christian emperor. It may be we do not meet just with the name and title, but that the thing and power was settled in the government of the Church is plain from the apostle's canons just mentioned, where the bishops of each district are obliged to take notice of the chief prelate in the province, and do nothing of moment without his approbation. These canons, though not strictly of apostolical authority, yet the learned Dr. Beveridge proves the collection published either in the latter end of the second or the beginning of the third century, which was long before the conversion of any pagan sovereign. Farther, the first Nicene council calls the metropolitan rights τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη, ancient customs, and decrees their confirmation. The canon runs thus:—"Let the ancient usages be kept both in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis; by virtue of which the bishop of Alexandria has a right of primacy and jurisdiction in all these places, for the bishop of Rome has likewise a customary privilege of a resembling nature. Let the same regard be continued for the Church of Antioch and in all other provinces; let the Churches remain undisturbed in their ancient privileges."

LO-
THERE,
K. of Kent.
ECGFRID,
K. of North-
umberland.
WULF-
HERE,
K. of Mercia.
Canon.
Apost. 34.
*The metro-
political
jurisdiction,
whence
derived.*

Canon 34.

Concil. Nic.
can. 6.

From this form of the canon it is plain the privileges of the Churches above-mentioned were of a long standing, and had immemorial custom to plead for them, from whence nothing can be more evident than that the sees of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, &c., had a peculiar and paramount jurisdiction a great while before the first general council; and yet Constantine, the first Christian prince, had not been converted above twelve years before the meeting of this council. Now we cannot suppose that the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, or Antioch, received these privileges from heathen emperors, or that the Christians ever applied to any unconverted sovereign

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.

Codex Can-
onum
Eccles.
Primit. Vin-
dicat. c. 5.
l. 2.
Euseb. Hist.
Eccles. l. 5.
c. 23.
Beveridg.
ibid.

Concil.
Chalced.
can. 23.
Edit. Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 4.
p. 770.

to direct the model of the ecclesiastical administration. But, not to enlarge too far upon this subject, the learned Dr. Beveridge proves the apostles formed the Church with regard to the scheme of the Roman empire, and settled a preference and advantage of jurisdiction upon the chief cities of provinces. Thus the sees of Cæsarea, Ephesus, Lyons, Carthage, &c., had a particular pre-eminence, and were the heads of their respective provinces when Victor was bishop of Rome, and when St. Cyprian sat at Carthage; the latter of which periods was almost an age before the council of Nice. Thus the council of Chalcedon tells us that the privileges of the see of Rome were settled there upon the score of its being the imperial city. It seems it was not by virtue of any divine right of any succession from St. Peter; no, to give the words of the council, it was *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην*, that the Fathers allowed of this distinction; but then it was the Fathers; it was no concession of the state (for that was hostile and heathen), but ecclesiastical settlement and constitution. Now the metropolitical right standing plainly upon an ecclesiastical bottom, exercised when the empire was heathen, and the Christian religion prohibited by the civil magistrates; the case standing thus, it is plain it could be no grant from the crown, for the Church is no less *sui juris* under a Christian prince; it is only baptism which makes a prince as well as a subject a Christian. When a prince is admitted into the Church by this sacrament, he passes under the common form, and is tied to the same obligations with other Christians, *i. e.* he is obliged to practise the duties, and be governed by the rules of the society into which he is admitted. His baptism, as it does not diminish, so neither does it extend his power; he is neither baptized bishop nor priest, and therefore it is hard to conceive how any ecclesiastical authority should be lodged in him merely by virtue of his being a Christian. As the Church was originally made independent of the State by our Saviour's charter, and exercised all the functions of government not only without, but in opposition to, the authority of the civil sovereign for the first three hundred years, so there is no imaginable reason to suppose that the conversion of princes, which was much more for their own benefit than hers, should destroy the spiritual authority, and dissolve the Church into the State. This supposition

would make the very being of Christianity precarious, and the prince might extinguish it at pleasure.

From this reasoning it follows, that the metropolitical jurisdiction at Canterbury did not stand upon royal favour, or the grant of the civil magistrate. It is true the archiepiscopal see was fixed here, because it was the capital city of Ethelbert's kingdom who commanded as far as the Humber. But this was done in all likelihood by ecclesiastical direction, and in conformity with the ancient practice of the Church, by which the metropolitical power was settled upon the chief city in the province. That the giving or taking away the archiepiscopal right was not within the verge of the prerogative, appears plainly by the twelfth canon of the general council of Chalcedon, in which it is decreed, "That if any bishop should endeavour to divide the jurisdiction of a province, and procure any instruments from court to erect his own see into an archbishopric, he should be deposed for his misbehaviour; and if for the future any cities shall be raised to the privilege of a metropolis by the emperor's patents, the bishop of that city, so advanced, shall have nothing but the bare title of a metropolitan; and that all the power and jurisdiction shall remain to the ancient metropolitan."

To proceed: about this time Sebbi, King of the East Saxons, grew weary of the parade of a crown, and turned monk. He was a prince of extraordinary charity and devotion, and had his queen complied with his inclinations, he had retired from the world much sooner. At last, having gained her consent to disengage, he went to Waldhere, bishop of London, where he passed through the forms of a religious, and received the habit: he brought the bishop a great sum of money to be distributed among the poor, to which condition he had now reduced himself. Notwithstanding his monastic character he had not altogether forgotten his former station, but had something of the spirit of a prince left him, for in his last sickness, when he found death approaching, he was solicitous about his behaviour, for fear the sharpness of the agony might sink him beneath his quality, and drive him upon some indecency, either in posture or expression. For this reason he sent for the bishop of London, and desired him that none but himself and two of his own servants might be present at his last hour. But this good prince perceived afterwards

LO-
THERE,
K. of Kent.
ECGFRID,
K. of North-
umberland.
WULF-
HERE,
K. of Mercia.
104.

Bede, l. 1.
c. 25.

Concil.
Chalced.
can. 12.
Concil.
tom. 4.
Labbe,
p. 761.

*Sebbi, king
of the East
Saxons,
turns
monk.*

Bede, l. 4.
c. 11.

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.

he had no reason to be apprehensive of any disorder, for he expired without the least pain or struggle, and passed into the other world with all the ease imaginable.

Malmesbur.
de Gestis
Reg. Anglor.
l. i. c. 2.

To come now to the West Saxons, where Leutherius was bishop. Cenwaleh was king in this division of the country, who, after having reigned one and thirty years, died, and left his kingdom to his queen Sexburga. This princess was extremely well qualified for all the functions of government, and understood the managing the military no less than the civil part of the administration; she died within a year after her accession to the throne, and then the kingdom was cantoned out, as Bede informs us, amongst several petty princes, who held it about ten years. During their reign Leutherius died, and Heddi was consecrated to succeed him by Theodorus, the archbishop. In this bishop's time the petty princes were outed by Ceadwalla, who possessed himself of the whole division; of whom more afterwards.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 12.

A. D. 675.

In the year of our Lord 675, Wulfhere, king of the Mercians, died, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelred. Religion, as Malmesbury observes, was more this prince's inclination than arms: for, excepting his expedition into Kent, and giving Ecgfrid of Northumberland a check for invading his dominions, we do not find him distinguished by any other martial exploit. But, for the management of the Kentish war, he is much censured by Bede, who reports that his troops harassed this country with a most intemperate liberty and rage, and that they plundered and defaced churches and monasteries, without any regard to religion; and, particularly, that Rochester, Putta's see, was sacked in this expedition. This calamity obliged Putta to leave his diocese, and retire to Sexwulfus, bishop of Lichfield: and here, being kindly received, and having a Church put into his hands, he spent the remainder of his life, and taught the country church music. However, the see of Rochester was filled by Theodore, who consecrated Quichelm in Putta's stead.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. l. i.
c. 4.
A. D. 676.
*Kent miserably harassed
by Ethelred,
king of the
Mercians.*

Bede, l. 4.
c. 12.

Malmesbur.
de Gest.
Pontif. l. 2.
de Episcop.
Rofien.

*Wilfrid
expelled his
diocese by
king Ecgfrid,
appeals to
the pope, and
takes a
voyage to
Rome.*
Bede, l. 5.
c. 12.

In the year of our Lord 678, and the eighth of king Ecgfrid, there happened a misunderstanding between this prince and Wilfrid, bishop of York, which was carried to a great extremity. Bede, in relating this rupture, says nothing of the occasion; but, in another place, he seems to hit upon the ground of this dissatisfaction, without applying the passage to

this purpose. He tells us, that Ecgfrid's first queen, Ethelred, had a strong inclination to quit the court, and retire. Ecgfrid, who was very unwilling to part with her, promised Wilfrid a large gratification to bring her off her monastic fancies, with which she seems to have been somewhat overgrown. Whether Wilfrid used his interest with her or not, this author does not tell us; but the queen, whose piety seems greater than her knowledge, persisted in her singularities, and at last went into a monastery, and received the habit from St. Wilfrid.

LO-
THERE,
K. of Kent.
ECGFRID,
K. of North-
umberland.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.
Bede, l. 4.
c. 19.

Thomas, a monk of Ely, gives a farther light into this matter. He reports, that, upon her being veiled by Wilfrid, she retired to the nunnery of Cawood, near York; that, about a year after, king Ecgfrid was very desirous to live with her, and designed to force her out of the monastery. Ebba, the abbess, who was king Ecgfrid's aunt, having intelligence of the king's resolution, advised Ethelred to get off, upon which she retired to Ely; that king Ecgfrid endeavoured to recover her, but in vain; that, upon this disappointment, he married Ermenburga, grew very cool towards Wilfrid, and at last expelled him the country.

Historia
Eliensis.
Angl. Sacr.
par. l. p. 598.

Eddius, Wilfrid's chaplain, relates the breach in a different manner. In one place he tells us, that Ecgfrid had disseized the Church of St. Peter, at York, of a considerable estate; and that Wilfrid's pressing a restitution, occasioned his disfavour at court. And in another place he informs us, wherein he is seconded by Malmesbury, that Ermenburga, Ecgfrid's queen, was Wilfrid's enemy; that she endeavoured to draw an odium upon him, upon the score of his great revenues in religious houses, for the figure and numerousness of his retinue, and the expense of his way of living. This charge was so dexterously managed, that it made an impression both upon the king, and the archbishop of Canterbury. And here Eddius and Malmesbury do not stick to say, that Theodore was bribed by the court. Whether this was so or not, it is certain, Theodore was in the king's interest, gave ear to the complaint against Wilfrid, so far as to erect several new bishoprics in the diocese or province of York, without Wilfrid's leave. He pretended the port of Wilfrid's living, and the extent of his diocese, were too great; and that there was both revenue and people enough for four bishops. Had this been done with Wilfrid's consent, the pro-

105.

Vit. Wilfrid.
c. 44.
Inter xv.
Scriptor.
Eddius,
c. 24.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Pon-
tificum, l. 3.
p. 149.
edit. Savil.

Eddius and
Malmesb.
ibid.
Theodore
cantons Wil-
frid's diocese
without his
consent.

Malmesb.
ibid.

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.
Eddius and
Malmesb.
ibid.

ceedings had been more defensible: but it seems the whole course of the management was transacted in an overruling and arbitrary manner. When Wilfrid came to court, to set forth his grievances, the king gave him a rugged answer; told him, though he had no crime to charge him with, he was resolved to satisfy his own pleasure, and maintain what he had done. Wilfrid finding the determination of the case resolved into the king's will, and that there was no hope of redress, appealed to the pope; at which the courtiers fell out a laughing in the presence. It seems this appealing to the pope was a thing unheard of at king Ecgfrid's court. Had this method not been looked on as a great singularity, one would imagine these courtiers would not have treated a prelate in so disrespectful a manner; though after all, it might be no better than a piece of flattery to their prince. However, Wilfrid kept up his spirits, and told them, that notwithstanding their mirth at present, their gaiety would be strangely overcast that day twelvemonth. And as Eddius and Malmesbury report, the prediction was made good by the event. For soon after Wilfrid's expulsion, Ethelred, king of the Mercians, began a war upon the Northumbrians, to revenge a quarrel, in the reign of Wulfhere his brother. Ecgfrid levies an army, and marches against him with a strong expectation of victory; but his troops were defeated by the Mercians, and his brother Edwin slain in the field: and thus the kingdom of the Northumbrians was, as it were, put into mourning, and the body of the young prince brought into York just that day twelvemonth that Wilfrid had been a jest at court. The bishops ordained by Theodore upon the cantoning the diocese of York were these: Bosa was made bishop of York, and Eata of Hexham and Lindesfarn. Edhed was likewise made bishop of Lindsey in Lincolnshire; this country being lately conquered from the Mercians by king Ecgfrid. Sexwulf was Edhed's predecessor in this see. But when Wulfhere lost the country to Ecgfrid, Sexwulf was forced to retire to the Middle Angles, where he exercised his character. These three bishops, Edhed, Bosa, and Eata, were all ordained by Theodore; who, as Eddius reports, had no other prelate to assist him in the consecration: and if so, Theodore broke through the fourth canon of the council of Nice. Three years after Wilfrid's going off, the archbishop divided the diocese of Hexham and Lindesfarn, and furnished

Eddius and
Malmesb.
ibid.

it with another bishop. Thus Trumberth had his see at Hagulstad or Hexam, and Eata continued bishop of Lindesfarn. Theodore likewise consecrated Trumwin bishop of Candida Casa, or Whitern upon the borders of the Picts. As for Edhed, he held his bishopric but a little while; for the country of Lindsey being recovered by Ethelred king of the Mercians, he was obliged to retire; and then to soften his misfortune, Theodore gave him the jurisdiction of the Church and Abbey of Ripon.

LO-
THERE,
K. of Kent.
ECGFRID,
K. of North-
umberland.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.

Bede, lib. 4.
cap. 12.

By the way, Theodore, by acting in such an absolute and metropolitical manner in Wilfrid's diocese, seems perfectly to have overlooked the constitution of Gregory the Great; for by this pope's provision, and that of one of his successors Honorius, York was erected into a province, honoured with a pall, and made independent of the southern or Kentish metropolitan, after the death of Augustine the monk. But it seems Theodore did not think himself obliged in every particular to the pope's model of jurisdiction.

Wilfrid finding himself overborne at home, makes a voyage to Rome, but being waylaid in France, his company and equipage were plundered, and himself made his escape with some difficulty. After this accident he embarks again, and arrives in West Friesland; and here, though the people were pagans, he was very hospitably received, both by the king and country. The temper of the people gave him hopes, it might be in his power, through the blessing of God, to make them a requital. And thus being encouraged by their civility, he began to preach Christianity: and Adalgisus the king, being gained to the Church, the people came in apace, and Wilfrid made a great progress in the country. Ebroine, mayor of the palace to Theodoric king of the Franks, being solicited by Ecgfrid's court, endeavoured to stop Wilfrid in his voyage. To this

Bede, l. 1.
c. 22. l. 2.
c. 17.

Eddius, Vit.
Wilfrid.
c. 24, 25.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Pon-
tificum, l. 3.
p. 149.

*Wilfrid con-
verts Adal-
gisus, king of
West Fries-
land, and a
great many
of his sub-
jects.*

106.

purpose he writes a letter to king Adalgisus, promising him a vast sum of money, upon condition he would destroy Wilfrid. This letter Adalgisus having read at table in Wilfrid's hearing, threw it into the fire, with this generous sentence, "So may that man burn," says he, "who breaks with his friend out of covetousness, and basely betrays him for bribes of gold."

Wilfrid having a friendly dismissal from this court, on his journey to Rome: when he came there, he found pope Agatho busy in pitching upon his legates, and preparing instructions

*A noble sen-
tence of king
Adalgisus.*
Eddius, Vit.
Wilfrid.
c. 26.
Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
Angl. p. 49.

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.

for the sixth general council, convened by the emperor Constantine Pogonatus, against the Monothelites.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 6.
p. 598.

*Wilfrid no
proxy for
the English
Church.*

Baron. A. D.
679, tom. 3.
sect. 12.

Baronius pretends that archbishop Theodore, understanding Wilfrid had taken a journey to Rome, and that he was acquitted, after a hearing, by pope Agatho, furnished him with a commission to represent the English Church in the Roman synod. But that the cardinal is mistaken in this account, appears from the misunderstanding between Wilfrid and Theodore. For first, Theodore, as has been already observed, canonized Wilfrid's diocese, and ordained bishops against his consent; of which usage Wilfrid complains to the pope in his petition. Now that Theodore was dissatisfied on his part, with Wilfrid's conduct, we may learn from Malmesbury, who informs us, that when Wilfrid came to Rome, he found one Kenewald, a monk, there before him. This Kenewald was Theodore's agent, and sent thither with a heavy charge against Wilfrid, which was delivered in writing, and set forth in terms of vehemence and aggravation. The pope having a council of about fifty bishops, sitting at that time, laid the matter before them; but of this by and by.

Eddius, Vit.
Wilfrid.
c. 29, p. 66.
Malmesb.
de Gestis
Pontif. Anglorum, l. 3.
c. 149.

In the mean time, I observe farther, that Theodore and Wilfrid were not reconciled till several years after this latter prelate's coming from Rome: for when Theodore owned he had gone too far, and asked pardon of Wilfrid, Aldfrid was king of Northumberland, whose reign did not begin till the year 685. However, the cardinal cites Bede for his assertion: but this place does not come up to this point. It is true, the historian tells us, that Wilfrid having been acquitted by an universality in the synod at Rome, pope Agatho brought him into the council convened against the Monothelites, and desired him to give an account of the belief, both of his own diocese, and the rest of the island as to this article. That thereupon Wilfrid made a declaration and signed it; in which he vouched for the orthodoxy of the English, Britons, Scots, and Picts, who dwelt in the northern part of Britain, with reference to the present controversy: but then it is not said, that he was proxy for these Churches; indeed there is no reason to suppose him furnished with any such delegation. As for his own diocese, he was outed there, and the jurisdiction divided. Now we cannot suppose he would take a delegation from those bishops who had usurped upon him; neither is it likely it would be proffered

Eddius,
c. 42, p. 73.
Chronolog.
Saxon.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 20. Eddius,
c. 51.
p. 81.

him. And as for the Scots and Britons, they were of another communion, as we have seen already, and held no correspondence with the see of Rome; therefore nothing can be more chimerical than the making Wilfrid a representative of the Scots and Britons. The cardinal's design in this strain, was to draw the Churches of Britain within the Roman patriarchate; but this instance has failed him.

LO-
THERE,
K. of Kent.
ECGFRID,
K. of North-
umberland.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.

To return to Wilfrid, who, upon his coming to Rome, prefers his petition to the pope then in the council. In this petition, he sets forth how unjustly he had been deprived of his diocese: that he had been convicted of no crime, neither had there been any breach of the canons proved against him: that Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, without the concurrence of any other prelate, had split the jurisdiction of his diocese, and brought in three bishops upon him, against his consent. He referred himself wholly to the apostolical see, and was willing to abide by the judgment given with all imaginable submission. This ceremonious application, we may imagine, did Wilfrid no disservice. In short, whatever the motive was, he had not only the pope's favour, but the whole synod declared for him. The judgment given, was to this effect: that Wilfrid should be restored to his bishopric; however with some regard had to the late division of the diocese. To this purpose there was to be a synod of English bishops convened, and that such coadjutors, as Wilfrid with the consent of this synod should pitch upon, should be consecrated by the archbishop, and the present intruders removed. And that if any person should refuse to abide by this order, or break through any branch or part of it, he was to be degraded if a clergyman, and excommunicated if one of the laity; the king himself being drawn within the censure.

*Wilfrid's
petition to the
pope.*

Eddius,
c. 29. p. 66.
Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
Angl. l. 3.
p. 150.

Eddius,
c. 31. p. 67.
Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
Angl. l. 3.
p. 150.

This sentence runs in the name of the synod, and not of the pope's single authority: however, we may perceive both by the appeal and the judgment, that the see of Rome laid claim at this time of day, to a jurisdiction as far as Britain, and pretended to a prerogative of binding the English Churches.

Wilfrid having succeeded in his suit, returns home with a copy of the sentence, and with an order to show it king Ecgfrid, and archbishop Theodore. Upon his arrival, he made his first application to the king, and laid the instruments, signed and sealed, before him. Upon this the king summoned a considerable appearance of the clergy and laity to examine the contents. These, finding the determination go against them,

*The sentence
of the Roman
synod, in
favour of
Wilfrid, not
regarded by
king Ecgfrid
and the
Northum-
brian
bishops.
Eddius,
c. 33. p. 69.*

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.

107.

refused to acquiesce, alleging moreover, that the court of Rome had been governed by interest in this affair, and the instruments gained by bribery. And now, the king with the consent of his council, and the bishops of Wilfrid's diocese, ordered this prelate to be imprisoned: and thus he was confined and used pretty ruggedly for almost a year. And here we must leave him for some time, and proceed to the council at Hatfield.

*The synod at
Hatfield or
Cliff, near
Rochester.*

This synod was convened by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury. The occasion of the meeting was to inquire into the faith of the English Churches, with reference to the controversy of the Monothelites, then on foot. And, upon examination, he found all the bishops agree in the orthodox part of the question. This synod was held in the year 680, upon the fifteenth day of September, in the tenth year of Ecgfrid, king of the Northumbrians; the sixth year of Ethelred, king of the Mercians; the seventeenth year of Aldulf, king of the East Angles; and the seventh year of Lotharius, king of Kent, as appears by Theodore's synodical letter; in which we have an account of the belief of the synod. And here, their receiving the first five general councils is particularly mentioned, together with the Roman synod, held under Pope Martin against the Monothelites.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 17. Baron.
Annal.
A. D. 649.
tom. 8.
sect. 5.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 18.
Ibid.

There was one John, precentor of St. Peter's at Rome, and abbot of St. Martin's, at this synod. He was sent hither by pope Agatho to inquire whether the English Churches stood clear of the heresy of the Monothelites. Bede seems to hint, as if the council at Hatfield was convened to give the pope satisfaction in this point. When the council broke up, this John had a copy of the proceedings, which he was to transmit to Rome; but happened to die in the voyage. However, the instrument was preserved, and delivered to the pope, who, upon the perusal, was much satisfied with it. The synod was but part of John the precentor's business; for, as Bede informs us, the pope sent him over with one Benedict, an Englishman, who built the monastery of St. Peter's, at Wearmouth, and was abbot there. This Bennet having a grant of some lands from the king for an endowment of the abbey, went to Rome, and procured the pope's bull for a farther security. At his return, the pope ordered John the precentor to go along with him, and teach him and his monks the manner of singing used at St. Peter's in Rome. John, at his coming hither, performed this part of his commission, taught the monastery Church

*In the bishop-
ric of Dur-
ham.*

music, and pricked out a course for the choir for the whole year. This manner of Church music was quickly spread through most parts of the kingdom of the Northumbrians.

Before we take leave of the council at Hatfield, it will not be improper to mention a famous bull of privilege, sent by Agatho to Sexulfus, abbot of Medeshamsted, now Peterborough. By virtue of this bull, the abbot of Medeshamsted is not only discharged from the jurisdiction of his diocesan, but likewise exempted from the powers of a synod, and made the pope's legate all over England. There are a great many other immunities too long to mention, but these, with some other circumstances, I shall observe, are sufficient to prove it spurious. Sir Henry Spelman, as he owns himself, was furnished with nothing but the Saxon manuscript; but the Latin copy has been since published in the Monasticon. First, that which shakes the credit of this bull, is the affirming it brought over by Wilfrid, archbishop of York, and delivered by him at the council of Hatfield, where he subscribes with the rest of the bishops. Now Eddius takes no notice of Wilfrid's being entrusted with this famous bull, though he mentions several things in Wilfrid's life, of lesser consideration, neither does he acquaint us that Wilfrid was ever at the council of Hatfield; which, had it been true, would have been a strange omission. But Eddius knew it was impossible for Wilfrid to be at this council; for Wilfrid was at Rome in the year 680, when a synod was held there against the Monothelites.

After this synod, Wilfrid came from Rome, and upon his arrival was imprisoned nine months in Northumberland. Which way, then, is it possible for him to have been at the Council of Hatfield, which was held in September in the same year, 680. Another mark of forgery may be collected from the difference between the Latin and Saxon copy. The Saxon gives the abbot of Medeshamsted a legatine power all over England; but the Latin speaks in terms of much lower privilege and importance; and only admonishes the bishop of the diocese, not to strain the strength of his character upon him, but to treat him like a brother, and with the same respect as if he had been honoured with a deputation from the pope. Farther, Ethelred, king of the Mercians, subscribes the bull, at the council of Hatfield, as the Saxon copy will have it, but by the account which Bede gives us, there is no mention at all

LO-
THERE,
K. of Kent.
ECGFRID,
K. of North-
umberland.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.
A. D. 680.
Bede, l. 4.
c. 13.

Spelm.
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 163.
et deinceps.

Monast.
Anglic.
vol. 1. p. 66.

Spelm.
p. 166.

Concil.
Labbe, Ed-
dus, Vit.
Wilfrid.

Spelm.
p. 168.

Spelm.
p. 165.

Monast.
vol. 1. p. 66.

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.

of King Ethelred's being at this council. Bede tells us, it was convened by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and takes notice of none but the clergy. Lastly, the pope's discharging the abbey from all secular service, and pretending to bind property, is another mark of a counterfeit bull: for the popes, at this time of day, did not encroach to this degree upon the rights of princes, nor insist upon the prerogative of exempting the estates of monasteries from the civil legislature, or the burthens of the commonwealth. And, as for the legatine power pretended to be settled upon this monastery, it is certain the abbots of Peterborough never exercised any authority of this kind.

108.

Hilda's character and government.

This year Hilda, the famous abbess of Whitby, died. Her father's name was Hereric, nephew to king Edwin. She was a very eminent instance of regularity and devotion. Bede relates of her, by way of commendation, that she governed her society by the model of the primitive Church. That she removed the distinction of rich and poor, that property was extinguished, and all things possessed in common.

Bede, l. iv.
c. 23.

By Bede's mentioning this regulation, as a particular commendation in Hilda, we may conclude it was not then the general custom of the religious to renounce all their estates, when they entered the monastery. Bede goes on with her character, and reports her a lady of that reach and capacity, that kings and princes used to make her a visit for her advice in matters of state. This lady had several monks under her government, five of which were afterwards bishops: their names were Bosa, Ætla, Oftford, John, and Wilfrid.

A. D. 680.
Four bishoprics added to that of Lichfield in the kingdom of the Mercians.
Legcestræ.
Polychronicon, l. 5.
p. 241.
Angl. Sacra
Pars 1.
p. 427.
Wilfrid retires to the Mercians.

This year the country of the Mercians, which had but one bishop before (viz. of Lichfield), was divided into five sees, and the bishoprics of Leicester, or Chester, Worcester, Sidnacester, in Lindsey, and Dorchester, or as others will have it, and it may be more probably, Hereford, were erected.

To return to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, where Wilfrid, at the instance of the abbess Ebba, king Oswin's sister, was set at liberty, but not allowed to live in Ecgfrid's dominions. Being thus banished, he travelled into the country of the Mercians, and was kindly entertained by Beorthwald, nephew to king Ethelred, who gave him and his company a parcel of land for their subsistence: upon which, Wilfrid began to erect a little monastery, but he was quickly

forced from this shelter. For king Ethelred, who was married to Ecgfrid's sister, understanding Wilfrid, who lay under Ecgfrid's displeasure, came to settle in his kingdom, ordered him to be gone immediately. However, the monks that came along with him, had the liberty to stay. Wilfrid, being expelled the country of the Mercians, applied to the protection of Centwin, king of the West Saxons, who entertained him for some little time: for it was not long before he was pursued, even hither, by king Ecgfrid and his queen, who sent their agents to dislodge him: and thus he was hunted from one country to another, it being impracticable for him to live in any prince's dominions where king Ecgfrid had any interest.

LO-
THERE.
K. of Kent.
ECGFRID,
K. of North-
umberland.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.

Eddius, Vit.
Wilfrid.
c. 33, 39.
p. 71, 72.
*From thence
to the West
Saxons,
from whence
he travels to
the South
Saxons, and
converts
them.*

Notwithstanding the progress of Christianity in this island, there was one kingdom of the heptarchy unconverted. This division was that of the South Saxons, containing the two counties of Surrey and Sussex. Hither Wilfrid took his next journey; and entered upon the office of a missionary. He made his first application to king Edilwaleh, who had been lately baptized in the country of the Mercians, at king Wulfhere's persuasion; who adopted him, and gave him the Isle of Wight upon his conversion. Wilfrid having represented his case to Edilwaleh, that prince promised his protection, and that neither force nor money should prevail with him, to put him into the enemy's hand. And now Wilfrid, being secured of a retreat, preached the Gospel with success, and baptized the great men of the country; neither was it long before the army and peasants were converted: queen Ebba had been formerly baptized in her country of Worcestershire. It seems this was not the first time the South Saxons had been informed of the doctrines of Christianity: for one Dicul, a Scotchman, with five or six monks under his government, had a little monastery at Bosenham, by the sea-side in that country. But these monks, notwithstanding their strict way of living, made no impression upon the South Saxons, the pagans having no inclination to hear them discourse: but Wilfrid gained their attention effectually, and was very successful in his undertaking; and, as Bede reports, secured this world for them, as well as the other. For the country, it seems, had no rain for three years before Wilfrid's arrival, which must occasion, we may imagine, a terrible famine. But as soon as the

Eddius,
c. 40. p. 72.

Eddius,
c. 40. Bede,
l. 4. c. 13.
Camb. Brit.
vid. Wiccii.

A. D. 681.

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.
Bede, *ibid.*

people were baptized, they received the blessing of seasonable showers, and the ground recovered its former fruitfulness. When the bishops came first, and found them so miserably distressed for want of provisions, he taught them the art of fishing in the sea; for before their skill went no farther than the catching of eels. Their improvement in this business was a wonderful relief, gave them an extraordinary opinion of Wilfrid, and disposed them to hearken to his doctrine with more attention.

About this time, king Edilwalch gave Selsea to Wilfrid and his company: the compass of the place took in about eighty-seven plow-lands. It was surrounded with the sea, except a narrow neck of land on the west side. Here Wilfrid founded a monastery, and here the bishop's see was first fixed, being afterwards removed to Chichester. Wilfrid continued bishop in this country for about five years, that is, till the death of Ecgfrid. When Edilwalch gave this prelate the land of Selsea, he likewise made him lord of the peasants that lived there. These people he took care to baptize in the first place, and then manumised two hundred and fifty of them; for so many were under the disadvantage of villainage.

While Wilfrid was bishop of the South Saxons, Ceadwalla, a general of great reputation, and of the blood royal of the West Saxons, marched an army into Edilwalch's dominions, cut off that prince in the field, and overrun the country with fire and sword. But Edilwalch's generals, Berchthun and
109. Andhun, quickly made a stand against Ceadwalla, checked the course of his victories, and drove him out of the country: and being thus successful, they took the kingdom for their pains. But Berchthun could not hold it long, being slain in the field by Ceadwalla, who was now king of the West Saxons. Upon this advantage he harassed the country, and brought it under servitude. Ina, likewise, who succeeded Ceadwalla, made the South Saxons very uneasy, and held them to hard conditions. During part of this time they had no bishop of their own, but after their first prelate Wilfrid was recalled home, they were annexed to the see of Winchester, which lay in the dominions of the West Saxons. I have followed Bede's method in relating these passages; and, notwithstanding some little distance of time, have laid them together, to prevent the interruption of the history.

To return a little to Ceadwalla. This prince, after his recovery of the kingdom of the West Saxons, of which he had been some time dispossessed, made a descent upon the Isle of Wight, then inhabited by pagans. And here he made a very intemperate use of his victory, putting all the people to the sword, and planting the country with his own subjects. It seems he had made a vow, that in case he became master of the island, he would give the fourth part of it to the Church; which he performed to Wilfrid, who happened to arrive at that juncture. The bishop took care to convert the country; and thus the Isle of Wight, though the longest of all the Saxons in paganism, was gained at last.

LO-
THIERE,
K. of Kent.
ALD-
FRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.
Chronol.
Saxon.
Bede, l. 4.
c. 16.

To proceed. In the year of our Lord 684, Ecgfrid, king of the Northumbrians, sent his general, Bert, with an army against the Scots in Ireland. And here, as Bede observes, he harassed an innocent nation, that had always been friendly to the English, at a miserable rate. The barbarity of the soldiers made no distinction in their ravage; they broke through the guards of religion, and plundered and made prize of all the churches and monasteries that came in their way. The country made what resistance they could; but were too weak to deal with the enemy. Bede believes the injustice and cruelty of this expedition proved the ruin of king Ecgfrid not long after; for the next year this prince marched at the head of an army to attack the Picts, though he was very much dissuaded by his council from undertaking this expedition. And now being entered into the enemy's country, and coming to a battle, the Picts made a feint of running away, till, drawing the king into great disadvantage of ground, they faced about, and cut him and the greatest part of his troops in pieces.

A. D. 684.
*Ecgfrid, king
of Northum-
berland, ha-
rasses the
Scots in Ire-
land.*
Bede, l. 4.
c. 26.

*He makes an
expedition
against the
Picts, and is
routed and
slain.*

The loss of this battle was a great blow to the kingdom of the Northumbrians; for now the Picts recovered their country and drove the English from Dunbritton Frith as far as the Tweed. And now Trumwin, bishop of Whithern, and abbot of Abercurnig, near the Frith, was forced to retire with the debris of the army, the Picts being possessed of his diocese. He came southward as far as Yorkshire, and died in the abbey of Whitby.

A. D. 685.

Aldfrid succeeded his brother Ecgfrid in the kingdom of the Northumbrians. This prince was very conversant with the

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.

Holy Scriptures ; he had likewise a good talent at governing, and recovered the kingdom from a state of declension, though the extent of his dominions was much narrower than formerly.

*The death of
Lothere, king
of Kent.*

This year Lothere, king of Kent, died about the middle of February. He died of his wounds which he received in a battle against the South Saxons, which his nephew Edric, son of Ecgbert, had brought into the field against him. It is most likely Edric, being son to Ecgbert, took his uncle Lothere for a usurper, and fought for the crown.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 26.
Hunting.
Historiar.
l. 4. p. 192.

*St. Cuthbert
made bishop
of Holy
Island.*

Ecgrid, in the last year of his reign, procured the bishopric of Holy Island for Cuthbert. This holy man had been under the monastic institution from the beginning of his youth. He was first in the monastery of Melross, upon the Tweed, under the abbot Eata, afterwards bishop of Holy Island. Boisil, a person of extraordinary sanctity, succeeded Eata in the government of the monastery, and after Boisil's death Cuthbert was made abbot. Being in this post, he was very serviceable to the country, and brought off a great many of the people from several heathenish customs, by the practice of which they had made their Christianity, in a great measure, insignificant. For when they were visited with the plague, they seemed to forget their religion, overlooked the engagements of baptism, and applied to the assistances of idolatry ; made use of charms, and ventured upon dangerous correspondences with evil spirits. To bring them off from their reliance upon these desperate remedies, St. Cuthbert used to travel about the country and preach in the villages. Parochial churches being at this time very scarce in the country, it was the custom, as Bede observes, for the country people to flock about a clergyman, for the advantage of his instructions, when he came into a village. St. Cuthbert being a person of great elocution, of a graceful presence, and a most exemplary life, was very persuasive upon the audience ; insomuch, that none of them durst conceal any part of their misbehaviour, but laid their conscience open before him. After St. Cuthbert had lived many years at Melross, he was removed to the abbey of Holy Island. It had been the ancient custom of this place, for the bishop and his clergy to reside with the abbot and monks ; but then these monks, as Bede takes notice, were under the bishop's jurisdiction, and sometimes the same person was both abbot and bishop. Bede

Bede, l. 4.
c. 27.

*His cha-
racter and
merit.*

Bede, *ibid.*

relates, that St. Cuthbert foretold the time of his death; that his corpse continued unputrified about eleven years; and that a man was cured of a palsy by praying at his grave.

Notwithstanding the great character of Cuthbert's piety, it is plain he sided with king Ecgfrid, and Theodore, against Wilfrid, and by consequence took no notice of the sentence in Wilfrid's favour, decreed by the Roman synod. Had not the case stood thus, he would never have made use of king Ecgfrid's recommendation, nor have accepted the see of the Holy Island, which was part of Wilfrid's jurisdiction, and taken out of the diocese of York against his consent.

And now it will be time to return to the remaining part of the history of Wilfrid. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, began to recollect the hard usage which had been put upon Wilfrid, and growing very old and infirm, was desirous to be reconciled to him. To this purpose, he invited Wilfrid and Ercenwald, bishop of London, to his house in that city. Upon their coming, he addresses himself to Wilfrid, and told him he was very much afflicted for his compliance with king Ecgfrid, and giving Wilfrid so much trouble; promising him, that now he would endeavour to undo what he had done, and use his interest with all the princes and great men of his acquaintance to inform them more fully of the case. He likewise offered to secure him the succession of the archbishopric of Canterbury. Wilfrid told the archbishop that he heartily desired his grace might not suffer upon the score of any injuries he had received by him; that he would not fail to pray for him, and be heartily his friend for the future. As for his offer of succeeding him in the archbishopric, he told him he thought it was proper to postpone the settling that affair, and refer it to a more numerous assembly. In the mean time, he desired him to use his interest, that he might have the liberty of returning into his own country, and have some part of his fortune restored him.

From Theodore's offering to settle the archbishopric of Canterbury upon Wilfrid after his death, and from Wilfrid's reply, that this affair was proper to be managed in a more numerous meeting, and that Theodore's consent was necessary for such a disposal; from hence, I say, we may infer, that the nomination of the see of Canterbury did not lie in the crown at this time of day.

ALFRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.

110.

*Theodore
reconciled to
Wilfrid.
A. D. 687.
Eddius.
c. 42.*

*The arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
not nomi-
nated by the
Crown.*

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.

*Theodore
and Wilfrid
reconciled.*

Wilfrid and Theodore being thus made friends, the archbishop wrote to king Alfrid in Wilfrid's behalf, conjuring him by his duty to God Almighty, by the regard he owed to the apostolic see, and for the benefit of the late king Ecgfrid's soul, (who had banished Wilfrid, and treated him with undeserved rigour) that he would be reconciled to Wilfrid, and permit him to live peaceably in his dominions. Theodore wrote to several others upon this account, particularly to the abbess of Ælflede. His letter to Ethelred, king of the Mercians, being somewhat particular and different from the modern form of addressing princes, I shall translate part of it for the reader.

*Theodore's
letter to king
Ethelred.
See Collec-
tion of Re-
cords,
numb. 1.*

“To the most illustrious, and most excellent Ethelred, king of the Mercians: Theodore, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, &c. Dear son, this is to inform your piety, that the reverend bishop Wilfrid, and myself, are now come to a right understanding, and therefore, out of my paternal affection, I exhort you, and for the love of Christ, enjoin you to afford that holy prelate all the favour and countenance that lies in your power. In regard, that since he has been expelled his country, and wrongfully dispossessed of his estate, he has taken great pains in converting the Pagans, and enlarging the borders of the Church.” A little after he desires the king to make him a visit, in these words: “If I continue still,” says he, “in your favour, I could wish you would please to overlook the trouble of a long journey, that I might have the satisfaction of seeing you, and ‘that my soul may bless you before I die.’ My son, do not forget to act upon my entreaty, and use that holy person abovementioned accordingly. If you are governed by your ghostly father's advice, who is almost upon the verge of the other world, it will contribute very much to your future happiness. Farewell, live answerably to your creed, and God Almighty have you in his protection.”

Eddius, Vit.
Wilfrid,
c. 42.

This letter was very prevalent upon king Ethelred, who afterwards gave Wilfrid a very frank reception, and treated him all along with great regard.

*Wilfrid re-
called by
king Alfrid.*

It was not long before Alfrid, king of the Northumbrians, recalled Wilfrid, at the archbishop's instance. At his first coming the king put the abbey of Hagulstad or Hexham into

his hands; and not long after permitted him to return to his see at York, putting him likewise in possession of the monastery of Ripon.

And now the breach seemed to be made up between the king and bishop. But the latter having enemies at court, who made it their business to misrepresent him, and revive old quarrels, it was not long before the king grew cool, and began to disrelish Wilfrid. This declension of favour, after some short turns of countenance and friendship, was at last pushed to extremity, and settled in a standing aversion. The grounds of the rupture were, first, as I observed, because the king had secularized part of the revenues of St. Peter's Cathedral in York. He had likewise turned the monastery of Hagulstad into a bishopric, and taken away the monastic privileges granted by several kings, and confirmed by pope Agatho. And lastly, king Alfrid would oblige Wilfrid to the injunctions and orders of archbishop Theodore. By which he did not only mean those canons that were synodically drawn up in the beginning of his government; nor those published in the latter end of his life, when he invited all the English bishops to a friendly correspondence with Wilfrid: but the submission to those canons was chiefly intended, which were passed between the rupture and reconciliation of those two prelates. Now Wilfrid refusing to be concluded by these, and insisting on restitution upon the other points, king Alfrid broke with him, and banished him his dominions.

In the third year of Alfrid, Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons, after he had reigned to commendation two years, and made a great figure in the island, threw up the government in the flower of his age, and took a voyage to Rome. Whether his conduct in this point was defensible or not, I shall not determine: however, it is certain he was strongly penetrated by religious motives; otherwise a prince of so enterprising a temper, and so well established in his dominions, would never have renounced his crown, and run away from his greatness, to retire to a cell. He was baptized upon Easter-eve, by pope Sergius, and falling sick, died upon the first of May, before he had put off his baptismal habit.

Malmesbury relates, that when Ceadwalla set up his first claim to the crown, his administration did not please the great men: they thought him of too martial and tempestuous a

ALFRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.

Eddius,
c. 43.

Eddius,
c. 44.

111.

He is banished a second time.

Ceadwalla resigns his crown, goes to Rome, and dies there.

A. D. 689.

Bede, l. 5.
c. 7.

THEO-
DORE,
Abp. Cant.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Anglor.
l. 1. c. 2.

temper. And thus being disgusted by his management, they formed a faction, and drove him out of the country. However, he had such an interest remaining, that he carried off the best part of the military men along with him. When Wilfrid was at Selsea, among the South Saxons, Eddius tells us, this banished prince came to him, and desired his instructions, both for his conduct in religion and other matters: that Wilfrid was serviceable to him in his secular interest, and suggested proper methods for the recovery of his kingdom: that when Ceadwalla had subdued the faction, and mounted the throne, he gave Wilfrid an invitation to court, received him with all imaginable respect, and made him chief minister of state. Ceadwalla was buried at St. Peter's at Rome, and had an epitaph made by the pope's order, part of which I shall give the reader.

Eddius de
Vit. Wilfrid.
c. 41.

Bede, l. 5.
c. 7.
Huntingdon.
Histor. l. 4.
p. 193.

*Culmen, opes, sobolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,
Exuvias, proceres, mœnia, castra, Lares ;
Quæque patrum virtus, et quæ congesserat ipse,
Cedwal armipotens liquit amore Dei.*

*Commûtasse magis sceptrorum insignia credas,
Quem regnum Christi promeruisse vides.*

About this time Erkenwald, bishop of London, died. This prelate gave a promising appearance, almost from his infancy, being very remarkable for his religious disposition, and the gravity of his behaviour. He received his first instruction in the Christian religion from Mellitus, bishop of London. His sister Adleburgh was likewise of a very devout and exemplary conversation. Erkenwald conceiving retirement most serviceable for the purposes of religion, built two monasteries, one for himself and another for his sister, and furnished them with rules of conduct: that for himself was built at Chertsey, upon the Thames; and his sister's at Barken, in Essex, where she was abbess.

Upon the death of Cedde, bishop of London, Erkenwald was elected to succeed him; and in this post he managed to the commendation of a truly primitive bishop, lived up to every part of his instructions, and is reported to have wrought a great many miracles. Upon his death, which happened at Barken, the canons of St. Paul's and the monks of Barken

strove for his corpse; but the citizens of London coming in to the assistance of the canons, carried off the body, and buried it in their cathedral. He was first laid in the body of the church; but in the year 1148 he was removed to the east side of the wall, above the high altar. And in regard of the miracles wrought at his tomb, as it was generally believed, the corpse was enclosed in a very rich shrine, and a great many offerings of value made at it. In the year of our Lord 1386, Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London, made a constitution for the revival of St. Erkenwald's holiday, which of late had been neglected. The solemnity was kept upon the last of April, and a relaxation of forty days penance to those who should duly observe it.

ALFRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.

This prelate enlarged the buildings, and augmented the revenues of his cathedral to a considerable degree. Some little time before his death, being very much seized with the gout, he ordered himself to be carried in a horse-litter about his diocese, and so preached to the people. He is said to have sat about eleven years.

Dugdale's
History of
St. Paul's
Cathedral,
p. 20. and
181.
Monast.
Angl. vol. 3.
p. 299.

The next year Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, died, at eighty-eight years of age. He used to say in his health, that this year of his death was revealed to him in a dream. He sat two-and-twenty years, and was buried in St. Peter's church, at Canterbury. As to his character, he acted with great vigour and application, and endeavoured to bring the church to a conformity with the customs at Rome. Baronius will have him act by virtue of a legatine power, and that he deposed Wilfrid, and consecrated Sexwulf upon the strength of this character. But the passage in Bede, cited by Baronius, proves no such thing; neither does he produce any other record to make good his assertion. Besides, Theodore's incompliance with the synod of Rome, in Wilfrid's case, is of itself sufficient to show the unreasonableness of such a supposition.

Wharton, de
Episc. Lon-
dinens.

*The death of
archbishop
Theodore.*
A. D. 690.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 8.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 6.

112.

Baron.
A. D. 676.
sect. 13.

Next to the affairs of the Church, Theodore made it his business to revive and encourage learning, in which he succeeded very happily. To this purpose he brought a very considerable library, both of Greek and Latin authors, into England with him; some of which are still remaining in manuscript, viz., Homer, David's Psalms, St. Chrysostom's Homilies, all written in a very beautiful hand. This prelate wrote a

Antiquit.
Britan. in
Theodor.
p. 53.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.
Spelman.
Concil.
tom. 1.
p. 154. 155.

book called *Pœnitentiale*, which was a large performance. This book remained entire in manuscript in Bennet College library, at Cambridge, in sir Henry Spelman's time, who gives us the heads of it, which are seventy-eight. But it is to be feared it is now not so easily to be met with: for the copy now in Bennet College library, and printed at Paris, is only an extract of a larger volume. All that was extant of this *Pœnitentiale*, together with several other remains of ecclesiastical discipline, was printed at Paris in 1677, with very serviceable notes of Jacobus Petitus upon it. To conclude, this Theodore was the first that wrote a *Pœnitential tract* in the western Church; upon which argument he was afterwards followed by several others.

Cave, Hist.
Liter. pars 1.
in Theodor.

Whelock, in his notes upon Bede, reports from the *Codex Cantuariensis* in manuscript, that Theodore made a great improvement in the English churches, set the distinction of parishes on foot, and brought them forward towards the present form. To this purpose he procured a license from the respective princes, that any person of substance, who was religiously disposed, might have the liberty of building churches upon their estates, and enjoy the patronage for their encouragement.

Notæ in c. 8.
l. 5. p. 399.
Stillington's
Ecclesiastical
Cases, &c.

Bede, as Dr. Stillingfleet observes, mentions the progress of this design in several places; and so do the Saxon councils: however, we may take notice, that *parochia* in Bede is not always taken for the modern subdivision of a village, but sometimes comprehends the extent of a diocese. Thus Cenwalch, when he cantoned the diocese of Dorchester, and fixed a new bishop at Winchester, is said to divide the province or country into two parishes. What steps Theodore made in this matter is uncertain: however, his conduct in general was very serviceable. His reputation was so considerable at Rome, that pope Agatho, in his letter to the sixth general council at Constantinople, acquaints them, that he had deferred the council thus long, in hopes that Theodore, archbishop of Britain, would have taken a journey to Rome, and assisted at the debates. It is true, the pope means only the synod at Rome, consisting of the Roman patriarchate, and not the general council, as Malmesbury represents it. However, the passage is sufficient to show the pope's esteem of Theodore.

Malmesbur.
de Gest.
Pontif. l. 1.
p. 112.

Dacherius, in the 9th tome of his *Spicilegium*, has published

a collection of ecclesiastical discipline, extracted from Theodore's Pœnitentiale, and some other canons, either made or collected by that prelate.

The seventh canon, relating to the observation of Sunday, informs us, that in the Greek Church, those who worked upon this day were, at the second relapse, punished with the loss of a third part of their goods, and put under a week's penance.

The eleventh canon declares, that by the constitution of the Greek and Roman Churches, those who were sick of the plague ought to be visited by the clergy.

The thirty-fifth canon pronounces, that in case of necessity, confession to God Almighty alone is sufficient.

By the sixty-seventh, no persons ought to be buried in a consecrated church. And if any were buried there before the church was consecrated, that ceremony was not to be performed.

The eighty-seventh decrees, that the Britons were not to have chrysm, or the Eucharist given them, unless they would own themselves willing to continue in the communion of the Saxon Church.

The hundredth canon ordains councils to be held twice a year, i. e. a month after Whitsuntide, and in the beginning of October.

The hundred and twelfth takes notice, that the Greek Church allowed marriage in the third degree of consanguinity: neither is this practice condemned in Theodore's collection.

The hundred and fourteenth commands people to pray in a standing posture.

Lastly, the hundred and sixteenth allows a man to part with his wife upon proof of adultery, and gives him the liberty to marry another.

To return to Theodore: beside other commendable qualities in this prelate, his learning was of an extraordinary size; especially considering the age he lived in. The author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ* relates, that Bede, John of Beverly, Albinus, abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and Tobias, bishop of Rochester, were all men of distinction in letters, and obliged to Theodore for their education.

After Theodore's death, the see of Canterbury was vacant about two years; after which period, one Bertwald, abbot of Reculver in Kent, was elected archbishop, July 1, 692.

ALFRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.

Dacher. Spi-
cileg. tom. 9.
p. 52.

Antiquit.
Britan in.
Theodor.

Bede, l. 5.
c. 9.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

Bede, *ibid.*
Antiquit.
Britan. in
Berthuald.

Withred and Suebhard then reigning in Kent; but it was almost a year before he received his consecration from Godwin, a French, as Bede calls him, or, as others will have it, a Welsh archbishop. This prelate, though well skilled in Scripture learning, and ecclesiastical customs and discipline, was not to be compared to his predecessor.

113.

A. D. 692.
*Some re-
marks upon
the council in
Trullo.*

About this time the Quinisex council, or the council in Trullo, was convened at Constantinople by Justinian II.: the fifth and sixth general councils held in the reigns of Justinian the Great, and Constantine Pogonatus, making no canons, this synod was summoned as a supplementary provision to the other two, which is the reason of its being called the Quinisex council. It consisted of the four eastern patriarchs, and about a hundred and eighty bishops, but the pope's legates were not there. This assembly is reckoned a general council by Balsamon and the Greek church, but Baronius will, by no means, allow it this title. The cardinal, among other things, is shocked with the thirteenth canon which allows the marriage of priests and deacons; and, which is more, the restraint of the Roman Church upon the clergy is censured by name in the canon, and the marriage of priests justified from St. Matthew, the first epistle to the Corinthians, and the epistle to the Hebrews. They likewise urge the apostles' canons in defence of this liberty; and, at last, the Fathers conclude, that if any person shall presume to procure a separation between priests, or deacons, and their wives, the penalty is degradation. And if any priest or deacon shall part with his wife upon the score of religion, or any inconsistency of that state with his orders, he is to be struck out of the list of the clergy, and forfeit his character.

Concil.
Labbe, tom.
6. p. 1124,
1128.
Baron. A. D.
692. sect. 10.
Concil. *ibid.*
p. 1148.

Matth. xvii.
6. 1 Cor. vii.
27. Heb.
xiii. 4.
Can. 5.

Now this canon being a flat contradiction to the constitutions of several popes, and the practice of the Roman church, Baronius is out of all patience with it, and gives it several hard names, though not to much purpose.

The fifty-fifth canon of this council displeases the cardinal no less than the former; it runs thus: "Being informed that it is the practice at Rome to fast upon Saturdays in Lent, contrary to the received custom of the Church, the holy synod has thought fit to decree the revival of the apostles' canon upon the Roman see, by which it is declared, that if any clergyman shall fast, either upon the Lord's day, or Saturday, (unless

Can. Apost.
66.

one Saturday, *i. e.* Easter Eve,) he is to be degraded; and, if a layman, excommunicated.

This canon not only charges the church of Rome with innovation, and condemns her practice, but likewise brings that see within the jurisdiction of the council, asserts an authority paramount to that of the pope, binds him to a submission to their decisions, and degrades him in case of non-compliance. It is no wonder, therefore, to find Baronius so vigorous in attacking the credit of this council. Amongst other things he tells us, that the bishops of this synod being conscious their canons were of no force without the pope's consent, prevailed with the emperor to send them to Rome to pope Sergius for his confirmation. But I have already proved the pope's consent was not necessary to complete the authority of a council, and that the canons of the council were only sent to the pope to publish them. But, to go on with Baronius, his holiness, says he, perceiving the canons contained a great many rash and unorthodox decisions, he nulled them all instead of confirming them. The emperor not prevailing upon the pope by his letters, changed his battery, and resolved to force him to a compliance. To this purpose he dispatches an agent, with a military guard, with orders to bring the pope prisoner to Constantinople. By the way we are to observe that Italy was, at this time, part of the emperor of Constantinople's dominions, and the pope, by consequence, one of his subjects; which way, therefore, was it possible for his holiness to secure his liberty, and avoid the storm? Why, Baronius informs us, he was rescued by a wonderful interposition of Providence. How so? The cardinal relates that the troops of Italy appeared for the pope against the emperor, and so secured him; that is, they revolted from their lawful sovereign the emperor, and deserted to the pope, and preserved him by the strength of their numbers and rebellion. This insurrection against the civil magistrate the cardinal is pleased to call a Divine interposition. Other sort of language had been much more religious and becoming the occasion, as it had been more honourable for the pope to have gone prisoner to Constantinople, than accepted a rescue from rebels, and disengaged himself by so scandalous a protection.

I have mentioned something of this council in Trullo, because the celibacy of the English clergy and the rigorous usage of

ALFRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.

Peter de
Marca, de
Concord.
Sacerd. and
Imper. l. 7.
c. 14. n. 2.
Vid. supra.
An account
of the first
council of
Arles.
Baron. A D.
692. sect. 39.

*Divinum
adjuv. auxi-
lium.*
Baron. *ibid.*

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

*Ecclesiasti-
cal laws of
king Ina.*

married priests will afterwards make part of the history of the English Church.

To this year we may reckon the ecclesiastical laws of Ina, who succeeded Ceadwalla in the kingdom of the West Saxons. The regulations relating to the Church are these :

1. That the clergy live conformably to the customs and discipline of the Church.

2. That every child be baptized within thirty days after its birth, under the penalty of thirty shillings forfeit. And if the infant happens to die before baptism, all the personal estate is forfeited.

3. If a slave is forced to work upon the Sunday by his master's order, let him be manumized, and let the master be fined thirty shillings over and above ; but if the slave does any work of his own accord, let him smart for it in corporal punishment. And if a person that is free works voluntarily upon the Sunday, he shall forfeit his freedom.

4. The first-fruits of seeds, or the church dues arising from the product of corn, &c., are to be paid at the feast of St. Martin. And let him that fails in the payment forfeit forty shillings, as Lambert reads it, or sixty, according to sir Henry Spelman.

5. If any person guilty of a capital crime takes sanctuary in a church, his life shall be spared ; but then he shall be obliged to fine, according to equity and the constitution. And if any person has made himself liable to corporal punishment, and recovers the protection of a church, the drubbing shall be remitted.

6. If any person quarrels so as to come to blows in the king's palace, he is to forfeit all his goods and chattels, and lie at the king's mercy for his life. And if he strikes in the church, the forfeiture is a hundred and twenty shillings.

7. If any person gives in a false testimony before a bishop, he is to forfeit a hundred and twenty shillings.

8. The breach of the peace in a town where the king or the bishop resides, incurs the forfeiture of a hundred and twenty shillings. The penalty for the same misdemeanour where an earl resides is somewhat lower.

9. Church dues, for the product of the fields, are to be paid where the person owing them dwelt the foregoing Christmas.

Lambert
Archæo-
nom. p. 2.
Spelman.
Concil. vol.
1. p. 127.
114.

10. The last article states the fine that was to be paid for the murder of godfathers or godsons. And if the person murdered was the king's or bishop's godson, the fine was heavier than in other cases.

The first-fruits of seeds, or cyriesceatta, mentioned in the fourth article, has some difficulty in it. Lambert translates it *Primitiæ Seminum*; but the learned Whelock, in his epistle to the reader, before Lambert's *Archainomia*, makes it appear that cyriesceatta comprehends the Church dues in general, whether arising from corn or any other branch of tithes. It is true these duties are called churchseed in some manuscripts; but Whelock proves that these records are posterior to the Norman conquest, and only corruptions of the Saxon cyriesceatta. Now, in the Saxon language this learned person proves, in several instances, that *secat* signifies a part, or portion; and that the term extends to other things besides corn, is evident from sir Henry Spelman, who tells us, from *Doomsday Book*, that cocks and hens, due to the Church at Christmas, are called cyriescet.

Two years after the passing these ecclesiastical laws of king Ina, there was a great council held at Beccæld; it was summoned by Withred, king of Kent, who was present at it. The assembly was composed of the clergy and laity; for besides archbishop Berthwald, Tobias, bishop of Rochester, abbots, priests, and others of the clergy, there were several dukes, as they are called, and great men of the laity. The constitutions are all drawn up in the king's name, run in the form of a charter, and relate in a manner wholly to the privileges of the Church. Amongst other things, the sin of sacrilege is set forth in terms of vehemence and detestation; and all the laity of what degree soever are solemnly forbidden to make encroachments upon any churches or abbeys, or bring them within their jurisdiction. The king likewise exempts all the churches within his dominions from the payment of taxes, and all other services and incumbrances incident to a lay-fee; and, which is somewhat remarkable, the king makes a frank declaration of the authority originally vested in the Church, to govern her own body. Pursuant to this declaration, it is ordered, that when any bishop, abbot, or abbess happens to die, the archbishop of the province should have notice of it,

WITH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
ALFRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.
INA,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

*Lambard
Archainom.
Leges Ina.*

Spelman.
Glossar. in
Circset.

*The synod at
Beccæld.
A. D. 694.
Spelman.
Concil. vol.
1. p. 189.*

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

and that no election should pass without his knowledge and consent; for, as king Withred proceeds, the prerogative royal does not reach to these matters: for as it is the right of the crown to make grants of secular titles, as earls, barons, &c., and to dispose of posts of honour and trust in the civil government, so it belongs to the archbishop to govern the churches of God, to elect and consecrate bishops, to appoint abbots, abbesses, and other persons of ecclesiastical character and jurisdiction. This charter was subscribed by five abbesses, who signed not only before all the priests, but also before one Botred, a bishop. The record was ordered to be laid up in Christ's Church, Canterbury, for security, and that it might serve for a precedent for the rest of the English Churches.

Spelman.
ibid.

Dr. Wake questions the genuineness of this council, though he does not proceed so far as to pronounce it spurious. I shall mention some of his exceptions.

State of the
Church and
Clergy, &c.
p. 140. and
deinc.

1. This learned gentleman observes, "That the king subscribes for himself, and for Werburg his queen; but in his charter granted the very next year, his queen appears to have been Kynigith." This is true; but where lies the inconsistency of these two relations? Might not queen Werburg die soon after the council of Becanceld, and the king be engaged in a second marriage at the date of the latter charter? For though the council was held in the year 694, and the charter granted in the year 695, yet there might be an interval of almost two years between the one and the other; which makes the supposition of a second marriage decently practicable.

Spelman.
Concil. vol.
1. p. 192.

2. This learned author objects that king Withred, in a charter dated An. 700, takes notice of his own ignorance; that he was not able to write his name, and therefore set only a cross + in confirmation of it. But in the council of Becanceld he subscribed for himself, for his wife, and son, without any such excuse or acknowledgment. Now this gentleman wonders how the king should forget to write his name in six years' time. The surprise would have been greater, if he had pleased to remark, that king Withred owns himself thus unlettered, in his charter to the abbess Eaba, An. 695, which was the next year after the council of Becanceld. But after all, it does not appear the king had forgotten any part of his education; it is more likely he never learned to write, than that he had lost that faculty. This gentleman's inference

Ibid, 142.

115.

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 193.

therefore seems to be strained, and is more than can be collected from the record. It is true, the king is said to subscribe the council at Becaneeld; but it is not said he wrote his name himself, neither does the word "subscribe" imply so much; for what is more common than to say, a man signs or subscribes a deed, when he only makes a mark, and his name is written by another? But the king made no excuse for his not being able to write at the council. What need was there of making a record of his ignorance upon every occasion? In fine, we cannot reasonably conclude the king's manner of signing at the council was different from that in his later charters; and by consequence no mark of disadvantage can be drawn upon the council from thence.

WITH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
ALFRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.
INA,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

3. The learned Dr. Atterbury, in vindication of the authority of this Council observes, that "Sir Henry Spelman printed it from five good manuscripts, and one of them near as old as the Saxon age." To show the antiquity of one of these copies, Sir Henry Spelman observes, it was interlined with various readings in Saxon characters. To this Dr. Wake replies, all these copies came from the Church of Canterbury; that the charter at the end of the council was made for the benefit of that cathedral, and that the monks of Canterbury are infamous in history for their forgeries.

Rights, &c.,
of the En-
glish Convo-
cation, p. 311.
ed. 2.
Spelman.
Concil. vol.
1. p. 191.

But first, granting the monks of Christ Church guilty of foul dealing in some instances, can we conclude from hence, that all the manuscripts and charters drawn for the advantage of that convent are counterfeit records? To affirm the Church of Canterbury has no privileges fairly conveyed, no evidence of unquestionable credit, would be a strange assertion.

State of the
Church,
p. 141.

Secondly, The supposition of the monks' forgery cannot reasonably be stretched any farther than the advantage they were to gain by it: from whence it will follow, that the marks of imposture can only be fixed to the charter part of the record, relating to the Church of Canterbury; and thus the credit of the main of the council will remain untouched. Indeed some of the provisions of this synod secure the jurisdiction of the bishops against the encroachments of the monasteries, and therefore it is very unlikely the monks should forge any thing of this kind.

4. To fortify the authority of this council, Dr. Atterbury takes notice, that "in the ancient Saxon Chronicle, there is at

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.
Ibid.

State of the
Church, &c.
p. 140, 141.

the year 694, a very large and particular account of it." To this Dr. Wake replies, "that the Saxon chronicle which inserts the history of this council, is miserably interpolated, and that the language of the Saxon original does not agree, as he is informed, with the age it pretends to." To this it may be answered,

1st, That the charge of interpolation supposes truth and matter of fact in the record, and that the whole is by no means liable to the imputation of forgery. Thus the interpolated Epistles of St. Ignatius were part of them written by that apostolic bishop. Indeed this gentleman at last does not seem to carry his suspicions of falsification any farther than the interest of the monks of Canterbury and Kent were concerned in it.

Ibid. p. 141.

2dly, This learned author has laid down an assertion which perfectly destroys his objection against Dr. Atterbury's copy of the Saxon Chronicle. His remark is this: "that the time which most of the charters were forged, was in the reign of the Conqueror, or in those which immediately followed. The privileges granted by him to Battel Abbey, were both the occasion of them, and the great pattern by which they drew them. Now the Normans, who forged them, were not only utterly unacquainted with our Saxon history, but could not so much as read the Saxon letters."

State of the
Church, &c.
p. 152.

From this passage I infer, that if the counterfeit charters were drawn by the precedent of the Conqueror's charter to Battel Abbey, which was granted but one year before his death; if the Normans were the forgers of these charters; if these Normans were altogether ignorant of the Saxon history, and not so much as able to read the Saxon character; from hence I infer, that the history of the council of Becanceld, written in the Saxon language, and mentioned in the Saxon chronicle, can be no counterfeit memoir; for the Normans, who are the only suspicious persons in this case, were in no condition to pass these forgeries upon the world.

This observation secures the authority of the council against the rest of Dr. Wake's exceptions, I mean as to the bulk, and greater part of the synod, which is all I have occasion to contend for. And what I have here alleged in defence of this ecclesiastical assembly, may serve for the vindication of that at Berkhamsted, convened three years forward; for the constitu-

tions of this council are likewise penned in the Saxon language.

To proceed: I have already observed, that the charters of this king Withred are supposed to be the first authentic grants of any of the Saxon kings.

In the year of our Lord 696, according to Baronius's chronology, Willbrod, an English priest, being encouraged by Pepin, mayor of the palace of France, made some progress in the conversion of the West Frieslanders: and afterwards taking a journey to Rome, was made archbishop of that country by pope Sergius; and by the favour of Pepin, had his see fixed at Utrecht, where he built his cathedral. He built likewise a great many churches and monasteries in that country, erected several episcopal sees, and furnished them with prelates out of his own retinue of missionaries that went along with him.

The next year the council of Berkhamsted was held; it was convened in the dominions of Withred, king of Kent, and in the fifth year of his reign. Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, presided in it. Gebmond, bishop of Rochester, and some of all the orders of the clergy, together with several persons of condition of the laity, were likewise present. The following constitutions were made by the joint consent of the whole convention. And here it was enacted,

First, that the Church should be free, and enjoy all her privileges, customs, and revenues; and that prayers should be made for the prosperity of the king.

Secondly, that the breach of the Church's peace should be punished with a fine of fifty shillings, and be as deep in the forfeiture as the breach of the king's peace.

Thirdly, that those who are guilty of adultery, are to be put under penance; and if they refuse that discipline, or continue unreformed, they are to be excommunicated.

Fourthly, And if any who are foreigners live in such a course of licentiousness, and refuse to be reclaimed, let them be expelled the kingdom, and carry off their goods, and their lewdness along with them.

Fifthly, if any sitheund man or hundredary, who is obliged to serve in the field, shall be guilty of adultery, in contempt of the king, the bishop, and the laws, he shall forfeit a hundred shillings.

WITH-
RED.
K. of Kent.
ALFRID,
K. of the
Northun-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.
INA,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
Spelman.
Concil. vol.
1. p. 194.
Dr. Wake's
State of the
Church, &c.
p. 144, 145.
116.

Spelman.
Concil. vol.
1. p. 125.
Baron. A. D.
696.
Willbrod con-
verts West
Friesland.
A. D. 697.
The synod of
Berkham-
sted.
Spelman.
Concil. vol.
1. p. 194.

Vid. Brady's
Complete
Hist. fol. 68.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

Sixthly, If any priest shall tolerate or connive at adultery or unlawful marriage, or defers the baptizing of children beyond the proper time, he shall be suspended *ab officio* by the bishop.

Seventhly, If any person enfranchises his slave at the altar, his freedom shall stand good, and he shall enjoy the privilege of inheriting, and the liberty of going where he pleases.

Eighthly, the bare affirmation of the king and bishop shall have the force of an oath in the operation of law.

Ninthly, When a priest or abbot is charged with any crime, and is brought to the altar, and declares solemnly, "I speak the truth in Christ, and lie not;" this declaration shall be looked on as an equivalent to an oath.

Tenthly, If any person belonging to a bishop is prosecuted, the cognizance of the cause belongs to the Church.

In reciting these laws, I have neither mentioned all of them, nor observed the order in which they stand in Sir Henry Spelman: the selecting those which relate chiefly to the Church being sufficient for the purpose in hand.

A. D. 699.
Baron. A. D.
699, sect. 6.

In the year of our Lord 699, according to Baronius's computation, Naitan king of the Picts, who dwelt in the northern parts of Britain, dispatched his agents to Ceolfrid, abbot of the monastery of Weremouth near the Tyne, to desire him to draw up a scheme of the Roman manner of keeping Easter, together with the arguments used in defence of it. He likewise desired to be farther instructed in the ecclesiastical tonsure; promising that himself and his subjects would conform for the future to the Roman Church. Ceolfrid complied with his request, and wrote him a long letter upon the controversy; which I shall not translate, having been large enough already upon this subject.

*Naitan, king
of the Picts,
conforms to
the Catholic
custom of
keeping
Easter.*

This letter was read before the king in a full audience, and gave great satisfaction, insomuch that the king declared this usage, together with the Roman tonsure, should be observed in his dominions: for now he was fully instructed to defend the practice; and therefore they resolved to be governed by the paschal cycle of nineteen years, instead of the old one of eighty-four. And now, as Bede expresses it, the nation of the Picts were disentangled from their old error, and wonderfully pleased with the new privilege of being brought under the

government and protection of St. Peter ; which is as much as to say, they had no correspondence with the see of Rome, nor paid any deference to the pope before. About three years since, a great part of the Scots in Ireland, and some of the Britons, were prevailed on to conform to the Catholic manner of keeping Easter. The occasion of it was this : one Adamnanus, a priest and abbot of Hi, or Iona, was sent ambassador by his countrymen to Alfrid king of the Northumbrians. While he continued at this court he was convinced of his error, and made a convert. At his return home, he endeavoured to satisfy the monks of Iona, but failed in the attempt. Upon this disappointment he sailed into Ireland, and gained the greatest part of the country to the Catholic custom. When he came back to Hi, he disputed strongly about the paschal controversy, and made a second trial upon the monks ; but could not disengage them from their old persuasion.

WITH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
ALFRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.
INA,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

Bede, l. 5.
c. 22.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 16.

And now the thread of the history will lead us to the Northumbrians, where, after the second rupture between king Alfrid and Wilfrid of York, the bishop retired to Ethelred king of the Mercians, where he was honourably entertained : but it seems Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, had a mind to bring the cause to a second hearing ; who, as the author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* relates, had the pope's bull, or letters patent for the primacy of all England. Berthwald therefore convenes a synod of almost all the English bishops, at a place called Onestresfeld. Wilfrid had notice given him to be present at this synod. At first he refused to appear, being apprehensive of ill usage ; but afterwards, having procured a safe-conduct, he went thither. The design of the convening of this synod, it is thought, was to persuade Wilfrid to resign his bishopric ; and if they could not prevail upon him, the next point was to get him condemned by a majority of the bishops, that so the odium of expelling him might be taken off from the king.

A. D. 701.
Antiquit.
Britan. in
Berthwald.

117.

Eddius, Vit.
Wilfrid,
c. 45.
Antiquitat.
Britan. in
Berthwald.
Antiquitat.
Britan. ibid.
The synod at
Onestresfeld,
about Wil-
frid's case.
A. D. 702.
Eddius, *ibid.*

When Wilfrid appeared, they began to open a charge against him, and preferred several articles which they could not prove ; and particularly they pressed him to a submission to the canons and orders made under the late archbishop Theodore. To this he replied, that he was ready to acquiesce in any determination canonically settled. But then he remonstrated with great freedom and spirit against their pro-

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

ceedings; and asked them how they could venture to be so hardy as to slight the apostolical orders, sent to Britain by the holy popes, Agatho, Bennet, and Sergius, and prefer the archbishop Theodore's injunctions before them; he meant, the judgments and orders given by Theodore, during the misunderstanding between him and Wilfrid. And here he proceeds to reproach the synod with open opposition to the authority of the see of Rome for two-and-twenty years together.

Eddius, *ibid.*

From hence nothing can be more plain than that Theodore and the other British bishops did not think themselves obliged to be arbitrarily governed by the see of Rome.

To proceed with Wilfrid's cause: one of the king's court coming in a disguise into the council, told him, that the synod was prepossessed on the king's side; that there was a snare laid for him, and advised him to be cautious as to what he subscribed. As Eddius reports the matter, there was some reason for this circumspection: for at last they spoke out, and passed sentence against him; by virtue of which he was to be dis-seized of all his revenues, both in the kingdoms of the Northumbrians and Mercians. This sentence, though agreed to by the king and the archbishop, was thought over-rigorous, even by some of Wilfrid's enemies: upon which they proceeded to a new consultation, and softened the severity in some measure. By this last judgment, Wilfrid was to be put in possession of the abbey of Ripon, with all its appurtenances, provided he would give it under his hand, not to stir out of the precincts of the monastery without the king's leave, nor execute any part of the episcopal function; but he contented to degrade himself, and resign his character. Wilfrid declared

*Wilfrid ap-
peals to
Rome, which
gives offence
to the arch-
bishop.*

aloud against the partiality of these proceedings, and appealed to the see of Rome. His making this appeal gave a farther offence to the king and the archbishop, who now charged him with contumacy for preferring the judgment of a foreign see to a synod of his own country. The king told the archbishop over and above, that provided this prelate would consent to it, he would let his troops loose, as Eddius speaks, upon Wilfrid, and dragoon him into a submission to the council. To this the other bishops replied, that Wilfrid made his appearance under the security of a safe-conduct, and therefore desired he might not be put under duress, but have the liberty to return, which was granted accordingly.

Eddius, *ibid.*

And now the synod breaking up, Wilfrid retired to king Ethelred, and gave him an account of the proceedings of Onestresfeld. He likewise asked him, whether his majesty pleased to continue him in the privileges and revenues formerly granted? The king told him, he designed to give him no trouble, nor revoke any grants made to the advantage of religion: however, he intended either to send agents or letters to Rome, and to govern himself, with respect to Wilfrid, by the directions of that see.

WITH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
ALFRID,
K. of the
Northumbrians,
ETHEL-
RED,
K. of the
Mercians.

Eddius, c. 46.

Eddius goes on with Wilfrid's case, and reports, that now this prelate and all his party were declared excommunicated in the kingdom of the Northumbrians. And it seems their aversion grew to such a height, that if any priest of Wilfrid's party had begged a blessing upon the meat in any house, they ordered the people to throw it out of doors immediately, as if it had been offered to an idol: and if any of our friends, says Eddius, had made use of any church plate, they used to have it washed before they would touch it.

*Wilfrid and
his party
excommuni-
cated.*
Eddius, c. 47.

Wilfrid being excommunicated at home, and thrown out of the king's protection, goes a second voyage to Rome; and here, presenting himself before the pope upon his knees, makes his appeal with all imaginable submission, setting forth the hardship of his case, and resigning himself entirely to the pope's determination; particularly amongst other things, he desired his holiness would give him recommendatory letters to Ethelred, king of the Mercians, that he might enjoy the monasteries granted him there without disturbance. He likewise desired a letter to king Alfrid, to return him his revenues and jurisdiction. And if that prince was not contented he should be restored to the see of York, he requested his holiness would provide a prelate for that see; and that the two monasteries of Ripon and Hexham might be secured to him.

A. D. 702.
*Wilfrid's se-
cond voyage
to Rome.*

Eddius, Vit.
Wilfrid,
c. 48.
Malmesbur.
de Gestis
Pontif. l. 3.
p. 151.

On the other side, archbishop Berthwald thought fit, it seems, to send his agents to Rome to justify the proceedings against Wilfrid. These commissioners delivered in a charge against him in writing. One of the articles was, that Wilfrid's refusing to submit to the determination of an English synod, and the orders of his metropolitan, was a high crime, and an unpardonable contumacy. To this Wilfrid replied, that he did not absolutely refuse obedience to archbishop Berthwald, but only so far as the orders of that archbishop were inconsis-

Crimen Ca-
pitale.
Malmesbur.
ibid.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

118.

tent with the canons, and the decrees of the see of Rome. The manner of Wilfrid's defence, and his making the pope the arbiter of the controversy, was extremely acceptable at Rome: and without doubt, Wilfrid fared the better for making his court with so much address. In short, after the pope had ordered both parties to withdraw, he directs his speech to a synod then convened, of the neighbouring bishops: and here he puts them in mind, that before they came to pronounce judgment, or to give their votes on either side, they were to examine the process of the cause from the beginning, and consider the resolutions of his predecessors, Agatho, Bennet, and Sergius, upon the point, and then govern themselves in the decision by those precedents. This was telling them in plain terms, they were to bring in their verdict for the defendant.

By the way we are to observe, that the cause had several hearings, was four months depending at Rome, and brought before seventy consistories, or little synods, as Eddius calls them.

Eddius,
c. 51.

Wilfrid, to show the rigour with which his adversaries treated him, alleged, that he was required by the king and Berthwald to submit, without reserve, to the archbishop's single sentence; though, by the way, this is contradicted by king Alfrid, as we shall see afterwards: but to proceed in the course of the trial. After the allegations of both parties had been heard, Wilfrid was acquitted by the pope and synod, consisting of a hundred and twenty five bishops; and then he was allowed to sit in the council.

*Wilfrid ac-
quitted by the
pope and Ro-
man synod.*
Eddius, *ibid.*

A. D. 704.

And now pope John VII. wrote letters to Ethelred, king of the Mercians, and Alfrid, king of the Northumbrians: the contents have a strong air of authority, and run in high terms. The pope acquaints these princes, that Wilfrid's cause had been debated at length, and therefore, if his adversaries did not acquiesce in the sentence, he advises Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, to convene a synod, and that Wilfrid and the two other Northumbrian bishops, Bosa and John, might be present at it; and if they could not come to an agreement upon the points contested, that then both parties should apply to Rome for a final determination: and in case any prelate of the English synod should refuse to be tried by the last resort of the apostolic see, he was to forfeit the dignity of his order. And to make the submission of the English the more easy, the

Eddius,
c. 52.

pope sets forth in his letter to king Alfrid, that Theodore, the late archbishop of Canterbury, never contradicted pope Agatho's order in Wilfrid's case. But under favour, this suggestion is opposed to matter of fact: for it is plain, that Theodore took no notice of Agatho's decision a great while after Wilfrid's first return, neither was he reconciled to Wilfrid till a little before his death. To which we may add, that Wilfrid himself had charged the synod at Onestresfeld with two-and-twenty years' disobedience to the see of Rome, and with preferring the decrees of Theodore before those of several popes.

Wilfrid being thus successful at Rome, sets forward for Britain; and at his arrival sends some of his retinue to the archbishop, who finding how the matter had passed, and that Wilfrid came fortified with the pope's recommendation, he began to relent, and promise his friendship.

From Kent Wilfrid travels to Ethelred's court, where he was honourably received: and upon his producing the instruments of his acquittal at Rome, and the pope's letter to Ethelred, that prince made a profound reverence in respect of the pope, and declared, that he would never censure the least syllable in his holiness's letter, but do his utmost to see the contents well executed: neither was he worse than his word.

Not long after, by the advice of king Ethelred, Wilfrid sent an abbot and another of his retinue to wait upon king Alfrid; and to desire he might have leave to come to that prince's court, and deliver him the pope's letters, with a copy of the proceedings in his own case. King Alfrid, at first, returned Wilfrid's deputies no rugged answer, but ordered them to come the next day, which being accordingly done, he professed a great regard for their persons and character: but as to Wilfrid's business, he could by no means give him satisfaction: there being no manner of reason why he should hold any correspondence with a person of Wilfrid's obstinacy; neither would he communicate with one that had been twice condemned by a synod of almost all the bishops in Britain: to stand out against such an authority was so irregular a practice, that no recommendation or sentence of the apostolic see should make him pass it over.

Soon after the king fell sick; and then, as Eddius and Malmesbury report, he began to own he had failed in his re-

WITH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
ALFRID,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
INA,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

Eddius, *ibid.*
Malmesb. de
Gestis Pon-
tific. l. 3.
p. 152.
Eddius, c. 42.
Eddius, c. 45.

Eddius,
c. 60.

Eddius, c. 61.
Malmesb. de
Gest. Ponti-
fic. l. 3.
p. 152.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

gards to the pope: and promised to comply with the court of Rome upon his recovery. But this sickness proving his last, nothing was done in that matter.

*King Al-
frid's death.*

Alfrid was succeeded by Edulf, who usurped the government. This prince being formerly a friend to Wilfrid, the bishop ventured to address him. But here he was very ruggedly entertained, and ordered to depart the kingdom within six days, under the highest penalties of forfeiture and disgrace. But Edulf's reign was short; for within two months he was deposed and slain; and Osred, king Alfrid's son, acknowledged sovereign.

Eddius, c. 57.
Malmesb.
ibid.
*The synod at
Nidd.*
A. D. 705.

In the first year of this prince's reign, Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, came into the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and desired the king, with the prelates, and temporal nobility, to meet in council about Wilfrid's case. This motion was agreed to, and they met accordingly, in a place near the river Nidd. The king brought three northern bishops, and several abbots along with him; the abbess Elfede was likewise there, together with Wilfrid, and the archbishop. The archbishop opened the meeting, by acquainting the synod with the pope's letters, and other instructions relating to Wilfrid, which he desired might be read; which was done accordingly. It seems all the company did not understand Latin, and therefore Berecfrid, Osred's prime minister, desired they might be interpreted in English. The archbishop replied, that to do this at length would be somewhat tedious, and therefore he would abridge the matter, and lay the sense and design of the whole before them in a few words. And here, having flourished a little upon the pope's authority, and the advantage of his succession from St. Peter, he told them, his holiness gave the Northumbrians their choice of two things, either to resign their sees to Wilfrid, and leave him in possession of the ancient jurisdiction, and extent of his diocese: or, in case they refused to drop the dispute upon these terms, which, in his opinion, were the most reasonable, then they were all to take a journey to Rome to be tried there, and put an end to the controversy in a more numerous synod. But if any person should be so unhappy as to slight this order, and reject the alternative, he was to be denied the sacrament of the Eucharist in case he was any of the laity; and to be degraded if a bishop or priest. This, says the archbishop, is the sum of his holiness's commands.

Eddius, c. 58.
Malmesb.
ibid.
Cambd. Brit.
Scotland,
p. 17.
119.

*The synod
remonstrates
against the
pope's sen-
tence.*

To this the bishops replied, that let the pretence be what it will, they could not see any reason to reverse the decision made by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, with the consent of king Egfrid, and afterwards confirmed in the synod of Onestresfeld, where both Berthwald and king Alfrid, and most of the English bishops were present.

Notwithstanding the incomppliance of this answer, the abbess Elflède, king Alfrid's sister, and Berecfrid, the prime minister, being in Wilfrid's interest, overruled the synod, and gave a new turn to their resolutions. Elflède declared that her brother Alfrid, upon his death-bed, had promised to stand by the apostolic see, with reference to Wilfrid; and in case he should die before his resolves were put in execution, he charged his successor with the performance. This speech of Elflède's was seconded by Berecfrid, who told the synod, that when they were besieged and hard pressed at Bebbanburg, they made a solemn vow of compliance with the apostolic see: upon which, the enemy made an overture of an honourable peace, and raised the siege. And now the bishops withdrew, and consulted apart, and at last suffered themselves to be prevailed on by Elflède and the archbishop; and, in short, they came in the conclusion to this accommodation: that John, at this time bishop of Hagulstad, or Hexham, should be removed to the see of York, now vacant by the death of Bosa; and that Wilfrid should succeed him in the bishopric and abbey of Hexham, and together with them, be restored to the abbey of Ripon.

I have been the larger in reporting Wilfrid's case, because there are a great many remarkable circumstances in it. Amongst other things, it appears pretty plain that the pope, though he had gained some ground, yet he had not mastered the liberties of the English Church at this time of day. For notwithstanding the respect the Saxon bishops might some of them pay to the see of Rome, it is evident they looked upon their own body as a competent authority to determine controversies arising among themselves. Why else should they censure an appeal to Rome as an act of contumacy, and a crime that was not to be passed over? Why should they insist on the force and legality of their own decrees, and declare against reversing them upon any pretence whatsoever? If it is objected that Theodore and Berthwald's sending agents

WITH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
OSRED,
K. of the
Northum-
brians,
INA,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

Eddius, c. 58.
*However, at
last they
come to a
temper, and
the contro-
versy is ac-
commo-
dated.*

Eddius, *ibid.*
Malmes.
ibid.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

to Rome, implies an acknowledgment of their dependence ; and that they owned the superiority of that see,—

To this it may be answered, that this inference cannot necessarily be drawn from such an application. For their sending deputies to Rome to complain against Wilfrid, might only imply that they were willing to inform the pope of matter of fact, and keep a fair correspondence with him upon a foot of equality: thus one prince may send ambassadors to another, to acquaint him with the injuries received from a third state, and all this without a design of owning any inferiority, or paying any homage. That this was something of the case, appears by Theodore and Berthwald's governing themselves by the resolution of the English synod, and taking no notice of the pope's decision, which, it is plain, they did not for several years together, as has been observed.

We may observe, farther, that though Theodore and Berthwald sent their agents to Rome, yet the northern bishops of York, Hexham, Whithern, and Holy Island sent none. For if they had, we have reason to believe that Eddius and Malmesbury, who mentioned the other, would have taken notice of it.

To this we may add, that these prelates, who stood out so stiffly against Wilfrid's restitution, were all men of character, and reputation; the famous Cuthbert, already mentioned, was one of them; Bosa, bishop of York, a man of exemplary sanctity and mortification, was another. To these we may add John of Beverley, who succeeded Bosa in the bishopric of York. This person was remarkable not only for his learning and piety, but for his miracles too; several of which are related by Bede, who had his education under him.

These are the famous men that appeared against Wilfrid, all along executed their episcopal function in that which had been his diocese, and possessed themselves of what he called his jurisdiction and revenues. And when the pope's letters in favour of Wilfrid were produced at the synod of Nidd, when his prerogative from St. Peter was pressed, and compliance with the sentence enjoined, under the penalty of degradation, they took no notice of all this menace, but frankly appealed to the authority of their synod, and pronounced their own decrees unalterable. And though they came to an accommodation at last, out of regard to Elfride and Berecfrid, in honour to the memory of the late king, and at the report of a

Eddius, c. 52.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 3.
Eddius and
Bede, *ibid.*

Bede, l. 5.
c. 2. 345, 6.

120.

Eddius,
c. 58.

miracle; yet their keeping off all along, and recoiling at the orders of the Roman see, is sufficient to show their judgment in this matter.

This year the famous Ethelred, king of the Mercians, after he had held the crown thirty years, and governed with great reputation, turned monk, and died at the monastery of Bardene, in Lincolnshire. He resigned to his kinsman Cenred, to whose favour he recommended Wilfrid, at his second return from Rome.

To this year we may reckon the death of Heddi, bishop of the West Saxons. Upon the decease of this prelate, his diocese, which had for some time comprehended the kingdoms of the West and South Saxons, was divided into three: Daniel was made bishop of Winchester; Aldhelm, bishop of Sherburn; and the see of Selsea, which had been annexed to the bishopric of Winchester since Wilfrid's removal from the South Saxons, was conferred upon the abbot Eadbert, and made a distinct bishopric.

This division of the sees in the kingdoms of the West and South Saxons, Bede tells us, was settled in a synod held in the year 707, as sir Henry Spelman computes it. Huntingdon mentions this matter somewhat differently, and reports that Ina, in the twentieth year of his reign, divided the dioceses of the West Saxons into two bishoprics. These different accounts may be easily reconciled, by supposing, that this partition being made by a synodical constitution, the king, it is probable, was present at the council, and acquiesced in the settlement.

The next year affords us nothing from the Church, and is only remarkable for a battle between Ina, king of the West Saxons, and Garents, king of Wales. In the beginning of the fight, Higeald, Ina's general, was slain; but at last the Welch were forced to retire, and leave their arms and baggage to the English. About the same time, Offer, king Osred's general, gained a victory against the Picts, made a terrible slaughter, and revenged the misfortune of king Ecgfrid.

And now the time will lead us to Wilfrid's death. This prelate, who had run through a great deal of trouble, survived the accommodation at Nidd about four years, and then died at his monastery at Oundle, in Northamptonshire, at the age of seventy-six, having worn the episcopal character forty-five years. His body was embalmed, and attended to Ripon with

WITH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
OSRED,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.

A. D. 705.
*King Ethel-
red's death.*
Matth.
Westminst.
Flores. His-
toriarum
An. Grat.
705.
Eddius, c. 55.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 20.

Godwin, de
Præsulibus.
Angliæ.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Pon-
tif. l. 2.
p. 140.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 19.

Bede, *ibid.*
Spelman.
Concil. vol.
l. p. 208.
A. D. 707.
Huntingd.
Historiar.
l. 4. p. 193.

A. D. 708.
Matth.
Westminst.
Flores His-
toriar. An.
Grat. 708.
Wilfrid dies.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.
Eddius,
c. 63.
A. D. 709.

great solemnity. He made a nuncupative will, and divided his estate into four parts; one of which was bequeathed to the churches of St. Mary's and St. Paul's, to pray for his soul: another fourth he gave to the poor: a third to the abbots of Ripon and Oundle, that they might be in a condition to make an interest at court upon occasion: the remaining fourth was disposed of for the maintenance of those who had followed his fortune, and travelled along with him in his exile.

Eddius, *ibid.*

*The two
kings, Cenred
and Offa, re-
sign, and
turn monks
at Rome.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 20.*

This year Cenred, king of the Mercians, who had shown himself well qualified for the functions of government, threw up his crown, travelled to Rome, and taking the monastic habit under pope Constantine, spent the remainder of his life in charity, discipline, and devotion. Ceolred, son of the late king Ethelred, succeeded to his dominions. Offa, son of Sighere, king of the East Saxons, kept Cenred company both in his journey and design. By Bede's description, he was a very graceful person, and in the prime of his youth; a prince of great hopes, and one that would have filled the throne very much to the advantage of his country. But, as the historian proceeds, the other world had so much the ascendant over him, that he would not venture himself with the temptations of sovereignty; but disengaged from his princess and relations, and parted with his interest and country, to put himself, as he believed, in a safer condition for salvation.

We meet with several English princes, that have taken leave of the world in this manner. I know their conduct is censured by some writers, as if they grew morose, by finding their ambition crossed; retired to cover their defects, and screen themselves from the odium of mal-administration. I shall not pretend to enter upon a disquisition of the point any farther than to observe, that we ought to be very favourable in our conjectures upon this matter; for though probably it might have been more for the benefit of the government, if they had not gone off; though their good qualities would have made them extremely valuable upon the throne: however, we must grant their meaning was very commendable in retiring. To quit a life of pomp and power; to exchange the pleasures and liberties of the court for a state of restraint and mortification; to do all this in the bloom of their youth, when their fortune is so well established, and they have both leisure and inclination to enjoy the advantages of their birth, can proceed

from nothing but a predominaney of virtue and conscience, and a noble disregard of secular greatness; of secular greatness, I say, in competition with the glories of the other world: besides, their example may be serviceable to others in a lower station, who, though they do not imitate their manner in every circumstance, and follow them to a cell; yet the force of such royal precedents may refresh the idea of religion, and make them more solicitous for the security of their future state.

This year Aldhelm, bishop of Sherburn, died; he was the son of Kenten, king Ina's brother, and had formerly been abbot of Malmesbury. This prelate had, by the direction of a synod, written a book against the mistake of the Britons, with reference to the paschal controversy. He likewise, as Bede continues, charged the British church with a great many singularities, and which kept them at a distance from the Saxon communion. This book, it seems, prevailed upon great numbers of those Britons that lived under the jurisdiction of the West Saxons, so far at least as to reconcile them to the Catholic usage of keeping Easter. Aldhelm wrote a book in commendation of virginity, in which it appears he was not unacquainted with the writings of the Fathers and other monuments of ecclesiastical learning; it was composed in prose and heroic verse; the first has been lately printed among Bede's Opuscula. He wrote several other things, and Bede gives him a great character for his sufficiency, both in the belles lettres and in divinity. Malmesbury seconds Bede, and makes him a great master of style, and that he understood the force and propriety of the Greek, Latin, and Saxon languages, to a great exactness. He mentions several tracts written by him relating to versification, and a great many letters, most of which were lost when this historian wrote. The fame of his learning and devotion, it may be, somewhat set off by the advantage of his quality, made pope Sergius desirous to see him, and give him an invitation to Rome. He complied with his holiness's civility, and took a journey to Rome before his promotion to the see of Sherburn; and here, amongst other marks of esteem, the pope exempted his abbey of Malmesbury from episcopal jurisdiction, concerning which privilege I shall say nothing farther at present. Forthere succeeded Aldhelm in his bishoprie, was very well skilled in the learning of the

WITH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
OSRED,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.

121.

Aldhelm,
bishop of
Sherburn,
his extraction
and cha-
acter.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 19.
Floren.
Wigorn.
Higden. Po-
lychron. l. 5.
p. 244, &c.

Malmesbur.
l. 5. de Pon-
tif. inter
Quindec.
Scriptores,
p. 339, &c.

Malmesbur.
ibid. p. 352.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

Bede, l. 5.
c. 19.

*The synod of
Alne.*

Godwin de
Præsul. An.
in Vit.
Egwin.

Holy Scriptures, and was living when Bede wrote his ecclesiastical history.

To this year we may reckon the synod of Alne, though if Wilfrid was present at it, as Godwin observes from Brithwaldus Glasconiensis, it must be in the beginning. The occasion of the council was this :—Egwin, extracted from a royal family, was made bishop of Worcester about the year 693. Not long after, being thrown out of his bishopric, he took a journey to Rome, where he was well received, and sent home, as it may be supposed, with recommendations from that see. Soon after his arrival, he procured a grant of a place called Evesham, in Worcestershire, built a monastery upon it, and took a second journey to Rome to get it fortified with new privileges. And here succeeding in his design, he returned for Britain, and got a national synod convened.

Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, made part of this council, in which the lands granted to this abbey were all confirmed, and Wilfrid directed to consecrate the abbey church ; upon which Egwin furnished the house with Benedictine monks, and died upon the twenty-ninth of December following.

A. D. 710.

*Acca suc-
ceeds Wilfrid
in the bishop-
ric of Hex-
ham.*

Bede, l. 5.
c. 21.

After Wilfrid's death, Acca, a priest in his family, succeeded him in the see of Hexham. This prelate, as Bede informs us, ornamented his cathedral to a great degree of beauty and magnificence, furnished it with plate and holy vestments, procured a large collection of the lives of the saints, and made a noble library there, consisting chiefly of ecclesiastical learning. Bede commends him farther for an able divine, and for his great skill in Church music ; that he sent for a considerable master in this science out of Kent to instruct his choir ; and after having given him a general commendation, he tells us he had his education under that most holy prelate Bosa, bishop of York ; from whence he removed to Wilfrid's patronage, and attended him in his journey to Rome ; and here, as the historian adds, he improved himself in several things relating to ecclesiastical usage and discipline, which it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country.

From this last passage we may infer that the Roman and English Churches were not, as yet, brought to a perfect uniformity in all points.

The next remarkable thing which comes up is the council of London, in which, according to Bale and the Magdeburgenses, the worship of images and the celibacy of priests were decreed. But the authorities they produce for this synod are of no antiquity, and therefore it is reasonably enough looked upon by Baronius and Binius as a romantic relation. Baronius observes rightly, that, had there been any such synod, it would not have been unmentioned by Bede.

However, Urspergensis, who lived in the thirteenth century, and other modern historians, report that Egwin being elected to the see of Worcester, had an immediate direction from heaven to set up the image of the blessed Virgin in his cathedral. The authority of this order being disputed, the controversy was at last brought before the pope, where Egwin appears upon summons, swears the truth of the vision, and had others to support him in his testimony. Upon this Constantine sends his legate Boniface into Britain, who convenes a council at London, in which there was a canon passed to the purpose above mentioned. All this story Baronius and Binius look upon as a fiction. Now, though they are right in the main, they are plainly mistaken in the ground of their conclusion; for to disprove the matter of fact they affirm there was no need of any council upon such an occasion. Why so? Because, as they argue, the worship of images had been the practice of the English Churches ever since their conversion by St. Augustine the monk. But the passage of Bede, from whence they draw their inference, does by no means come up to their point, as I have already proved.

That Bede went no farther than Gregory the Great in the use of images, is evident both from the silence of his history, and from another tract of his, where, pleading for the lawfulness of them, he speaks to this purpose:—"If it was lawful for the Jews to set up the brazen serpent, why may we not have a crucifix before us? Such a representation refreshes the memory of our Saviour's passion and miracles, helps to produce pious and serviceable thoughts, and informs the unlettered in the gospel history. And if Solomon was allowed to support his bason of the sea with twelve brazen oxen, why may not a painter or statuary represent the twelve apostles, both in their persons and design, and give us part of the Holy Scripture, as it were, upon marble and in colours?" Thus Bede

WITH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
OSRED,
K. of North-
umberland.
INA,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

A. D. 712.
*The pretend-
ed council at
London.*
Magdebur-
gens. cent. 8.
c. 9.
Baron. A. D.
714. sect.
3, 4.
Concil.
Labbe, tom.
6. p. 1421.

122.

Bede, l. 1.
c. 25.

Vid. supra,
anno 597.
*Bede's opi-
nion concern-
ing images.*
Lib. de
Templo Sa-
lomonis,
c. 19. tom. 8.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

stops short of the excess of adoration, and carries the use no farther than instruction and memory. But this argument will return upon the history, and therefore I shall say little more at present; only it may not be amiss to observe that neither the charters of Cenred and Offa, nor that of Egwin, bishop of Worcester, take any notice either of the worship or introduction of images. Besides, these two charters seem to have been the contrivance of later times, and have some marks of forgery upon them. To examine them in a line or two distinctly:—In the charter of Cenred and Offa this latter prince is called Gubernator, or king of the East Angles; whereas it is evident from Bede, Florence of Worcester, Higden's Polychronicon, and others, that Offa was king of the East Saxons at the date of this charter; and that there was no king of the East Angles of this name till the year of our Lord 793, in which Offa, king of the Mercians, barbarously murdered Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, and seized his dominions. And as to Egwin's charter, not to mention the difficulty in the date, which runs A. D. 714, in which Cenred signs in the royal style, though it is plain he had quitted his dominions, and was turned monk five years before; not to mention this, I say the charter is said to be written by Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, at the pope's order, with the consent of all the princes and great men of England. And yet, as sir Henry Spelman observes, these princes were neither convened, nor the pretended council sitting, nor had Berthwald ever been at Rome, as the charter seems to suppose.

Spelman.
Concil. vol.
1. p. 209,
211.

Bede, l. 5.
c. 20.
Florent. Wi-
gorn. Chron.
Polychron.
1. 5. p. 244.

Matth.
Westminst.
An. Grat.
793.
Higden Po-
lychron.
1. 5. p. 251.

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 210, 212.
*The pretend-
ed council of
London far-
ther dis-
proved.*

To return to the council of London, which is said to have been summoned upon the credit of Egwin's visions, we have another mark of imposture upon the story, for here Boniface is said to be pope Constantine's legate, and to have been dispatched into Britain to summon and preside in the council. Now this Boniface must be the same with Winfrid, an Englishman, who altered his name to Boniface, was afterwards archbishop of Mentz, and successively legate to Gregory the Second and Third, and Zachary the Second. This Boniface, in a letter of his to pope Stephen, after having excused himself for not being more early in his address, desires his legatine character, with which he had been honoured for thirty-six years, might be continued. This letter to pope Stephen III. must have been written in 752, if not two years after. Now

Concil.
Labbe, tom.
6. p. 1654.

take it at the earliest date, and then by computation, Boniface's legatine commission will commence in the year 716, which was after the death of pope Constantine, falls in with the papacy of his successor Gregory II., and is about six years after the time assigned for the pretended council at London.

A few years forwards will bring us to the death of St. Guthlack, who being the first Saxon anchoret, and giving occasion to the founding the monastery of Croyland, it will not be improper to say something of him. St. Guthlack, as Malmesbury and others relate, was a person nobly descended.

The first part of his youth was spent in the profession of arms; and here he managed himself with unusual tenderness and humanity, it being his custom to return the enemy the third part of the plunder taken from them. Having been a soldier about seven years, he began to reflect upon the insignificancy and danger of secular greatness. This thought quickly brought him to a resolution of quitting his way of living.

And now, taking his leave of his fellow-soldiers, who by the way seemed to have been little better than a party of moss-troopers, he retired to the monastery of Rependon, where he took the tonsure and habit, did penance for his former misbehaviour, and submitted to the discipline and austerities of the place; and being resolved to improve in his mortification, he retired to a fenny place called Croyland. This place, it seems, was so

disturbed with apparitions, that no mortal would venture to live in it. However, St. Guthlack's piety and courage enabled him to stand the shock, and weather out the storm, though he had several times been very roughly handled by these spectres.

St. Guthlack at last grew famous for his manner of living, insomuch that one Hebba, a bishop, made him a visit, and ordained him priest. Ethelbald, likewise of the blood-royal of the kings of Mercia, had a great veneration for him. This prince being of an ambitious temper, and giving umbrage to king Ceolred, was obliged to quit the country; Ceolred, not thinking himself safe, pursued him from place to place. Ethelbald being thus distressed, applies to St. Guthlack, represents his case, and makes him his confessor. This holy man furnished him with good advice, admonished him to repent and reform, and gave him an assurance, that in case he lived regularly, and like a Christian, he should be advanced to the crown of Mercia, and that without the effusion of blood.

WITH
RED,
K. of Kent
OSRED,
K. of North-
umberland.
INA,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

*St. Guth-
lack's cha-
racter.*

Mat. West-
monast.
Flores. His-
tor. An.
Grat. 714.

Ibid.

123.

Ingulphus,
Histor. p. 2.

BERTH-
WALD,
Abp. Cant.

Ethelbald was mightily pleased with so great a prospect, and promised, when the prediction was made good, to found a monastery there in honour of his confessor's memory, which was afterwards performed accordingly. St. Guthlack, after he had continued fifteen years in this hermitage, died in his cell, and left the reputation of an extraordinary saint.

Ingulphus,
ibid.

A. D. 716.
*King Osred
assassinated.*

In the year of our Lord 716, Osred, king of Northumberland, was slain by a conspiracy of his kinsmen, Cenred and Osred. He lived a licentious life, and carried his disorders so far as to break through the privileges of religious houses and debauch the nuns. He was succeeded by Cenred, one of the assassins.

Chronol.
Saxon.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 1. p. 10.
*The monks
of Hi con-
form to the
Roman cus-
tom of keep-
ing Easter.*
Bede, l. 5.
c. 23.
Bede, ibid.
and cap. 24.

This year, one Egbert, a celebrated monk in priest's orders, came from Ireland to Hi, or Iona, and persuaded the monks there to admit of the Roman tonsure, and conform to the Catholic custom of keeping Easter. This Egbert, Bede tells us, was an Englishman, though not the same with him that was afterwards archbishop of York. Bede looks upon the undeceiving these Scots, and reconciling them to the Roman custom, as a blessing upon that nation, for the pains they had taken in converting the English; whereas, says he, the Britons, who refused to preach Christianity to the Saxons, continue still in their ancient errors, and perform the holy solemnities in a manner altogether singular, and without the communion of the Church. His meaning is, they stood upon their ancient privileges, and refused to be overruled by the authority of the Roman see.

A. D. 721.

*The death of
John of
Beverley.*
Godwin de
Præsul.
Angl.

And now it will be proper to mention the death of the famous John of York, commonly called John of Beverley. To what has been said of him already, I shall only add, that after he had been bishop about three-and-thirty years, and perceived his age sat heavy upon him, he resigned his mitre, with the consent of the clergy, and made his chaplain, Wilfrid junior, his successor. He spent the rest of his time in his monastery at Beverley, died there in May, 721, and was buried in the church porch. He was famous for working miracles, both living and dead. Malmesbury, Westminster, and Higden, report one very strange thing, which continued to their time, and was shown as it were for a sight. They tell us, that the people of the place used to bring bulls, the wildest and fiercest they could meet with; these unmanageable creatures they used to bring hampered with cords, with several strong men to drag

Bede, l. 5.
c. 2. et
deinc. ad
c. 7.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Pon-
tif. Angl.
l. 3. p. 153.
Matth.
Westminst.
Flores His-
toriar. An.
Grat. 721.

them along, who, as soon as they entered the church-yard in Beverley, dropped their fierce and formidable nature, and were as tame as if they had been metamorphosed into sheep. And the people were so well assured of their inoffensiveness, that they used to turn them loose, and play with them.

In the year of our Lord 725, Withred, king of Kent, died. He reigned four-and-thirty years and a half, and was succeeded by his son Edbert.

This year the famous charter of king Ina, to the monks of Glassenbury, bears date, in which he makes a very liberal grant of land and privileges to this house. Malmesbury and sir Henry Spelman take notice, that he raised this abbey out of rubbish, and ornamented the chapel with a prodigious deal of plate. The charter is signed by Ina, and Ethelburg his queen; by Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Daniel and Fordred, or Forthere, bishops of Winchester and Sherburn. These privileges were all confirmed by the pope, some of the particulars of which I shall have occasion to mention afterwards.

About three years after, Ina retired from the world, and turned monk at Rome. He was persuaded at last to this resolution by his queen, Ethelburg. This princess had often endeavoured to disengage the king from a secular life. Ina promised her fair, but seemed to be somewhat slow in the execution. Being thus disappointed, she resolved to try another expedient, and see if she could work upon him by surprise. One of the king's palaces in the country was richly furnished to receive him in his progress. Here the king, having stayed some time, removed his court.

About a day after he went off, the queen ordered one of her servants to make it unsightly and offensive, by throwing horse-dung and rubbish into the rooms of state, and to bring a sow with her litter into the bed-chamber. When the king was gone about a mile or two from the house, the queen desired him to return back, making him believe it would be very dangerous to do otherwise. The king complied; but when he came to the house he was much surprised to see a magnificent palace turned into a hog-sty so very quickly. Upon this, the queen, thinking she had an opportunity to make her advice work, accosts the king in this manner: "Sir," says she, "where is all the expense and curiosity of your palace?

EDBERT,
K. of Kent.
CENRED,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
INA,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

A. D. 725.
Withred,
king of Kent,
dies.
King Ina's
charter to
the abbey of
Glassenbury.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 1. c. 2.
Spelman.
Cuncil.
vol. 1. p. 229.
Malmesb. de
Antiquitate
Glastonien-
sis Ecclesie,
p. 309. Inter
15 Scriptor.
King Ina
throws up
the govern-
ment, and
takes the ha-
bit at Rom.

TAT-
WINE,
Abp. Cant.

124.

A. D. 728.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Regum
Anglor. l. 1.
c. 2.
Malmesbur.
ibid. and
Chronolog.
Saxon.
A. D. 731.
*The death of
Berthwald,
archbishop of
Canterbury.*

Bed. Epi-
tome, Chro-
nolog.
Saxon.

Where are your rich hangings and massy plate? What is become of the luxurious entertainment of your table? Where are the parasites and trencher-flies that used to be so busy in these rooms? Alas! these amusements are all nothing but smoke and vapour. The face of things is strangely changed, and the late scene of pomp and luxury is all shut up; and, which is worse, the remaining tinsel and pageantry of your station will quickly disappear in the same manner. Sir, (says she) pray consider how soon a pampered carcase will fail us, and sink to putrefaction; and the more we gorge and indulge, the faster we shall drop into decay, and then mighty men will be mightily tormented." This stratagem prevailed upon the king, made him throw up the government, and retire to a cell at Rome. And here his modesty was such, that he entered the city incognito, took the tonsure, and spent the rest of his time in the habit of a private monk. This turn of life was the more remarkable, considering Ina was of a martial and enterprizing temper, and had been prosperous in the course of his government. He was succeeded by his kinsman Ethelardus.

In the year of our Lord 731, Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, died January 9th, after having sat thirty-seven years and a half. The vacancy was quickly filled; for in June following, Tatwine, a Mercian monk, in priest's orders, was consecrated in his stead, by Daniel, bishop of Winchester, Ingwald, bishop of London, Aldwin, bishop of Lichfield, and Adolph of Rochester. Tatwine was a very considerable divine, and a person of great probity and prudence. And here, notwithstanding the regard paid by the see of Canterbury to that of Rome, Tatwine made no difficulty to govern his see, and exercise his metropolitical functions two years before he received his pall from the pope. For this distinction was sent him no sooner than the year 733.

And now Bede, in the close of his history, gives in a list of the English bishops, which it may not be unserviceable to transcribe, because a view of this kind will help us to form an idea of the progress of Christianity, and the condition of the Church within the Saxon Heptarchy.

To begin. Tatwine and Aldulf governed the sees of Canterbury and Rochester; Ingwald held the see of London, and was the only prelate within the kingdom of the East Saxons; Ealdbert and Hadulac governed the sees of Dunwich, and

Helman in the country of the East Angles; Daniel was bishop of Winchester, and Forthere of Sherburn in the West Saxon kingdom.

To proceed to the kingdom of the Mercians. Aldwin was bishop of Lichfield, and it may be of Leicester too; Walstod was bishop of Hereford; Wilfrid the third, as Higden calls him, of Worcester; and Cynebert of Sydnacester, or Lindsey. The kingdom of the South Saxons, Bede tells us, had been some years unfurnished with a prelate, and was taken care of by the bishop of Winchester. All these southern counties, as far as the Humber, as the historian acquaints us, were under the jurisdiction of Ethelbald, king of the Mercians; that is, the other princes were homagers to him. The kingdom of Northumberland had four bishoprics. Wilfrid, junior, or the second, was bishop of York, Ethelwald of Holy Island, Aca of Hagulstad, or Hexham, and Pethehn had Withern, or Candida Casa, where he was the first bishop, the place being lately erected into a cathedral.

ETHEL-
BALD,
K. of the
Mercians.
CEOL-
WICK,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
ARDUS,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
EDBERT,
K. of Kent.
Higden.
Polychron.
Bede, l. 5.
c. 24.

Ibid.

At this time the kingdom of Northumberland was undisturbed by the neighbourhood of the northern nations. The Picts had entered into a treaty with the English, and those clans of the Scots who dwelt in Britain kept quiet within their own frontiers, and attempted nothing upon the Northumbrians. As for the Britons, they stood off from friendly correspondence, hated the English upon the score of an old quarrel, and refused to conform to the Catholic usage of keeping Easter. However, Bede seems to think they suffered for their obstinacy, even in their civil liberties; for though a part of that nation maintained their ground, and preserved themselves independent, yet some of them fell under the dominion of the English; he means part of Devonshire and Cornwall, who were forced to submit to the West Saxons. And now, just at the conclusion, the historian informs us, that the Northumbrians enjoying a profound peace, and having no apprehension of disturbance from their neighbours, were strongly affected with a monastic life, and chose rather to qualify themselves for a cell than to make a campaign. This retired fancy, it seems, had spread very much among the nobility, as well as those of private condition. What this will come to, says Bede, the next age will be better able to discover. By this reflection,

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

TAT-
WINE,
Abp. Cant.

*Bede's ad-
vice to Egbert
concerning
monasteries.*

we may conclude he thought the monastic inclination ran somewhat too high.

And that he believed the monasteries, unless their numbers and regulations were taken care of, might prove disserviceable to Church and State, appears by his letter to Egbert, bishop of York, which was written some few years after his ecclesiastical history.

In this letter, amongst other heads of advice, he recommends the finishing St. Gregory's model, to this prelate; by virtue of which, York was to have been a metropolis with twelve suffragans. He insists upon coming up to this plan the rather, because in some woody and almost impassable parts of the country, there were seldom any bishops came either to confirm, or any priests to instruct the people. And therefore he is of opinion, the erecting new sees would be a great service to the Church. For this purpose he suggests the expedient of a synod, to form the project and adjust the measures: and that an order of court should be procured to pitch upon some monastery, and turn it into a bishop's see. And to prevent opposition from the religious of that house, they should be softened with some concessions, and allowed to choose the bishop out of their own society; and that the joint government of the monastery and diocese should be put into his hands. And if the altering the property of the house, should make the increasing of the revenues necessary, he tells him, there are monasteries enough that ought to spare part of their estates for such uses, and therefore he thinks it reasonable, that some of their lands should be taken from them and laid to the bishopric; especially, since many of them fall short of the rules of their institution. And since it is commonly said, that several of these places are neither serviceable to God, nor the commonwealth, because neither the exercises of piety and discipline are practised nor the estates possessed by men in a condition to defend the country; therefore, if these houses were some of them turned into bishoprics, it would be a seasonable provision for the Church, and prove a very commendable alteration. And a little after, he entreats Egbert to use his interest with king Ceolwulf to reverse the charters of former kings, for the purposes above mentioned. For it has sometimes happened, that the piety of princes has been over lavish and directed

125.

Epist. Bedæ
ad Egbert.
Antist.

Bede, *ibid.*

aniss. He complains farther, that the monasteries were frequently filled with people of unsuitable practices. That the country seemed overstocked with these foundations: that there were scarcely estates enough left for the laity of condition: and that if this humour increased, the country would grow disfurnished of troops to defend their frontiers. He mentions another abuse crept in, of a higher nature: that some persons of quality of the laity, who had neither fancy nor experience for this way of living, used to purchase some of the crown lands under the pretence of founding a monastery; and then get a charter of privileges, signed by the king, the bishops, and other great men in Church and State; that by these expedients they worked up a great estate and made themselves lords of several villages: and thus getting discharged from the service of the commonwealth, they retired for liberty, took the range of their fancy, seized the character of abbots, and governed the monks, without any title to such an authority. And, which is still more irregular, they sometimes do not stock these places with religious properly so called, but rake together a company of strolling monks, expelled for their misbehaviour; and sometimes they persuade their own retinue to take the tonsure, and promise a monastic obedience. And having furnished their religious houses with such ill chosen company, they live a life perfectly secular under a monastic character; bring their wives into the monasteries, and are husbands and abbots at the same time.

Thus for about thirty years, ever since the death of king Alfrid, the country has run riot in this manner: insomuch that there are very few of the lord lieutenants or governors of towns, who have not seized the religious jurisdiction of a monastery, and put their ladies in the same post of guilt, by making them abbesses, without passing through those stages of discipline and retirement that should qualify them for it. And as ill customs are apt to spread, the king's menial servants have taken up the same fashion. And thus we find a great many inconsistent offices and titles incorporated, the same persons are abbots and ministers of state, and the court and cloister are unsuitably tacked together: and men are trusted with the government of religious houses before they have practised any part of the obedience belonging to them. To stop the growth of this disorder, Bede advises the convening of a synod:

ETHEL-
BALD,
K. of the
Mercians.
CEOL-
WULF,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
ARDUS,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
EDBERT,
K. of Kent.

TAT-
WINE,
Abp. Cant.

that a visitation might be set on foot, and all such unqualified persons thrown out of their usurpation. In short, he puts the bishop in mind, that it is part of the episcopal office to inspect the monasteries of his diocese; to reform what is amiss both in head and members, and not to suffer a breach of the rules of the institution. "It is your province," says he, "to take care that the devil does not get the ascendant in places consecrated to God Almighty; that we may not have discord instead of quietness, and libertinism instead of sobriety."

The satire and declamation in this epistle, show the pious zeal and integrity of the author; who, notwithstanding he was bred a monk, wrote this letter in a monastery, and had so great a veneration for the institution, was so impartial as not to dissemble the miscarriages crept into that state. But then he presses no farther than reformation, and bringing things up to their first design. It is true, he is willing part of the revenues of some of them might be laid to the bishop's sees: this he looked upon as no misapplication, but an improvement of the religious use, and a greater service to the Church.

A. D. 735.

Bede, Epist.
ad Egbert,
p. 261.

This letter of Bede's was written, as we have seen, thirty years after king Alfrid's death, which brings it to the year 735 or 736, in which the author died. He was very ill when he wrote it, otherwise he had made bishop Egbert a visit, and discoursed with him upon the subject of the letter. It is plain therefore, that this epistle was written but a little before his death, which is the reason we find it omitted in the catalogue of his works at the end of his Ecclesiastical History.

Bede, *ibid.*
p. 263.

There is one thing more in this letter, which must not be forgotten, and that is, he reminds Egbert that the discipline and reformation of monasteries belonged to no secular jurisdiction, but only to the bishop of the diocese: unless the monks had been guilty of any crime against the state. For this reason he tells the bishop, it is his business to inquire carefully into the behaviour of these places, and correct what he found amiss.

126.

*Bede's death
and character.*

From hence we may conclude, that the monasteries were part of the care of the diocese, and not wrested out of the bishop's jurisdiction by papal exemptions.

And now Bede's life, ending with his letter, it will be seasonable to say something of him. This historian was born A. D. 673, in the precincts of the monastery of Jarrow, not far

from the mouth of the Tyne, within the bishopric of Durham. He was sent to this abbey in his childhood, where he continued the whole course of his life, and made a great proficiency in almost all parts of learning; for which he was one of the most eminent of his age. He spent his whole time in study and devotion, wrote a great many tracts, which are printed in eight tomes, besides his *Opuscula*: his last tract is said to be the translation of St. John's Gospel into English; the last sentence was finished when he was just expiring. Malmesbury gives him an extraordinary character; and says, it is much easier to admire him in thought, than give him his desert in expression. How great his reputation was in foreign countries, may be collected by the pope's letter to his abbot Ceolfrid, to send him to Rome. Malmesbury, after having given him an extraordinary commendation for his piety and learning, laments the loss of his industry and abilities in the ages following. He tells us, that history slept, and all notice of public transactions were in a manner buried, since his time. The English, as he complains, grew slothful and unlettered, and took no care to come up to the sense and figure of their predecessors: and thus the inclination of posterity grew cooler and cooler for improvement, till they dwindled at last to a remarkable ignorance. His death is reckoned to the year 735, by sir James Ware, though some others will have him live a year longer. He was buried in the monastery of Jarrow, from whence his corpse was afterwards removed to Durham, and put in the same coffin with St. Cuthbert's.

ETHEL-
BALD,
K. of the
Mercians.
CEOL-
WULF,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
ETHEL-
ARDUS,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
EDBERT,
K. of Kent.
Asseril. An-
nal, p. 153.
inter 15
Scriptor.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 1. c. 3.

Malmesbur.
ibid. p. 13.

Ware, inter
Bede Opus-
cula, in *Præ-
fat. ibid.* and
*Du Pin. Ec-
cles. Hist.*
cent. 8.

Archbishop Tatwine died the same year, and was succeeded by Nothelm, who received his pall at Rome, and was consecrated by Gregory III.: and after having sat five years, died in October 741. This Nothelm had been formerly a priest of the diocese of London, and is supposed to be the same person mentioned by Bede in his preface to king Ceolwulf, where he informs this prince, that Nothelmus procured him the records of the progress and settlement of Christianity in the kingdom of Kent: and afterwards going to Rome, transcribed several letters out of the pope's register, and gave them to that his-
torian.

A. D. 736.
*The death of
Tatwine and
Nothelm.*

Bede, *Præ-
fat. ad Ec-
cles. Hist.*
Malmesbur.
de Gestis
Pontif. l. 1.
p. 112.

Upon the death of this prelate, Cuthbert, descended from a noble English family, was translated from the see of Hereford to that of Canterbury, in the year 742.

A. D. 742.

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.
Malmesbur.
ibid.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum. Angl.
l. 1. c. 3.
p. 12.
Chronolog.
Saxon.

*Boniface's
letter to king
Ethelbald.*

A.D. 745.

1 Cor. vii. 2.

To go a little back and settle the chronology of the state. In the year 738, Ceolwulf, king of the Northumbrians, resigned his crown to his cousin-german Eadbert, brother to archbishop Egbert, and took the monastic habit in the abbey of Holy Island, where he spent the remainder of his life in great piety and devotion. Three years after, Ethelard, king of the West Saxons, died, and was succeeded by Cuthred, who held the government seventeen years, and had a very sharp contest in the field with Ethelbald, king of the Mercians.

About this time the Saxons were grown very licentious, degenerated into luxury, intemperance, and almost all manner of disorder. It seems their dissolution of manners was such, as made them remarkable in foreign countries. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, their countryman, was Christianly concerned for them, and attempted their recovery. And finding this liberty took its rise from the disorders of the court, he writes a letter to Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, to persuade him to a reformation; which being remarkable in several particulars, I shall give the reader part of it. The letter runs in the name of Boniface, and several other bishops who met together in a synod at Mentz. In the beginning of their address, they acquaint the king how much they were touched with his interest, and how sorry they were to hear him under any disadvantages, either with relation to this world or the next. From hence they fall to a commendation of him for his great charity and care of the indigent; for the vigour of his administration, and the impartiality of his justice; for prosecuting theft, discountenancing perjury and rapine, and taking the widows and the poor under his protection; for securing the peace, and guarding the property of his subjects: but then they tell him, how extremely troubled they were to hear, he failed in point of sobriety, and the measures of a conscientious conduct. And to draw their charge to particulars; they let him know, they are certainly informed, that his majesty was never engaged in lawful matrimony; a condition settled in paradise by God Almighty, to secure the virtue and regularity of mankind. And for this purpose it is advised by St. Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians. However, if he made choice of celibacy upon the score of discipline and religion, they rather commend him for his resolution. But, alas! as they go on, this was none of his case; for he lay under the public scandal

of a licentious life, gave the reins to his appetite, and tarnished the glory of his government by the insobriety of his practice. This, they inform him, was not only a flaming impiety before God, but likewise a great blemish upon his reputation. They proceed to complain, that he was not only guilty of common fornication and adultery, which was sufficient to sink him in the other world; but that he had gone the last lengths of disorder, broke through the privilege of religious houses, and dishonoured those who had vowed single life, and consecrated themselves more particularly to the service of God Almighty. Here they dilate a little upon the guilt, and show the heinousness of the sin: and for a general dissuasive, they put him in mind, that the bodies of Christians are the temple of the Holy Ghost; and “that neither fornicators nor adulterers can inherit the kingdom of God.” A little after, they conjure him by all that is sacred and serious, to set about a speedy reformation, and consider that by luxury and debauching, a man forfeits his dignity, as well as his soul; degrades himself from the privilege of his nature, and transforms the image of God into that of the devil. They give him to understand, that it was the bounty of God, and not his own merits, that raised him to the royal station: that it would be more than ordinary ingratitude for a person so particularly favoured, to renounce the honour of God’s service, and engage himself a vassal to the kingdom of darkness. They tell him, that this licentious indulgence was condemned by the very heathens; that pagan virtue, and natural conscience, had all along declared against these sallies; that those who never heard of Christianity, were true to the engagements of marriage, and punished adultery and fornication: for amongst the old Saxons, if a maid happens to lose her virtue, and dishonour her family; or if a married woman is convicted of adultery, they sometimes force them to be their own executioners and strangle themselves; and then burning the corpse, they hang up the whoremaster over it. Sometimes they call a company of women together, who stripping the guilty person to the waist, scourge her through the villages, prick her with their bodkins, and pursue her in this manner with torture and infamy, till she is either dispatched, or very near it. Since “therefore the Gentiles, who are not under the instructions of the law of God, do, by nature, the things contained in the law, and show the work of the law written in their

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EDBERT,
K. of Kent.

127.

1 Cor. vi.

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

hearts," what a deplorable prevarication must it be, for a man that lives in the light of revelation, and has all the advantages of Christianity, if such a person suffers himself to be overborne by the importunities of youth and pleasure ; if he takes his full range in vice, and denies himself in no instance of infamy !

They proceed to press him upon recollection, and suggest that it is now high time to disengage himself from the servitude of the devil ; to reform his practice, and recover himself, and not persevere in so destructive a course. They desire him to compassionate the case of his subjects, and not destroy them by the infection of his example ; for the immorality of a prince is a dangerous mischief, and fatal in the influence. They put him in mind that everybody must answer for the ill effects of his own precedent, and that our punishment will rise in proportion to what others suffer by us. And therefore, if the English are so scandalous as they are generally reported, if they condemn the law of engagements of marriage, run into all the excesses of riot and debauch, almost to the liberties of Sodom and Gomorrah, their prince will be in a great measure accountable for it. Besides, what can be expected from such infamous correspondence, but an ignoble and degenerate offspring ? This is the way to make vice immortal, and infect the ages to come ; to make wickedness universal, and sink the people to the last degree of wretchedness and insignificance : at this rate, they will neither have conscience, honour, nor courage in them long together ; they will be apt to turn knaves and traitors at home, and cowards in the field against the enemy ; and, in short, grow despicable both to God and man, and not have so much as one valuable quality remaining. Thus the Spaniards, Burgundians, and inhabitants of Provence, giving themselves up to a licentious course, and growing worse upon the progress, were at last sunk almost into pagan ignorance, and delivered to the barbarity of the Saracens. Besides, debauchery is often attended with another fatal mischief : for those disorderly women, to screen themselves from shame, are apt to procure abortion, and add murder to their other wickedness.

The remonstrance proceeds to charge the king upon another article ; that he had invaded the property, and seized the effects of the Church. And here the bishops set forth the crime with all the plainness imaginable : they tell the king,

that the robbing of God is the most provoking instance of injustice; that Ceolred, king of the Mercians, and Osred, king of the Northumbrians, had been pursued by the Divine vengeance, and remarkably punished upon this score. They treat him all along in the style of son, though not forgetting his dignity in other expressions. And in the close of the letter, after having put him in mind of the shortness of life, the instability of human greatness, and the dismal consequence of preferring appetite to conscience, and pleasure to probity: they entreat him not to slight the admonitions of his ghostly fathers, who dealt thus plainly with him, to discharge their conscience, and do him service; for nothing can be more for the interest of a good prince than to reform upon advice, and guard his practice for the future.

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K. of Kent.

To make the contents of this letter pass the better, Boniface ordered another short one to be delivered to him first, together with a present of a goshawk, a cast of falcons, and some other curiosities. He likewise wrote a letter to Heresfrid, a priest, who officiated in the king's court; and desired him to translate their letter to king Ethelbald in the same order and form in which it was written. He told Heresfrid that the other bishops and himself put him upon this office, because they were informed that he was a person of a bold honesty, feared nothing but God, and was not apt to be over-set with the grandeur of a court. And besides that, the king had a particular regard for him, and took his reproofs patiently enough, when seasonably applied.

Baron.
A. D. 745.
Malmesbury
de Gestis
Regum
Angl. l. 1.
c. 4.

128.

This letter, we may observe, is written with great plainness and freedom. They go honestly to the bottom of the case, and represent the king's miscarriages to him without anything of softening or palliation. Indeed, when princes are not put in mind of their failings, and dealt with thus sincerely, their condition is most lamentable. The liberties of their education, the flattery of their courtiers, and the extent of their power, are all snares to virtue, and circumstances of danger. And therefore, unless they have somebody to refresh their conscience, and put them in mind of the consequences of a sensual liberty, their crown is a misfortune to them; and they seem to come into the world upon the greatest disadvantages of all men living.

This letter of archbishop Boniface being seconded, as it is

CUTHBERT,
Abp. Cant.

A. D. 745.

*Boniface's
letter to
archbishop
Cuthbert.*

A. D. 745.

most likely, by some others of the English clergy, had a good effect upon the king, as we have reason to conclude by some of his charters, which I shall mention afterwards.

And now Boniface's letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, must, some of it, be laid before the reader. It was written just at the close of a synod at Augsburg, where Boniface presided. And being desirous the English should conform to the model of the Augustine synod, he sends Cuthbert a transcript of their canons for his perusal.

By the first canon, the Roman see was made the centre of unity, and subjection to St. Peter, and his vicar, decreed. And that metropolitans should be obliged to apply to Rome for their pall, and to obey the orders of St. Peter (as they are called) in everything, according to the canons; this submission was subscribed by the whole synod, sent to Rome, and received with great satisfaction by the pope and Roman clergy. But then,

This canon was perfectly new, and an encroachment upon the right of metropolitans, as I have already observed from the learned Peter de Marca. For before this synod under Boniface, the metropolitans used only to make a profession of faith at their consecration, and engage themselves to their suffragans to govern by the canons.

Boniface has another canon to much the same purpose with the former, and that is, when the clergy or laity proved too unmanageable for the archbishop, he is to acquaint the pope with their incorrigibleness. This procedure is mentioned with that tenderness and qualification that one would almost think Boniface was conscious of an innovation. It runs thus: "if I am not mistaken," says he, "when the people prove too obstinate to submit to the discipline of the Church, the bishops are to acquaint the archbishop of the province, and the archbishop the pope: and by this method they will discharge their conscience, and not be answerable for the loss of any man's soul." There are several other canons, which, being made for foreign Churches, it is not necessary to mention.

The rest of Boniface's letter describes the office and character of the prelates, and contains admirable advice how they ought to manage themselves in cases of difficulty and danger. He speaks, in the first place, with reference to metropolitans. And here he acquaints Cuthbert, that this post of honour has

De Concord
Sacerd. et
Imper. l. 6.
c. 7.
sect. 6.
Vide supra,
an. 601.
ibid.

more danger in it than an inferior station : because the ancient canons charge the metropolitan with the care of the whole province. However, when men are once engaged, they ought to exert themselves, and maintain their ground. He that has undertaken the helm, must by no means quit it, though the seas are smooth : but then, to leave the steering of the ship when it blows a storm, and the waves run high, is insufferable cowardice. Thus he compares the Church to a ship, and infers, from the force of the comparison, that a prelate is obliged to weather the point, and not to throw up his authority in times of hardship and persecution. He fortifies his reasoning by the precedents of some of the most eminent bishops of the primitive Church ; such as Clemens and Cornelius of Rome ; Cyprian of Carthage, and Athanasius of Alexandria ; who all exercised their function, and guarded their people, notwithstanding the rigours of pagan or persecuting emperors : choosing rather to lose their lives, than be defective in any part of their administration. And after having enlarged farther upon this head, he takes notice how much the prelates are obliged to take care of their own conduct, and make themselves a model for the practice of the laity ; that there be no contradiction between precept and example : and, over and above, that when they have lived regularly themselves, they may not be lost by a criminal silence, and by suffering others to miscarry without warning. For a bishop is entrusted with the government of the Church, not only to set others a good pattern, but likewise to open his commission with all the plainness and fortitude imaginable. To proclaim the laws of God without reserve, and publish the glories and terrors of the other world : for as the Scripture informs us, he that has the preaching of God's word committed to him, if he is either ashamed or afraid to reprove disorder and licentiousness, the holiness of his own practice will not secure him ; but he must perish with those that are lost, for want of his care or courage. And here he proceeds to urge several other texts to awaken the prelates to their duty, putting them in mind that they ought to preach in season, out of season : to reprove, exhort, rebuke with all authority. He goes on, and urges another text of Ezekiel against those shepherds that are negligent and mercenary, that such prelates feed themselves and not their flock :

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Saxons.
EDBERT,
K. of Kent.

Ezek.xxxiii.

129.

Ezek.xxxiv.

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

that they are governed by their own interest, without regard to their pastoral office: that they neither inform the ignorant, confirm the wavering, nor comfort the afflicted. That they do not endeavour to recover those that are gone astray, nor rescue the poor from the oppression of the mighty: that instead of correcting a sinner of rank, they rather make their court, and worship him. Then he denounces the judgments of God upon such scandalous misbehaviour, in the language of the prophet, “Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against the shepherds, and will require my flock at their hand,” &c.—He proceeds to exhort the archbishop to depend upon the protection of God Almighty; to act with resolution, and prepare for ill-usage: to be assured of the countenance of heaven; to stand firm in the day of trial, and sacrifice his life, if need be, for the interest of religion. “Let us not,” says he, “be dumb dogs, watchmen that give no warning, nor so mean and mercenary as to retire from danger, and leave the flock to shift for themselves when the wolf comes.” Let us maintain our post with all the vigour imaginable; preach both to small and great, to rich and poor; exert our authority upon all ranks and degrees, and do our utmost to make everybody regular and happy.

Ezek. xxxiv.
10.

He gives the archbishop an account of the disorders of some English women who used to travel upon pretence of religion, and go in pilgrimage to Rome; and therefore it is his opinion that the occasions of such misbehaviour should be prevented, and that the Church and State should forbid all women that had taken the veil upon them from strolling into foreign countries; for the greatest part of these travellers make a miserable voyage of it, and lose their honour in their pilgrimage; there being few cities, either in Lombardy or France, in which some of these English prostitutes are not to be met with, “which is a shame and scandal,” says he, “to your whole Church.”

From hence he proceeds to an invective against sacrilege, lashes it with a great deal of satire and severity, and advises to let loose the censures of the Church upon this sin, without any exception of persons whatsoever. From hence he passes to a short declamation against drunkenness, and excess in apparel; and concludes with a complaint of the hardship put upon the

monks, being forced to manual labour, and to work in the king's buildings against their will, which, as he says, was done in no part of christendom but England.

In the year of our Lord 747, there was a famous synod held at Clovesho, or Clyff, near Rochester, in Kent. The matter of the debate related to the government and discipline of the church. This synod was composed of twelve English prelates; Ethelbald likewise, king of the Mercians, and the temporal nobility, were present at it; not to mention several of the inferior clergy.

At the opening of the synod, pope Zachary's letters were first read in the original by archbishop Cuthbert, and then translated to the audience. In these letters, as Malmesbury relates, the pope admonished the English to reform their lives, and threatened those with excommunication that continued in their irregularity.

This preliminary being over, the bishops proceeded to draw up a body of canons, some of which I shall mention.

1. It was decreed that every bishop should be careful to support his character, execute every part of his office, and maintain the canons and constitutions of the Church against all sort of liberty or encroachment; and that those of this order should answer the expectations of their station, not engage in secular affairs so far as to be disabled for their functions, but to be remarkably eminent for their probity, self-denial, and learning; that by this means they may be qualified to make an impression upon the people, both by their instructions and by their practice.

2. That the prelates and clergy should be careful to keep a good correspondence with each other without any flattering applications to any person, considering that they are the servants of the same Master, and intrusted with the same commission; and therefore, though they are divided by distance of place and country, they ought to be united in affection and pray for each other, that every one may discharge his office with integrity and conscience.

These two canons, but especially the last, seem to be drawn on purpose to guard the liberties of the English Church against the pretensions of Rome, and to throw off that precedent of servitude, which Boniface had set them in his letter to arch-

ETHEL-
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brians.
EDBERT,
K. of Kent.
Spelman.
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 237.
Labbe, Con-
cil. tom. 6.
p. 1565.
A.D. 747.
*A synod of
Clovesho.*
Malmesbur.
de Gestis
Pontif. Angl.
1. 1. p. 112.

Spelman,
vol. 1. p. 246.
Malmesbur.
de Gestis
Pontif.
Angl. 1. 1.
p. 112.
*The canons
of the synod.*

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

bishop Cuthbert. It is true they do not mention the pope, but by obliging the bishops to stand up in defence of the ancient canons, not to flatter any person upon the score of his ecclesiastical distinction, because the bishops have, all of them, the honour of the same commission and employment; these general glances, with the grounds upon which they stand, seem plainly designed to fence against that submission to the papal chair which Boniface recommended.

130.

3. That the respective bishops should visit their diocese every year, call the people of all ranks and conditions together, and be particularly careful to preach to those who lie most out of the way of instruction; and not suffer any unwarrantable and heathenish customs, such as divination, amulets, charms, &c. to continue in the diocese.

The fourth, fifth, and seventh, relate to the regulation of monasteries. The sixth orders the bishops not to ordain any priest without a previous examination upon the points of learning and morals.

The eighth puts the priests in mind of the advantage of their character, and the business for which they were ordained. That they ought to abstract themselves from the world as much as may be, and spend their time in reading, prayer, exhortation, and other exercises of religion. And, more particularly in the next canon, they are enjoined to preach, baptize, and inspect the manners of the laity in those precincts and divisions assigned them by their respective bishops. From hence it appears that the subdivisions of the dioceses were in some measure formed, and the lines of parishes struck out.

The tenth canon orders the priests to be thoroughly acquainted with the doctrine and service of the Church, to teach the Creed and Lord's Prayer in English, and explain the sacraments to the people. This direction is agreeable to Bede's advice to Egbert, bishop of York, where he tells him that both the clergy and laity ought to have the Creed and Lord's Prayer by heart; and that himself had translated them into English for the advantage of the common people, and those that did not understand Latin.

Bede, Epist.
ad Egbert.
p. 255.

In the eleventh canon the priests are enjoined to be uniform in the exercise of their function, and to baptize, preach, and govern with the same rites, and by the same rules and measures.

The twelfth regulates the church music, provides for the solemnity of the performance, and forbids the clergy to profane the service with the air of the theatre. And in the close of the canon the priests are enjoined to keep within the bounds of their order, and not to do anything which belongs to the bishop.

By the thirteenth the holy-days are to be kept every where on the same day, and the time to be governed by the Roman martyrology.

The fourteenth provides for the religious observance of the Sunday, or Lord's day; that it ought to be wholly dedicated to God's service; that all secular business and travelling, unless in case of necessity, ought to be forborne; that the people are to be called to church to hear the word of God, and receive the sacraments.

The fifteenth orders that the seven canonical hours of prayer should be constantly observed according to custom; and that nothing should be introduced but what is warrantable by the authority of Scripture, and agreeable to the practice of the Roman Church.

By the sixteenth the litanies or rogations are enjoined to be kept with great solemnity by the clergy and people; that which is called the great litany by the Roman Church is ordered to be kept on the four-and-twentieth of April; the other, which stands upon the ancient practice of the island, falls three days before our Saviour's ascension, on which Divine service is to be performed, and the people to fast till three in the afternoon.

By the seventeenth the days on which St. Gregory the Great, and Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, died, are to be made holy-days; and that in singing the litany the name of Augustine shall be mentioned after that of St. Gregory.

The eighteenth canon provides for the solemn times of fasting in Ember weeks; and that the people should have notice given to prepare themselves.

The nineteenth and twentieth relate to the government and behaviour of monasteries with respect to habit, company, and employment.

The one-and-twentieth is levelled against drunkenness, luxury, and insobriety of conversation.

The two-and-twentieth enjoins the religious to live in a

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Saxons.
EDBERT,
K. of Kent.

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

constant preparation for the receiving the sacrament of the holy eucharist, or the body and blood of our Saviour, as the canon words it.

From hence I shall pass to the twenty-fifth, by which the bishops, at their coming from the synod, are obliged to convene the priests and abbots of their dioceses to publish the canons of the council and command their observance. And if any disorder proves too strong for the bishop's correction, he is to acquaint the archbishop with it at the meeting of the next synod, but not a word of carrying the complaint farther to Rome.

The six-and-twentieth states the right use of charity, and provides against wrong views and misapplications in this duty, and here the synod declares, "That alms are not given to commute for penance, to dispense with the discipline of the Church, or procure us a liberty for sinning. That those who think the justice of God can be bribed in this manner make their charity insignificant, and bring an addition to their guilt. That alms signifies mercy both in the name and thing; and that they are no less a charity to the giver than to the receiver; and therefore he that has a true compassion for his own soul should always give that which is his own, and not circumvent or oppress one neighbour to be charitable to another."

131.

The seven-and-twentieth dilates upon the usefulness, and directs as to the manner and qualifications of singing psalms. That this part of Divine service ought to be performed with due recollection, with pious dispositions, and postures of respect. And here, after the singing is ended, there are prayers mentioned both for the living and the dead; and those that do not understand Latin are to pray in the vulgar tongue. The prayer for the dead runs thus:—"O Lord! we beseech thee, for thy great mercy, grant that the soul of such a person may be secured in a state of indisturbance and repose; and that he may be admitted, with the rest of thy saints, into the regions of light and happiness."

This canon, like the last, puts the people in mind not to depend upon the performance of one branch of duty, to the neglect of another. It seems some people began to believe, that one good action was a sort of dispensation in other cases, and which was still more extravagant, they fancied they might

perform their duty by proxy, build upon foreign merit, and be good by the virtue of their neighbours. The canon is the larger in exposing the vanity and danger of this reliance, because they had a late instance of such an unreasonable expectation in a layman of condition: this person, it seems, had forfeited the communion of the Church, and was put under discipline for some great crime. Now he desired the rigours of his penance might be taken off, and that he might be reconciled upon the suggestion following; he acquainted those spiritual directors he belonged to, that he had procured several persons to fast, sing psalms, and distribute charity on his account; so that if he was to live three hundred years, there was enough done for him by other good people, though he should do little or nothing himself: but the canon declares with great indignation against the folly of such a presumption. Now, as the prelates continue, if a man may buy off his punishment, and get another to repent and suffer for him, then it is impossible to miscarry with an estate, and none but the poor sinner will be in danger in the other world. But is not this a flat contradiction to the text in St. Matthew, where our Saviour tells us, "That it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God?"

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Saxons.
EDBERT,
K. of Kent.

Matth. xix.
24.

The last canon enjoins, that kings and princes, and the whole body of the commonwealth, shall be publicly prayed for in the church.

The bishops' names that sat in this synod are as follow: Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, Dunnus, bishop of Rochester, Totta, Huvita, and Podda, bishops of Leicester, Lichfield, and Lindsey; Hunferd and Herewald governed the sees of Winchester and Sherburn, in the kingdom of the West Saxons; Herdulf was bishop of Dunwich, and Helmam; Egwulf was bishop of London, Milred of Worcester, Alwi of Lindsey or Sidnacester, and Sigga of Selsea in Sussex.

When the synod broke up, archbishop Cuthbert dispatched Kinebert, his deacon, to give Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, an account of what was done. Before we take leave of these Fathers, we are to take notice, that the synod of Clovesho was no more than a provincial council: for neither Egbert, archbishop of York, nor the three other Northumbrian bishops were there, as appears by the subscriptions. The reason of

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

their being absent might possibly be, because they lived in a kingdom independent of that of the Mercians : and, it may be, there might be no good correspondence between Ethelbald and Edbert, king of the Northumbrians, so that the latter might not be willing to trust his subjects at a public meeting under a foreign prince. But as for the prelates belonging to the dominions of the East Angles ; of the East, West, and South Saxons, and those within the territories of Kent ; these countries, though not perfectly conquered by the Mercians, yet were all under the sovereign jurisdiction of that kingdom ; and therefore we need not wonder to find the prelates of these divisions meet all at a synod convened either by the appointment or consent of king Ethelbald.

Bede, Ec-
cles. Hist.
l. 5. c. 24.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Regum
Anglor.
l. 1. c. 3.
*Egbert re-
ceives a pall
from Rome.*

*He furnishes
York with a
considerable
library.*

Malmesb.
ibid.

And having mentioned the absence of Egbert, it may not be improper to say something farther concerning him. This prelate was of the royal family of the Northumbrians, and brother to king Eadbert. Malmesbury tells us, that by the strength of his conduct, and interest at court, he revived the metropolitical jurisdiction of York, which, since the time of Paulinus, had never been dignified with a pall, the succeeding prelates being contented with the title of a diocesan authority. But Egbert, being a person of quality and spirit, thought it no part of pride to recover an ancient privilege, and therefore procured the pall from Rome about the year 736, and had the three bishops, north of Humber, for his suffragans. This archbishop built a noble library at York, and furnished it with books in all parts of learning, as appears by a letter of Alcuinus, an Englishman, then residing at the court of Charles the Great. The letter was written to Eambald, one of Egbert's successors, in which Alcuinus calls archbishop Egbert his master, and takes notice what a noble collection of books he left at York. He speaks to the same sense of commendation in another letter of his to Charles the Great, and acquaints that prince, that if his majesty thought fit, he would advise some of the young people of Tours in France, to travel into Britain, and spend some time at York for their improvement in learning and education.

To return to king Ethelbald, who having now recollected himself, resigned to the advice of Boniface, and reformed his life, was resolved to do something extraordinary for the interest of religious houses. To this purpose, after he had finished the monastery of Croyland, he granted a general charter of liberty

and privilege to all the monastic societies in his dominions. The charter runs thus :

“ Considering that it often happens, that those grants and dispositions which are made upon mature deliberation and advice, and passed in the presence of persons of character and credit, yet for want of being engrossed in writing and signed by witnesses, are apt either to lose their force by length of time, or be defeated by fraudulent practices; for these considerations I, Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, in prospect of future happiness, and for the benefit of my soul, have resolved to endeavour the discharging my conscience from the guilt of my former misbehaviour. And since Almighty God, of his mere mercy, without any desert of mine, has been pleased to put me in a royal station, I think myself obliged to return him some part of his bounty by way of gratitude. Upon this view, I freely grant, that all monasteries and churches within my kingdom shall be discharged from all public taxes, tolls, and other services and incumbrances whatsoever, excepting the repairing of castles and bridges, from which no part of the commonwealth can be excused.—I likewise grant, that those of the religious character above mentioned, shall not be forced to make presents to the king or any of the great men; but be left entirely to their inclination; that being in these circumstances of freedom and independence, they may be more at leisure for contemplation, and serve God with the better advantage.”

This charter was made in the year of our Lord 749, and in the three-and-thirtieth year of the reign of king Ethelbald.

To give the reader a word or two concerning the condition of the state; in the year 751, Cuthred, king of the West Saxons marched against Edelhun, a general of great courage, who had revolted and raised an insurrection. Though the king's troops were superior in number, the battle was fought with great obstinacy, but at last the rebels were defeated, and Edelhun wounded.

The next year Cuthred being tired with the arbitrary and tyrannical impositions of Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, resolved to bear the oppression no longer: and Edelhun above mentioned, having now made his peace with him, the

ETHEL-
BALD,
K. of the
Mercians.

EAD-
BERT,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
CUTH-
RED,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

EDBERT,
K. of Kent.

132.

*The charter
of king
Ethelbald to
the Church
and monas-
teries.*

Ingulphus
Histor. p. 5.
Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1 p. 257.
A. D. 749.

Matth.
Westmo-
nast. Flores
Histor.
An. Grat.
751.

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

Huntingd.
Histor. l. 4.
p. 195.
Westmo-
nast. Flor.
Histor. An.
Grat. 752.

Huntingd.
ibid. p. 196.
A. D. 754.

*The martyr-
dom of arch-
bishop Boni-
face.*
Pitts de
Illust. Angl.
Scriptor.

king depending very much upon the bravery and conduct of this general, was the more encouraged to break with king Ethelbald. In short, the two armies met at Beorford, or Hereford, where the quarrel was contested with great resolution, and the victory continued doubtful for a considerable time: but, at last, Ethelbald's forces being broken, he was forced to retire, and leave Cuthred master of the field; who the next year marched against the Britons, or Welsh, and without any loss, gained a great victory upon them, but survived his good fortune but a little while. For, in the year 754, he departed this life, and was succeeded by his kinsman Sigebert; who proving an arbitrary and oppressive prince, was quickly thrown out of the government by the rebellion of his subjects, and being slain soon after by a swineherd, Kinulf, one of the royal family, was elected in his stead.

The martyrdom of archbishop Boniface happened about this time, who considering he was an Englishman, and as Pits relates, extracted from a royal family, it may not be improper to say something farther of him. This Boniface, whose proper name was Winfrid, was educated a Benedictine monk in England, where he managed himself to great commendation, as to his regularity, devotion, and application to letters: at first he made a great progress in the polite part of learning, and afterwards was no less eminent for his skill in divinity. In the year 715, he travelled into Westfriezland, but the disturbance of the wars in that country obliged him to return. Not long after, he took a voyage to Rome, from whence he was sent by Gregory II. as missionary into Germany, in the year 719. He preached the Gospel first in Thuringen, from whence he travelled into the counties of Hesse, Eastfriezland, and Saxony: and having succeeded in his holy undertaking, and converted several thousands, he took a second journey to Rome, and was there consecrated bishop in 723, by Gregory II. who sent him back with instructions and letters of recommendation. At his return into Germany, he continued his function of missionary in Thuringen, Hesse, and Bavaria. Afterwards he received the pall from Gregory III. with a permission to consecrate bishops in the provinces newly converted. He had likewise a legatine character bestowed upon him; but notwithstanding, was hitherto only a bishop at large without the jurisdiction of any particular diocese. Wherefore Pepin, and

the great lords of France, designed to promote him to the see of Cologne: but the bishopric of Mentz becoming vacant, by the deposition of Gervaldus, Boniface was put in his place, and that Church raised to an archbishopric; which privilege was confirmed by pope Zachary, who made the five bishops of Tongres, Cologne, Worms, Spire, and Utrecht his suffragans. But Boniface quickly quitted his see, to make room for his scholar Lullus. Having thus disengaged himself, he went to Utrecht, to carry on the progress of Christianity in West-Friezland, where he was barbarously murdered by the Pagans in the year 754. There is a collection of his letters extant, published at Mentz by Serrarius.

The next year Kinulphus, king of the West Saxons, made a large grant of privileges to the monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire. This charter being cited to prove the power the princes of that age had in ecclesiastical matters, I shall transcribe so much of it out of Stamford as relates to this purpose.

“Kinulphus Rex Merciorum, &c., per literas suas patentes, consilio et consensu episcoporum et senatorum gentis suæ, largitus fuit monasterio de Abingdon, in comitatu Berk. et cuidam Ruchino, tunc abbati monasterii illius, quandam ruris sui portionem; i. e., quindecim mansias, in loco qui a ruricolis tunc nuncupabatur Culnam, cum omnibus utilitatibus ad eandem pertinentibus, tam in magnis quam in modicis rebus, in æternam hæreditatem. Et quod predictus Ruchinus ab omni regis obstaculo, et episcopali jure in sempiternum esset quietus; ut inhabitatores ejus, nullius regis, aut ministrorum suorum, episcopive, aut suorum officialium jugo inde deprimantur; sed in cunctis rerum eventibus et discussionibus causarum, abbatis monasterii predicti decreto subjiciantur,” &c. That is, “Kinulphus, king of the Mercians, &c., with the advice and consent of the bishops and other great men, has, by his letters patent, granted for ever to the monastery of Abingdon, in the county of Berks, and unto one Ruchin, then abbot of the monastery, a certain portion of his land; that is to say, fifteen farms, in a place called Culnam by the inhabitants, with all the emoluments and profits thereunto belonging. And that the aforesaid Ruchin shall be for ever discharged from all claims, incumbrances, or jurisdictions, either from the crown or the bishop; and that the inhabitants and religious of this place

ETHEL-
BALD,
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Mercians.
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Northum-
brians.
KINUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.

Du Pin New
Eccles. Hist.
cent. viii.
Kinulphus's
charter ex-
amined.

133.

Stamford's
Pleas of the
Crown, 1. 2.
fol. 111.

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

shall not be subject to the authority of any king, or his ministers of justice, or of any bishop, or his officials ; but upon all occasions, and in all disputes and controversies, they shall be governed by the orders and decision of the abbot of the monastery above mentioned," &c.

Sir Edward Coke's argument for ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Crown insufficient. Coke's Reports, part 5. fol. 9, 10.

From this charter, sir Edward Coke infers, "that king Kinulphus had ecclesiastical authority annexed to his regal character ; as appears by granting an exemption to this abbot from the government of his diocesan ; which ecclesiastical jurisdiction," says sir Edward, "being derived from the crown, continued till the dissolution of the said abbey in the reign of king Henry VIII." He observes, farther, that "the said charter was pleaded 1 Henry VII., and vouched by Stamford." To this it may be answered,

First, That the privileges of this charter are couched in terms so very large and comprehensive, that the abbey seems to be erected into a little independent commonwealth, and discharged from royal no less than episcopal jurisdiction ; for, by the words of the charter, neither the king nor any of his ministers have any thing to do with them, but they are left to the sole government and jurisdiction of their abbot. Now, to take the charter in this sense proves a great deal too much, and therefore sir Edward Coke has thought fit to omit this clause in reciting the charter out of Stamford. To set the matter in a fuller light, we are to understand, that the case in Stamford where this charter was pleaded relates only to the privilege of sanctuary. A malefactor, it seems, convicted of some capital crime, having broken prison and taken sanctuary in this abbey, was dragged from thence and put into the hands of justice ; upon which he pleaded the charter above mentioned, and moved to be returned to the sanctuary. The case standing thus, there was a scire facias directed to the abbot of Abingdon, to produce the charter in court, or what other evidence he had to prove the right of sanctuary. But in all this trial, there was not the least question put about the king's prerogative to exempt any person from episcopal jurisdiction.

Stamford,
ibid. p. 112.

Secondly, The authenticity of this charter is very questionable ; for, as Stamford reports, there was no original instrument produced under seal. And if it is objected that the use of seals was afterwards introduced by the Normans,

yet the signing of charters with crosses, and the names of the witnesses, was customary among the Saxons, as appears by the charters in Ingulphus and sir Henry Spelman. But here was no proof, but only by an inspeximus of Edward III. Now an inspeximus is no good argument to prove the authenticity of a charter; for several forged charters have received this countenance, and passed the test of an inspeximus. I shall only mention that of king Ethelbert to Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury; to which we may add, that this charter of Kinulphus is not to be met with either in Ingulphus, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, or Hoveden.

Thirdly, Allowing the credit of the charter, we may observe farther, that the right of sanctuary, to which the case of Stamford is wholly confined, is a civil privilege, and no branch of ecclesiastical authority; for sanctuary being a reprieve or protection from punishment, to which the malefactor is liable for offending against the king's laws, it follows that the protection must be granted by the person or body that has a right to punish. And therefore Stamford, in his definition of a sanctuary, calls it a place privileged by the prince, or supreme governor; and for this reason, the court, in the case above mentioned, was of opinion that the pope could not extend the privileges of these places beyond the king's grant.

Fourthly, The judges explained the clause, in cunctis rerum eventibus, et discussionibus causarum, abbatis decreto subjiciantur, to the meaning of civil jurisdiction, and declare, that if the abbot designed to take the benefit of these words, he ought to have called a court, and tried those who were guilty of any crime or misdemeanour within his precincts. From all which it follows, that this precedent in Stamford does not come up to sir Edward Coke's point, because the question concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction was not debated. If it is urged that the charter mentions a discharge, ab episcopali jure, and that the abbey was not to be subject either to the bishop or his officials, to this it may be answered, that it is possible the bishop might be lord of the manors within the compass of the charter; and then the words will only imply a discharge from temporal jurisdiction, and the term "officials" may mean no more than the bishop's bailiffs, or stewards; for the restraining of it to the modern notion of an official does not seem to have been so early as Kinulphus's time. Indeed, the term

ETHEL-
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Northum-
brians.
KINUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.

Monast.
Anglic. v. 1.
p. 23.
Vide Spel-
man, Concil.
vol. i. p. 125.

Stamford's
Pleas of the
Crown, 1. 2.
fol. 108.

Stamford,
ibid. fol. 113.

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

“*officiales*,” if taken in an ecclesiastical sense, seems rather to prove the charter suspicious than any thing else; and so does that of “*comitatus*.” For if Ingulphus, an historian of character in the Conqueror’s time, is not mistaken, the country was not divided into counties, or *comitatus*, till the year of our Lord 874, in the reign of king Alfred, which is a hundred and nineteen years after the date of this charter of Kinulphus. Besides, in the reign of Kinulphus, king of the Mercians, who probably granted the charter before us, the officers of the crown are called *officiales*, and mentioned with the king’s master of the buck-hounds and falconers, and that with reference to the same abbey. But,

Histor. In-
gulph. p. 28.

Historia
Cænobia
Abendon-
ensis. Anglia
Sacra. pars. 1.

Coke’s Re-
ports,
part 5.
fol. 10.

Fifthly, If any spiritual jurisdiction passed by this charter, it might probably be derived from the consent and authority of the bishops; for the charter sets forth expressly, that the privileges were granted by the advice and consent of the bishops. This sir Edward Coke agrees to, and will have it made in parliament, as he calls it. Now, if the prelates of the kingdom, and particularly the bishop of the diocese, consented to a resignation of part of his government, and assigned his jurisdiction to the abbot, how does this prove ecclesiastical jurisdiction any part of the king’s prerogative? It is true, the patent runs in the king’s name, because several temporal privileges, as that of sanctuary, &c., were included in the grant.

Sixthly, It is probable Kinulphus might have a licence from the pope for this purpose. That the popes granted several privileges of this kind to abbeys, is past dispute. I shall give two or three instances.

The first is a grant of pope Sergius to Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury; by virtue of which the abbey is declared to be immediately under the protection and government of the see of Rome, and to be exempted from the jurisdiction of all priests, bishops, or other persons of any other ecclesiastical character whatsoever; and that no person shall presume to execute any part of the episcopal function, or say mass in the chapel, unless they are invited thither by the abbot and monks.

Malmesb.
l. 5. de Pon-
tific. p. 352,
353, inter 15
Scriptores.
Vide supra.

This Aldhelm flourished about the year 709, and was nephew to Ina, king of the West Saxons. He was likewise bishop of Sherburne, and very eminent both for his learning and piety. Now, if the exempting places from episcopal jurisdiction was

part of the prerogative royal, why did not Aldhelm make application to his uncle, king Ina? We cannot imagine that a person of the royal family, and one of his celebrated character, could want an interest at court. What made him travel to Rome for a favour, which might easily have been procured at home? Why should a person of his sense and conscience engage in so unjust an undertaking, and so injurious to his family; put the pope upon a known inroad, and break so remarkably through the king's prerogative? Such an attempt as this is by no means reconcileable to Aldhelm's character. But this prelate had quite another notion of the matter; he was not in the least apprehensive of disobliging the king, his uncle, by procuring the pope's exemption. And therefore at his return, as Malmesbury informs us, he showed his instrument of privilege both to Ina and Ethelred, king of the Mercians, who received him with great friendship and regard, complained of no ill usage, but acquiesced in the pope's grant without any objection.

ETHEL-
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K. of the
Northum-
brians.
KINUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.

Malmesb.
ibid.

Malmesb.
ibid. and
p. 354.

Secondly, A second instance may be taken from king Ina's charter to the abbey of Glassenbury, in which pope Gregory II. is said to have taken the monastery into the protection of his see, and to have confirmed the privileges of exemption mentioned in the instrument. And besides, the king himself is said not only to have written to the pope, but to have taken a journey to Rome partly for this purpose.

Spel. Concil.
v. 1. p. 228,
229.

Thirdly, To come nearer our own times. The Norman kings conceived their authority in ecclesiastical matters so far short of sir Edward Coke's opinion, that we find king Henry III. took a privilege from the pope to exempt his chapels from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, as appears from the record following, dated An. Dom. 1245.

“Henricus, Dei Gratia, &c. i. e., Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. These are to certify all of you, that our ambassadors, lately sent by us to the general council of Lyons, for the negotiating the affairs of our kingdom, have, amongst other privileges granted to us, and our kingdom, by our holy Father, pope Innocent, brought us one concerning the immunities, exemptions, and liberties of our chapels.”

See Records,
No. 2.

Annales Mo-
nast. Bur-
ton, p. 304.

CUTH-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.
135.

Then follows pope Innocent's bull, by virtue of which the king's chapels are declared immediately subject to the pope; and that no ordinary, nor any person delegated by him, should, under the penalty of excommunication, exercise any authority or jurisdiction in the places above mentioned.

Lastly, granting Kinulphus did exempt the abbot from all episcopal jurisdiction, by virtue of his regal authority,—which, from what has been observed already, appears altogether improbable,—yet, granting so very unlikely a supposition for argument's sake, it may then be answered, that “A facto ad jus non valet consequentia;”—the doing of a thing is not a sufficient warrant that it ought to be done. It is not impossible but that princes may sometimes overstrain the regale, encroach upon the Church's charter, and reach into some part of that authority which our Saviour settled upon the apostles and their successors the bishops; and, therefore, precedents, unless supported by reason and bottomed upon warrantable grounds, are by no means sufficient to prove the point.

Fuller's in-
stance from
Cuthbert
inconclusive.
Fuller's
Church His-
tory of Bri-
tain, book 2.
p. 103.

Mr. Fuller endeavours to reinforce sir Edward Coke. His argument lies thus: by the constitution of Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury, confirmed by the authority of Gregory the Great, it was decreed, That no corpse, either of prince or prelate, should be buried within the walls of a city, but only in the suburbs thereof; and that only in the porch of the church, and not in the body. Now, Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, being desirous to be buried in Christ's church, durst not venture on this innovation by his own power, neither did he make application to the pope of Rome, but only addressed himself to Eadbert, king of Kent; and from him, partly praying, partly paying for it, obtained his request. From hence he infers an ancient Church canon, recalled at the suit of an archbishop, by the authority of a king.

To this it may be returned, first, that Fuller cites no authority for the matter of fact; so that the argument stands upon nothing but bare affirmation. There is no such constitution mentioned, either by Bede, Malmesbury, Gervasius Doro-bernensis, or Birkington; by the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, or Godwin; or any author, ancient or modern, that I can meet with. Indeed, we have no reason to believe that either Augustine of Canterbury, or Gregory the Great, would attempt so great an encroachment upon the civil power. To forbid a

prince being buried, not only in consecrated ground, but within the walls of his own cities, is an extraordinary strain of ecclesiastical authority ! Such a constitution is very unsuitable to the modesty of those times. The archbishops of Canterbury,—no, nor the court of Rome neither,—do not use to pretend to be such lords of the soil. It is true it was the custom of Cuthbert's age not to bury in churches ; he, therefore, designing to bring in a new usage, was willing to act upon a higher character than his own. But Fuller says, the archbishop applied to no authority but that of king Eadbert. To this it may be answered, that there was no such necessity of having recourse to the see of Rome as this historian supposes : for, since there was no constitution made, nor confirmed by the pope, there was no need of moving that court for a reversal. But,

Secondly, In contradiction to Fuller's assertion, Cuthbert did apply to the court of Rome for this privilege, as appears by the testimonies of Birckington, by an anonymous author, who wrote the archbishop's life in verse, and tells us Cuthbert went to Rome on purpose to procure this licence. To which we may add Gervasius Dorobernensis, who relates that Cuthbert procured the authority of pope Gregory for burying in the church. It is true king Eadbert consented to the pope's order : but the authority of the licence, as these historians represent it, was derived from the see of Rome ; and, therefore, the archbishop's applying to king Eadbert for his approbation can amount to no more than matter of ceremony, and that he was willing to prevent the disturbance the monks were likely to give his corpse upon this occasion. For we are to observe, it had been the custom of the monks of St. Augustine in Canterbury to go to the archbishop's palace, upon notice of his death, and carry off the body, and bury it in their own monastery. To prevent this, Cuthbert ordered his corpse to be interred before his death was published. Now, the monks, being thus disappointed, were extremely disturbed, and fell foul upon the archbishop's memory. Before I dismiss this subject it will be necessary to advertise the reader, that, both in Stamford and the Monasticon, Kinulphus is called king of the Mercians, and his charter dated, by the Monasticon, in the year of our Lord 821. Now, if this copy be the right reading, this Kinulphus must be king Offa's successor. However, the difference of time or person do

ETHEL-
BALD,
K. of the
Mercians.
EAD-
BERT,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
KINUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
W. Saxons.
ETHEL-
BERT,
K. of Kent.

Anglia. Sa-
cra. par. 1.
p. 3.
Angl. Sacra.
par. 2. p. 72.
Gervas. Do-
robern. Act.
Pontif. Can-
tuar. p. 1641,
inter 10
Scriptores.

Gervas. Do-
robernensis,
ibid.
Godwin. de
Præsul.
Angl. in
Cuthbert.
Stamford.
1. 2. p. 111.
Monast.
vol. 1. p. 100.

BREG-
WIN,
Abp. Cant.

not in the least affect the reasoning upon the case : but enough of this argument ¹.

A. D. 758.

Cuthbert, dying in the year of our Lord 758, was succeeded by Bregwin, a person descended from a very noble family in Saxony; from whence he was removed in his minority, and had his education in this island. Eadmer reports him chosen upon the strength of his merit, being valuable for all the qualifications required in a prelate of the highest station : that his life had been all along remarkably unexceptionable and religious ; that the gravity of his behaviour, the dispassionateness and condescension of his temper, together with his great courage and discretion, procured him a general esteem : insomuch that he was forced into the archiepiscopal chair by the unanimous inclination of the clergy and laity. He was consecrated October 1st, A. D. 759. Being in this station, he acted up to the expectation of his former character, and proved a very commendable and exemplary governor, during the time he held the see, which was but three years : for he died August 24th, in the year 672, and was privately buried beside his predecessor in Christ's church. When his death was published, Lambert, or Jambert, abbot of St. Augustine's, comes immediately to Christ's church with a party of soldiers, to carry off the arch-

Eadmer. de
Vita Breg-
win. Angl.
Sacr. par. 11.
p. 186.

Antiquitates
Britannic. in
Bregwin.
136.

Antiquitates
Britan. ibid.

¹ Mr. Collier here renews his old encounter with the low churchmen, as to the question of ecclesiastical supremacy, and the relative powers of pope and king. This question is now, in a great measure, settled among the best informed scholars of Germany, France, and Britain. It seems to be pretty generally agreed, that Christ is the true spiritual Head of the Church universal; that the pope is the terrestrial head of the Italian Church; and that the kings are the terrestrial heads of their own national Churches. Such are their distinct and appropriate dominations; and all attempts made to interfere with these dominations only produce strife and confusion. The question would never have been so entangled had it been recollected that our national kings are, in virtue of God's appointment, divine and ecclesiastical characters in Britain, as much as the pope can be in Italy. Hooker and his followers have fully established the justice of the laws which represent the king of Britain as a divine and ecclesiastical person, above every other ecclesiastical officer within the four seas, whatever his denomination. Every attempt, we say, to make the office of the king—which, as divine, includes alike spiritual and secular supremacy—exclusively secular, has been fraught with grievous mischiefs. The king is the visible terrestrial head of the Church, no less than of the State, of Britain : he is the great centre and bond of union to all subordinate divisions ; keeping those divisions in proper harmony and obedience. To represent the king, therefore, as merely a secular potentate, is to do the greatest injustice to the crown : it is a political parricide, for it degrades our great national parent, and leaves us without any appealable authority. By making the king a merely secular representative, national Churches may imagine that they are rising in dignity and independence ; but they are, in fact, gravitating to the infinitely low : they are acting the part of mutineers, that rebel against their commanding officer, and, by deposing him from his legitimate domination, fall into all the calamities of lawless anarchy and confusion.

bishop's corpse; but, finding himself disappointed, and the body interred, he complained loudly of the injustice, and appealed to the pope for satisfaction. The monks of Christ's church, being solicitous about filling up the see, knowing Lambert to be a person of great capacity and resolution, that it was probable he might carry his point at Rome, and that, both with respect to learning and conduct, he was well qualified for the archiepiscopal functions, they made choice of him for Bregwin's successor, hoping to put an end to the old dispute this way. Soon after his election, he received the pall from pope Paul I.

About the year 667, Egbert, archbishop of York, died. There is a collection of canons and a Penitential, which pass under his name, though it is thought they are considerably interpolated. Some of these directions are too broad and particular upon the subject of licentiousness, and bring the images too close; and, in short, agree by no means with the piety and prudence of this prelate's character.

Offa, who was now king of the Mercians, has the character of an enterprising, ambitious prince. Malmesbury tells us that he never dropped a project, but went through with his inclination, without troubling himself much about moral considerations. This historian did not well know how to fix his character: his virtues and vices were so much upon the balance, that he is somewhat at a loss whether to range him among good or bad princes. He began his reign in the year 757, and held the government nine-and-thirty years. This Offa, being successful in his war against Kinulphus, king of the West Saxons, and making the greatest figure in the heptarchy, concluding his power would make all his schemes practicable, resolved upon the erecting Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see. This project was set on foot, as Matthew of Westminster relates, in the year of our Lord 765. Lambert made use of his interest to prevent the cantoning of his jurisdiction, and, the contest being brought before the court of Rome, urged the grant of Gregory the Great to the see of Canterbury, and was not at all wanting in the soliciting his cause. However, king Offa prevailed in his application, and procured an order from pope Adrian I. to make Lichfield an archbishop's see, and that all the bishops within the kingdom of Mercia should be his suffragans. Malmesbury gives us a

OFFA,
K. of the
Mercians.
EALD-
RED,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
KINUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
W. Saxons.
A. D. 764.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Reg.
Ang. p. 15.

Bede, Epi-
tom.
Malmesb.
ibid.

Lichfield
erected into
an arch-
bishopric.
Westminst.
Flores His-
tor. An.
Grat. 765.

LAM-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.
Malmesb.
ibid.
Vide
Malmesb.
lib. 1. de
Gestis Reg.
Ang. p. 19.
and de Gestis
Pontif. Ang.
lib. 4. p. 164.

list of their names : viz. Denebert, bishop of Worcester ; Werenbert, bishop of Legecestria (Leicester) ; Edulph, bishop of Sidnacester ; and Ulferd, of Hereford : to which were added two bishops of the East Angles : Alherd, of Elman ; and Tidfrid, of Dunwich. The bishop of Lichfield, who was thus promoted to a metropolitan, was Aldulph. Thus Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, had part of his province wrested from him, and only the four sees of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Selsea, remaining. However, after all, this was only a partition, and not a translation, of the archiepiscopal authority : for this distinction continued still upon the see of Canterbury, though not with the same extent of jurisdiction.

Angl. Sacr.
par. 1. p. 429.

As for the time when the province of Canterbury was thus lessened, historians are not agreed. Matthew Westminster relates, that Aldulphus received his pall in the year 766, and that Berthun, or Humbert, and Higbert, succeeded him in the archiepiscopal dignity. But here seem to be two mistakes : for, first, it is certain Aldulphus received his pall from Adrian I. Now, Adrian was not elected pope till the year 772. We may observe, farther, that Lambert, or Jambert, was obliged to yield up part of his province to Aldulph, in the synod of Calcuith. Thirdly, soon after the death of king Offa, the archbishop of Lichfield was reduced, as we shall see afterwards, by pope Leo, to the state of a suffragan, and made subject to the see of Canterbury. From hence it is evident, that this affair must have been transacted between the years 772, in which Adrian was promoted to the papacy, and 779, in which Ethelard, archbishop of Canterbury, took a voyage to Rome, to recover the privileges of his see. And as for the synod of Calcuith, in which Lambert was forced to resign part of his province, this synod was held in the year 785, according to the Saxon chronology, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Hoveden, &c. But, farther : as to the archiepiscopal dignity, none of the bishops of Lichfield were possessed of this distinction, excepting Aldulph. One reason, as Matthew Paris reports, why Offa insisted so much upon the cantoning Lambert's jurisdiction, was, because, as the king alleged, Lambert held a close correspondence with Charles the Great ; and had engaged himself to that prince, that, in case he should make a descent upon Britain, the archbishop promised to open his passage, and assist him in his enterprise. But it seems Offa

Angl. Sacr.
ibid. and
p. 430.

Matt. Paris,
Vit. Offa,
p. 21.

did not rely upon the weight of this charge, but despatched men of great character and elocution to Rome, where, by the strength of their rhetoric and presents, they carried the cause: for, as the historian goes on, king Offa was not ignorant how welcome money would be at Rome. From the sees of Elmham and Dunwich, in the East Angles, being laid to the jurisdiction of Lichfield, we may conjecture something more probably upon the time when Aldulph was owned for archbishop, and that it must be set as far back as the year 793; for this year, as Florence of Worcester and Matthew of Westminster inform us, Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, a prince of admirable qualities, was betrayed under the highest securities of friendship, and murdered at king Offa's court. Upon which Offa seized his kingdom; and, being now sovereign of the East Angles, might probably either persuade or overawe the bishops of Dunwich and Elmham to break with Lambert, and submit to the new archbishop of Lichfield.

OFFA,
K. of the
Mercians.
ALF-
WALD,
K. of the
Northumbrians.
KINULPHUS,
K. of the
West Saxons.
ALRICUS,
K. of Kent.
Matt. Paris,
ibid.

137.

It will be now time to give the reader a farther account of the synod of Calcuith above mentioned. As for the time, sir Henry Spelman places it to the year 787, though as we have seen already, this period seems to be set two years too much forward. As to the other circumstances of the council, our historians agree, that pope Adrian sent Gregory, bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, bishop of Todi, to assist with the character of legates. That upon their arrival, one of these legates travelled into the kingdom of the Northumbrians, Oswald being then king, and Eanbald archbishop of York: that there was a meeting of all the great men of that kingdom, both clergy and laity. This account the legates give in their letter to the pope: in which they take notice farther, that from the time of Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, there had been no prelate or priest sent from Rome into Britain till now. They likewise inform the pope, that they delivered his holiness's letters to Offa, king of the Mercians, and Kinulphus, king of the West Saxons; the first of whom was present at the synod of Calcuith: that since discipline and reformation of manners was the design of the synod, they (the legates) digested the matter under several heads, and reported them to the council, who all declared themselves ready to submit to the directions of the see of Rome. The heads or canons, drawn up by the legates, are as follow.

*The synod of
Calcuith.*

A. D. 785.

Spel. Concil.
vol. 1. p. 293.

LAM-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

1. All in holy orders are obliged to a strict adherence to the council of Nice : and every year at the provincial synods, the bishops are obliged to examine the priests upon the points of faith determined by the first six general councils, that the terms of communion may be regulated, and the people instructed accordingly.

2. By the second canon, baptism is only to be administered at the solemn and stated times of the Church, (viz. at Easter and Whitsuntide,) unless in case of necessity : and those who stand for children at the font, and answer for such who are not in a condition to engage for themselves, are to be put in mind, they must give an account to God Almighty for what they have undertaken ; and that it is their duty to instruct their god-children in the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, both which all the laity are obliged to have perfectly by heart.

3. The third provides for the holding two provincial synods every year : that every bishop should have an annual visitation in his diocese, and inspect the manners of his people, particularly he is to exert the censure of excommunication against incest, divination, witchcraft, and sacrilege. And here the bishops are cautioned against connivance, either out of fear or interest. That it is a lamentable prevarication for the prelates to be silent out of favour or cowardice, to sacrifice the flock to their own passions, and leave them when they see the wolf coming. On the contrary, as a careful shepherd secures the sheep against beasts of prey, so the spiritual pastor ought to defend his charge, that the enemy of mankind may not destroy them ; that they may not go astray by loose practice, nor the poor be oppressed by the wealthy.

4. The fourth relates to the habit and behaviour of the religious.

5. By the fifth, upon the death of an abbot or abbess, the convent is obliged to take the advice of the bishop of the diocese in the choice of a successor.

6. The sixth enjoins the bishops not to ordain any one priest or deacon without sufficient testimonials of their probity and abilities. That every one is to continue upon the title or cure to which he was ordained : and that no foreign priest or deacon shall be permitted to officiate without recommendatory letters from his diocesan.

7. The seventh provides for the solemnity of divine service at the stated or canonical hours.

Ezek. xiii.
5.

Ezek. iii.
18.

8. The ancient privileges granted to the respective churches, are to be preserved.

9. By the ninth, none of the clergy are allowed to eat in private, unless in case of great indisposition. By this canon one would think the clergy were not dispersed in parishes, but lived all, like monasteries or colleges, in common.

10. The tenth forbids the clergy to perform the divine service without stockings: and that the chalice and patin be not made of horn.

11. The eleventh exhorts kings and princes to take care of their administration, and govern with justice and impartiality. And as before, the bishops were put in mind to support their character, to rely on the protection of their Master, and the authority of their commission, to preach the Word of God to princes, and all persons of quality, without fear or flattery; never to stifle any seasonable truth, to spare no body, nor exert their discipline upon any without reason: so now princes are admonished to govern their practice by the direction of their bishops; because the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing, is delivered to them. They fortify the canon by several texts of Scripture, and then add, that as the king is lord paramount in the state, so the bishop's authority is supreme in things relating to the government and discipline of the Church. The canon proceeds in the admonition of princes, suggests that they ought to have a great regard for the Churches of God, not to harass them with servitude and rough usage, not to grow proud of their purple, nor oppress with their greatness. And if they would not take it well to have their own queens disregarded by their subjects, let them remember not to put a neglect upon the spouse of Christ.

12. The twelfth declares against admitting persons of illegitimate birth to the crown: presses honour and obedience to princes from authorities of Scripture; declares with great detestation against raising calumnies, forming conspiracies, or attempting upon the life of the king: and that if any bishop or clergyman is concerned in any such wickedness, he is to be degraded, and, like Judas, expelled the holy society. And whoever shall be assisting or aiding in such a sacrilegious practice against the Lord's anointed, shall be for ever excommunicated and excluded the benefits of the Church.

13. The thirteenth charges the ministers of justice to behave

OFFA,
K. of the
Mercians.
ALF-
WALD,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
ALRICUS,
K. of Kent.

Deut. xxii.
7.
Heb. xiii.
17.
Luke x. 16.
Mal. ii. 7.

138.

Rom. xiii.
1, &c.
1 Pet. ii. 17.

LAM-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

themselves conscientiously in their station, not to favour any person upon the score of his quality or wealth. Not to despise the poor : not to transgress the rules of equity, or take reward against the innocent, but to judge in truth and righteousness, as the prophet speaks. This article is enforced from several texts of Scripture.

Levit. xix.

15.

Isaiah i. 17.

Id. lviii. 6.

Matt. vii. 2.

Isaiah v. 8.

14. The fourteenth goes much upon the same matter, and declares in particular against fraud, violence, and laying unjust impositions upon the Church.

15. The fifteenth condemns marriage within the prohibited degrees.

16. By the sixteenth, illegitimate issue, and particularly the children of nuns, are made incapable of inheriting.

Mal. iii. 10.

17. The seventeenth urges the payment of tithes from the Mosaic law, and the doctrine of the Old Testament, and observes, that those who refuse to offer the tenth part to God Almighty, are oftentimes punished in their circumstances, and reduced to that slender proportion. This canon likewise forbids usury and unjust weights and measures.

18. The eighteenth dilates upon the obligation of vows, and presses the performance from the danger of such a neglect.

19. By the nineteenth, the remainders of heathenish customs are to be laid aside ; particularly, they are forbidden to deform their bodies by any superstitious marks or scars in conformity to the pagans.

20. The twentieth contains an exhortation to confession and penance : and if any person happens to die without this preparation, he is not to receive the benefit of the prayers of the Church.

These canons were first read in the Northumbrian synod, where after they had been subscribed by the king, the bishops, the temporal nobility, and inferior clergy of that province, they were brought by the legates, and presented to the synod of Calcuith, in the kingdom of Mercia. And here, they were likewise unanimously received and signed by king Offa, Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, twelve other bishops, several abbots,

Spel. Concil.

vol. 1.

p. 300, 301.

and other great men of the laity.

But here there are several circumstances in these synods, which seem to make the matter of fact somewhat questionable. First, the place where the Northumbrian synod was held is

not mentioned by the legates; and yet it is represented as a very numerous assembly, and that the king and most of the great men, both clergy and laity, were present at it. Secondly, Dilbereh, bishop Augustadensis Ecclesiæ (I suppose it should have been Hagulstadensis,) signs in the subscription list, before Eanbald his metropolitan of York. This looks somewhat irregular. Thirdly, we find six bishops subscribing to this northern synod, whereas the province of the kingdom of Northumberland had but four sees. To get over this difficulty, sir Henry Spelman supposes, and it may be, not improbably, that some of the bishops of Scotland were present, and concurred with the English, though after all, it is not easy to tell where to fix Aldulphus, who signs himself bishop Myiensis Ecclesiæ.

OFFA,
K. of the
Mereians.
ALF-
WALD,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
KINUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
ALRICUS,
K. of Kent.

Then as to the synod at Calcuith, we meet with some odd circumstances here: for archbishop Lambert subscribes before king Offa, which looks singular, and out of course: and as for the other twelve bishops who subscribe, most of their sees are unmentioned, and several of their names unknown. However, this may be in some measure accounted for, from the fault of the transcribers.

As for subscriptions at the foot of the Council, there is no great objection in that, it being no more than what was afterwards done at the synods of Becanceld and Cloveshoe. However, after all, it must be allowed, that the copy of this council is maimed, and the order inverted in several places. To conclude this matter, Matthew Paris informs us, that Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, resigned part of his province to the archbishop of Lichfield, at this synod at Calcuith, and that king Offa had his eldest son Egfrid, a prince of great hopes, solemnly crowned there.

Spel. Concil.
vol. I.
p. 317, 325.

Matt. Paris,
Vita Offæ
secundi,
p. 25.

About this time Willibald, scholar and nephew to Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, departed this life. He was extracted from a noble family in Devonshire, bred in a monastery under Egviwald, abbot of Waldheim. He travelled to Rome and Jerusalem, and in the year 739 was sent into Germany by Gregory III., to assist Boniface in the conversion of that nation; Boniface promoted him to the see of Eistad. This Willibald wrote Boniface's life, at the request of Lullus, his successor, which is extant in Canisius's *Antiquæ Lectiones*, and in the third century of the saints of the Benedictine order published by Mabillon.

Du Pin,
New Eccles.
Hist. cent. 8.
p. 109.

LAM-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

139.

A. D. 786.
Kinulphus
assassinated
by his ne-
phew
Kineard.

In the year of our Lord 786, Kinulphus, king of the West Saxons, after he had reigned one-and-thirty years, was surprised and murdered. This prince, who had been successful till towards the latter end of his reign, being apprehensive his brother's son, Kineard, might seize the crown from his own issue, banished him. Kineard thought it advisable to give way to the juncture, and seemed to retire without resentment. Being removed from the observation of the court, he drew a party of desperate men together, and marched undiscovered towards Kinulphus, who was now retired into the country for his pleasure ; Kineard having intelligence that the king's guards were dismissed to some distance, beset the house : Kinulphus being thus surprised, and perceiving that neither promises nor menacing would work upon the conspirators, stood upon his defence, and when the doors were forced, charged Kineard with great courage, and had like to have dispatched him ; but being surrounded and overset with numbers, he fell fighting, after he had defended himself with a great deal of bravery. Those few of the king's attendants that were present, refused to yield, and were likewise cut in pieces. The news of this assassination quickly reached the king's guards, who immediately marched against the conspirators. Before they came to blows, Kineard endeavoured to justify himself, claimed the crown as his right, and tempted them strongly to his interest ; but finding they refused to be bribed by any expectations, he ordered his men to make ready. The dispute was very obstinate, and the victory a great while doubtful : but at last Kineard's party was routed, and himself slain. King Kinulphus was buried at Winchester, and succeeded by Brithric, who reigned sixteen years. This prince's inclinations lay more for peace than fighting, which made him court the alliance of the neighbouring princes, and connive at some disorders at home. However, he did not indulge this humour so far as to discover any signs of fear, or weaken the force of his government. He took care to strengthen his interest by the marriage of king Offa's daughter : and being thus fortified, ventured to banish Egbert into France, who was the only remaining branch of the royal line. For though Brithric and the rest of the West Saxon kings after Ina were very nobly extracted, yet they were several removes from the right line.

Mahmesb. de
Gestis Reg.
Angl. l. 1.
c. 2. p. 7. 8.

Egbert being thus chased out of the country, Brithric thought himself secure, and began to indulge his inclination. But now the Danes gave him some little alarm. They made their first descent upon the island only with three privateers. This handful of men, who were sent to examine the richness and try the courage of the country, landed privately at one of Brithric's towns, and killed the governor of the place, who endeavoured to preserve the burghers. But afterwards the country coming in, the Danes were glad to quit their plunder, and retire to their ships.

In the year 788, there is said to have been two synods in the kingdom of the Northumbrians; one at Pinsenhale, Finsenhale, or Finkeley, and another at Aclam, or Acle; both in the bishopric of Durham. But of these we have nothing but the names of the place, there being no records of what was transacted remaining.

About four years after, Charles the Great sent a copy of the second council of Nice into Britain. Hoveden laments the contents of these papers, and affirms that there was a great deal of unorthodox doctrine in them, and particularly, that the worship of images, abominated by the Church of God, was decreed there, by the unanimous consent of above three hundred eastern bishops. The historian adds, that Albinus (or Alcuinus) wrote a letter against this innovation, and disproved the council with great evidence from the holy Scriptures: and that he presented this answer to Charles the Great in the name of the English bishops, and other great men of the kingdom. Simeon Dunelmensis, and Matthew of Westminster, relate this passage much in the same manner, and with the same mark of dislike.

The worship of images was so foreign to the practice of the primitive Church, that the use of them was very rare in the first three centuries, even in the opinion of the learned Dupin: nay, the famous Epiphanius, in his letter to John of Jerusalem, declares strongly against this practice. "When I came," says he, "into a country church of Palestine, called Anablatha, I found a curtain hanging over the door, upon which there was a picture painted like that of our Saviour, or some Saint (for I cannot certainly remember whose picture it was) however, seeing the figure of a man in the Church of Christ, contrary to the authority of holy Scripture, I tore it,

OFFA,
K. of the
Mercians.
ALF-
WALD,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
BRITH-
RIC,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
ALRICUS,
K. of Kent.

*The first de-
scend of the
Danes upon
Britain.*

A. D. 787.

Malmesb.

ibid.

A. D. 788.

Spel. Concil.

vol. 1.

p. 304, 305.

A. D. 792.

Hoveden,

Annal. pars.

prior. p. 232.

Multa in

convenientia,

et veræ fidei

contraria re-

periebantur.

The second

council of

Nice deeply

censured by

the English

historians.

Dunelmensis

Hist. de

Gestis Reg.

Ang. p. 111.

inter Decem

Scriptores.

Matth.

Westmo-

nast. Flores

Hist. An.

Grat. 793.

A short ac-

count of the

councils of

Constantino-

ple, Nice, and

Frankfort,

relating to

the worship

of images.

Eccles. Hist.

cent. 4. in

Epiphanius.

LAM-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

and gave order to the churchwardens to wrap it about some corpse, and bury it," &c.

Thus we see Epiphanius was apprehensive this custom might prove dangerous, and went the same lengths of caution with the eastern Iconoclasts. This letter was translated by St. Jerome; and though Baronius and Bellarmin would have it counterfeit, yet Monsieur Du Pin makes no difficulty to answer their objections; and though he thinks Epiphanius went too far in asserting the unlawfulness of having images in churches, yet he seems to believe this practice was not customary in Palestine or Cyprus in Epiphanius's time: that this Father altogether disallowed it, and that it would be contrary to the sincerity religion requires of us, to interpret his words to any other sense.

Du Pin,
ibid.

140.

Gregory,
Epist. l. 9.
cp. 9.

But though the use of images may not be unserviceable, yet the worship of them is a dangerous excess; it seems to be of pagan original, and not so much as allowed at Rome in the time of Gregory the Great. However, as the ages declined in knowledge, they seemed to improve in superstition; insomuch, that in the beginning of the eighth century, the Jews and Saracens charged part of the Eastern Church with idolatry upon this score. And pope Adrian, in his letter to Constantine and Irene, owns the Iconoclasts reproached the other party with deifying their images, before the meeting of the second council of Nice. The emperor Leo Isaurus, being willing to prevent scandal, and jealous of the consequences of this practice, published an edict against the use of images. Gregory II. was displeased at this order, called a council at Rome, and established image-worship. And now the crown and Roman mitre came to an open rupture: the pope excommunicates Leo Isaurus, and his viceroy of Rome; and when he found the emperor was not to be gained, commands the city not to pay him any taxes, disclaims him for his sovereign, and enters into a confederacy with the Franks. But in the east, the Iconoclasts had the favour of the court, and carried their point: for Constantine Copronymus, pursuing his father's measures, convened a council at Constantinople, where both the excesses and use of images were condemned. Indeed, these Fathers seemed too far transported in their zeal, if they are rightly represented in the synodical epistle published by Photius: for in this letter they are said to have used our

Baron.
A. D. 723.
p. 35. edit.
Antwerp.

Labbe, Con-
cil. tom. 7.
p. 694.

Baron.
A. D. 726.
p. 55.

Baron. ibid.
p. 62.

Baron.
A. D. 754.
Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 7.
Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 7.
p. 657.

Saviour's figure, and that of the saints, with disrespect; to have dragged some of them through the streets and burnt them. And thus the favourers of images in the eastern part of the empire, lay under censure and reproach, till the death of Leo IV.

But Irene, who governed in the minority of her son Constantine, took new measures: this princess published an edict, to allow the liberty of disputing for images, which was prohibited before. And now the baffled party beginning to prevail, procured the calling a council at Constantinople, which was immediately broken up by a tumultuous opposition from the other side. This difficulty the empress got over, and then convened the second council of Nice. And here the worship of images was fully settled. As to the degree of worship determined by this council, they declare against giving images any sovereign adoration, and that they pay them only an inferior religious respect. Nay, pope Adrian, in his letter to Constantine and Irene, softens the matter to a more inoffensive sense, brings it as low as civil worship, and makes it no more than the respect usually paid by one man to another. But it seems these justifications were by no means esteemed satisfactory: for the Church, especially the western part of it, was extremely disgusted at the conduct of this council of Nice; and in the year 794 there was a general council convened at Frankfort upon the Maine; at which Theophylact and Stephen, the pope's legates, and about 300 bishops were present. And here the controversy about images being examined to the bottom, it was decreed, that though they might be retained in churches for refreshing the history of what they represented, and for ornament sake, they were by no means to be adored or worshipped in any measure. Here, upon a full debate of the case, the acts of the second council of Nice were censured and reversed. The testimonies of the Fathers, and other ecclesiastical authors, made use of by the Nicene assembly, were brought upon the board, and all the sophistry and false colouring of that council solidly refuted; so that upon the whole matter, the Fathers of Frankfort pronounced the second council of Nice no general council, neither was it esteemed any other than a pseudo or pretended synod by the writers of that age. The four Caroline books are likewise authority beyond exception, against the proceedings of the second council of Nice.

OFFA,
K. of the
Mercians.
ALF-
WALD,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
BRITH-
RIC,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
ALRICUS,
K. of Kent.
Baron.
A. D. 784.
p. 352.
Baron.
A. D. 786.
p. 377.

Council.
Labbe,
tom. 7.
p. 390.

Council.
tom. 7.
p. 698.

LAM-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.
*The author-
ity of the Car-
oline books
and the
council of
Frankfort
vindicated.*

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 7.
p. 1054.

Labbe, Con-
cil. tom. 7.
p. 1057.
De Marca.
l. 6. c. 25.

Baron.
A. D. 794.
p. 431, 434,
435.
141.

These Caroline books, though not wholly written by Charles the Great, were at least drawn up by his direction, by the bishops of his dominions. That this tract, together with the council of Frankfort, are authentic records against the worship of images, settled by the second council of Nice, is allowed by several ecclesiastical writers of the first class in the Roman communion: for the purpose, Sirmondus grants, that now very few question the genuineness of the Caroline books, or the council of Frankfort: that nobody can deny the authority of the first, unless he will reject Adrian's answer to that tract, which is generally agreed to be written by that pope. Sirmondus goes on and declares, that the canons of the council of Frankfort stand upon unquestionable credit: that the antiquity of the manuscript, together with the concurrent testimonies of several writers of the same age, are indisputable evidence. Labbe is of the same opinion, as appears not only by inserting Sirmondus's authority, but likewise by his publishing the second canon of the council of Frankfort, in which the second Nicene council about the worship of images is directly condemned.

To proceed: the learned Baronius has nothing to object against the credit of these records; he grants the Caroline books were drawn up against the image worship, decreed by the second council of Nice; that they were composed by several western bishops, thrown into a body by general consent, presented to Charles the Great, and sent by him to pope Adrian. And that they made part of the acts of the council of Frankfort, the cardinal proves from the testimony of Hincmar, who lived about that time; so that, as he concludes, the authority of them is not to be questioned. The cardinal adds, farther, that several authors of character, in the reigns of Ludovicus and Lotharius, who succeeded Charles the Great, wrote against the second Nicene council about image worship; amongst these, he reckons Jonas, bishop of Orleans, Walafrius Strabo, Amalarius, Altigarius, Freculphus, and Adegarus: it is true, the cardinal makes all this opposition of the western bishops proceed upon a mistake of matter of fact. He says the Nicene Fathers were misrepresented, and that the prelates of France, Germany, &c. believed they had decreed latria, or the highest degree of worship, was to be paid to images: and that the censures of the Caroline books, and the

council of Frankfort, were levelled against this opinion. But in answer to this, it is inconceivable to imagine the western bishops should be no better acquainted with matters than this comes to; that they should have so little justice and discretion, as to censure a council at random, and condemn without understanding the case. The second council of Nice consisted of above three hundred bishops; the pope's legates were present at it, and Adrian I. consented to what was done there. Things being thus transacted, how can it be supposed that copies of the second Nicene council were not transmitted to the western Church? that those who drew up the Caroline books, and the Fathers of Frankfort, should not have a view of them? To act at this rate of inconsideration is by no means suitable either to the character of Charles the Great, or to the western bishops of that age: and therefore the learned Monsieur Du Pin informs us, that the acts of this second council of Nice were brought to Rome, and from thence sent into France, where, as Monsieur Du Pin continues, they had a different practice about image worship: they allowed, says he, they might be placed in their churches, but would not endure that any worship should be given them: and therefore those prostrations, those postures of respect and submission, with which images were to be treated by the second council of Nice, were looked upon as unwarrantable applications by the western bishops; and that such religious honour was only due to God Almighty.

Thus the Caroline books are directly levelled against all degrees of worship: they are drawn up upon a medium between the Iconoclast council of Constantinople, and the second of Nice. The preface informs us, that the prelates of the council of Constantinople had been so far overseen as to anathematize those who had images in their churches, pretending they were no better than idols. That another synod, held about three years after, (meaning the second of Nice) run to another extreme, and was no less faulty than the former. That the bishops of this synod ordered images to be worshipped; that thus the Fathers of Constantinople and Nice fell into contrary absurdities, by not distinguishing rightly between the use and the adoration of images. "As for us," says Charles the Great, (for the preface and book run in his name) "we reject all the novelties both of the first and second synod. As to the acts

OFFA,
K. of the
Mercians.
ALF-
WALD,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
BRITH-
RIC,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
ALRICUS,
K. of Kent.

New Eccles.
Hist. cent. 8.
p. 141.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 7. p. 8.
and 390.

LAM-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

of the second council of Nice, which have neither rhetoric nor common sense, as appears by a copy of them come to our hands, we thought ourselves obliged to write against their errors, that if the poison has made any impression, this treatise, supported by the holy Scriptures, may prove an antidote; and that this weak enemy, which is come from the East, may be defeated in the West:" and after some other animadverting and satirical strokes, he adds, "we have engaged in this work with the consent of the bishops of our dominions, not to serve any ambitious design, but purely out of a zeal for truth and orthodoxy."

Du Pin,
Eccles. Hist.
cent. 8.
141.

Du Pin,
cent. 8.
p. 141.
Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 7.
p. 915.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 7.
p. 922—963.

These Caroline books were published about three years after the council of Nice, and by consequence four before that of Frankfort. They were delivered to Adrian I. by Engelbert, chaplain and ambassador to Charles the Great. The pope writes a reply to this tract in defence of the second council of Nice; but his answers are foreign and faint, and have very little of force or logic in them. This letter of Adrian's did no execution, as one might well expect from the contents of it: it did not in the least alter the sentiments of Charles the Great, nor that of the Gallican Church, as appears by the council of Frankfort, held in the year 794; where this question was fully debated, the second Nicene council rejected, and all manner of worship given to images flatly condemned.

Concil.
tom. 7.
p. 1057.
Du Pin,
cent. 8.
p. 145.
*The council
of Paris
against
image-
worship.*

And to finish this subject all at once, I shall break in a little upon the order of time, and subjoin the determination of the council of Paris, convened in the year 824.

In the East, though the second Nicene council had restored images in several places, yet the decrees of these Fathers were not every where observed; and at last Constantine, the emperor, declared against them; and Leo the Fifth, his successor, revived the late council of Constantinople. In the year 820, Michael Balbus convened a council to take up the controversy about images, and settle the peace of the Church. These Fathers came to an agreement, and followed the sentiments of the Gallican Church; they allowed the use, but forbade the worship. Some of the bigots for image-worship took a journey to Rome to complain of this council. Upon this Michael sent his ambassadors to the pope, to justify the proceedings, and give satisfaction upon the point. They had likewise directions given them by the emperor to apply to Ludovicus Pius to

strengthen their interests. This western emperor finding a fair opportunity to put an end to the dispute, sent Freculphus and Adegarius to Rome, to treat this affair; but Ludovicus's envoys, perceiving the Romans averse to an accommodation, desired the pope would consent that their master might debate this matter with his own bishops. The pope agreeing to the motion, there was a synod held at Paris in the year above mentioned. The acts of this council being printed at Frankfort in 1596, and Bellarmin not liking the contents, endeavours to prove them spurious and counterfeited by the heretics. This cardinal makes several objections against the doctrine, manner, and style of this book, published at Frankfort; but finding the authorities somewhat difficult to deal with, he concludes, that whether it be genuine or counterfeit, whether interpolated or wholly authentic, it is not at all material; for in short, the book is not worth reading. And this is part of his method of confuting the council of Paris.

But Baronius does not treat this record with such a strain of contempt. He grants, that there was a meeting of the French bishops at Paris, and that they decreed against the worship of images. It is true, he quarrels with the title, sinks them to a conference, and will not allow them the style of a synod: but this is nothing but disputing about a word. That there was an ecclesiastical meeting at Paris upon this occasion cannot be denied: the letters of Ludovicus Pius to pope Eugenius II. and to Jeremy and Jonas, the emperor's ambassadors, put the matter beyond all question. The cardinal finding the fact could not be contested, endeavours to lessen the credit of the Parisian prelates, and make them dwindle to a conference. But Monsieur Du Pin seems more impartial in his relation. He grants, that the council of Paris consisted of the most considerable bishops of the kingdom, and that the question was thoroughly examined; that they had all the memoirs relating to the controversy before them; that they read Adrian's first letter to Constantine and Irene upon this subject; that they perused the acts of the second Nicene council, the Caroline books, together with the answer of pope Adrian. In short, they commended the emperor for endeavouring to reconcile the Church, by pitching upon a middle way. They complained of the excesses of the Roman practice

OFFA,
K. of the
Mercians.
ALF-
WALD,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
BRITH-
RIC,
K. of the
W. Saxons.
ALRICUS,
K. of Kent.

142.

Du Pin,
cent. 8.
p. 145.
Bellarmin in
Append. ad
Tractat. de
Cultu Ima-
ginum.

Concil.
tom. 7.
p. 1047.
1648.

Baron.
A. D. 825.
p. 726, 727.

Concil.
tom. 7.
p. 1648,
1649, and
1650.

LAM-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.

Du Pin,
cent. 8.
p. 145, 146.

in this point. And at last, decreed for the use, but against the worship of images.

Things standing thus, with respect to this controversy, we need not wonder to find the English Church remonstrate against the second council of Nice; to mark the innovation with such sharpness of censure, and employ one of their ablest pens in defence of the ancient practice. But Alcuin's book, upon this subject, being not extant, the manner and circumstances of the dispute are lost with it.

A. D. 793.

In the year 793, king Offa being thoroughly touched with remorse for the barbarous murder of Ethelbert above mentioned, made a grant to the Church of all the tithe in his dominions; and gave a great estate in land to the cathedral of Hereford, where king Ethelbert was buried.

Brompton.
p. 776.

*King Offa
founds the
monastery of
St. Alban's.*
Matt. Paris,
Vita Offa,
p. 26. et
deince.

Soon after this munificence to the Church, Offa is said to have had the place of St. Alban's relics discovered to him in a dream; in which he was directed to take them up, and put them in a shrine. The king looking upon this dream as an admonition from heaven, acquainted Humbert, archbishop of Lichfield, with it. This prelate being satisfied with the relation, sends for his suffragans, Ceolwulph of Lindsey, and Unwon of Leicester, and meets the king at Verulam. And here, as the historian goes on, the relics were discovered by a blaze of light, shot down from the sky, upon the place. Being thus directed to dig, they found the martyr's corpse in a wooden coffin. The king put them in a rich shrine, plated with gold, and ornamented with jewels. There was a vast concourse of people at the taking up St. Alban's relics; and which is more remarkable, there were a great many miracles wrought in the sight of the company, if Matthew Paris was not misinformed: for he tells us, leprosies, palsies, and fevers were cured, the sick received their health, the lame their limbs, the deaf and blind their senses, and the dead were countermanded from the other world, and brought to life again: and, as Matthew Paris goes on, there was, as it were, a succession of miracles settled upon the place; which continued to his own time.

Matt. Paris,
ibid. p. 27.

Offa did not stop here, in his respect to St. Alban, but summoned a provincial council of the bishops and temporal nobility at Verulam. And here it was unanimously agreed to build a monastery in the place where the relics were dis-

covered: and to grace the establishment farther, and procure some privileges extraordinary, it was thought proper the king should go to Rome in person, and transact this affair with the pope. This resolution being executed accordingly, the king was very honourably received by the court of Rome. The pope commending him very much for the piety of his design, and the honour he had done St. Alban, gave his consent for the building and endowing the monastery, promised to take it into his immediate protection, that it should be exempted from all episcopal or archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and be subject to no authority but that of the Roman see.

The king being extremely pleased with the pope's compliance, resolved to do something by way of acknowledgment. And going the next day into a school, founded at Rome by king Ina, for the education of the English, he settled a farther maintenance upon it, ordering a penny to be collected yearly of every family within his dominions, where the lands, not including the tenements, amounted to thirty pence (I suppose in the annual rent). This collection was to be levied upon all the lands within the king's territories, excepting the estates belonging to the monastery of St. Alban. Offa was directed in this munificence by the precedent of king Ina, king of the West Saxons, who had led him the way, by settling the same revenue upon his foundation at Rome.

And here we find the king's liberality very much misinterpreted by Polydore Virgil, who calls this charity a sort of quit-rent, or acknowledgment to the pope. He tells us that king Offa travelled to Rome to receive absolution for his misbehaviour; that he made his kingdom, as it were, a fee of the Roman see, and ordered a tax or quit-rent to be levied upon every house, in acknowledgment of the pope's sovereignty. Cardinal Baronius does not forget to insert this passage of Polydore Virgil, calls Ina and Offa's charity a tributary payment, and makes the crown of England a homager to St. Peter in his margin. Whereas it is plain this was no acknowledgment to the pope, but a revenue settled for the maintenance of an English school, and for the benefit of the strangers of that nation who travelled thither. It is true they were called Peter pence, but this was only because they were paid upon the first of August, called St. Peters ad Vincula, to perpetuate the memory of the discovery of St. Alban's

OFFA,
K. of the
Mercians.
ALF-
WALD,
K. of the
Northum-
brians.
BRITH-
RIC,
K. of the
W. Saxons.
ALRICUS,
K. of Kent.

*He goes to
Rome to pro-
cure privi-
leges of
exemption to
the abbey.*
Matt. Paris,
ibid. p. 29.

143.

*Peter pence
a bounty,
not homage.*
Hist. l. 4.
p. 86.

Baron.
A. D. 740.
p. 130.

LAM-
BERT,
Abp. Cant.
Matt. Paris,
Vit. Off.
p. 31.

25 Hen. 8.
c. 25.

Matt. Paris,
ibid. p. 30.

relics, which were found upon this holy day. And thus, as sir Henry Spelman observes, money due for land upon the twenty-fifth of March is called our lady's rent. These Peter pence being due upon the first of August, in case there was any default in the payment, the bishops, who were charged to pay it to the pope's collectors, might be sued in the king's court. Stow observes that king Edward III. in 1365 forbade the paying and collecting these Peter pence; and the same historian adds that they amounted to three hundred marks, but this was but a temporary stoppage, they being afterwards collected till the payment was forbidden by act of parliament in the reign of king Henry VIII. In king Offa's time this collection was levied upon three-and-twenty counties; for so far his dominions extended, *i. e.* in the counties of Worcester and Gloucester, belonging to the see of Worcester; in Warwickshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Derbyshire, then belonging to the bishopric of Lichfield; in Leicestershire, being under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Legrecastria or Leicester; in Lincolnshire, where the bishop's see was at Lindsey; in the counties of Northampton, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and half Hertfordshire; which were all within the diocese of the bishop of Dorchester in Oxfordshire; in the counties of Essex, Middlesex, and half Hertfordshire, belonging to the see of London; in Norfolk and Suffolk, in which there were two bishop's sees, one at Helman, the other at Dunwich. Offa likewise was king in Nottinghamshire, but the spiritual jurisdiction belonged to the archbishop of York. In all these counties, as they were afterwards called, King Offa made a grant of these Peter pence in the manner above mentioned.

After all it will bear a question whether these Peter pence were any more than a pension from the crown in the reigns of king Ina and Offa, and not levied as a tax upon the subject till a great while after. There are several reasons which seem to give a colour to this conjecture. First—In the letter of pope Leo III. to king Kinulphus, dated about four years after Offa's grant. In this letter the pope, mentioning king Offa's bounty, takes notice of that prince's granting a yearly pension of three hundred and sixty-five mancuses to St. Peter for the maintenance of the poor, and providing lamps and candles at Rome, but says nothing of the Peter pence, which seems to

*Mancusa is
about seven
shillings and
sixpence.*

look as if there was no such grant. This objection is somewhat fortified by the testimony of Asserius Menevensis. This annalist informs us that king Ethelwulf, who lived about fifty years after Offa, ordered three hundred mancuses to be sent to Rome yearly for the benefit of his soul, two hundred of which were to furnish oil for the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the third hundred were to be presented to the pope.

But to the first of these authorities it may be answered, that the Peter pence being settled only for a support of the English school and for the benefit of that nation residing there, the pope might consider this as a charity to the king's subjects, and not thinking himself so much obliged to take notice of it as of a grant made in honour of St. Peter, and for the immediate advantage of the Roman Church. And then as to king Ethelwulf's benefaction in Asserius's annals, it does not seem to be the same with that of king Offa, for here both the sum and the uses are somewhat different; Ethelwulf's bounty not only falls short of Offa's by sixty-five mancuses, but likewise a hundred of them are made a present to the pope; whereas king Offa's are all to be expended upon lamps and the poor. To this we may add, that the Peter pence granted by king Ina and Offa are settled upon an English school; but Offa's and Ethelwulf's mancuses are disposed of another way; now the uses being so very different it is unlikely the grants should be the same. Further, the law of king Edward the Confessor, which orders the payment of Peter pence, both as to the sum and time above mentioned, does by no means prove that they were not paid before; neither do our historians make this king the beginner of the custom. This law therefore may, without violence, be explained to mean no more than a provision for the better satisfying the grant of king Offa, by adding a new penalty for non-payment. It is probable likewise it may be made to clear some circumstances not formerly ascertained; for here it is provided that if any man has more houses than one he is only to pay for that he dwells in. And by the way the settlement is called the king's alms, or charity, which is an argument that it was by no means looked upon as any homage or acknowledgment to the pope.

Things being settled to Offa's satisfaction at Rome, he returned home, and with the consent of his great men finished his project, built the abbey and church at St. Alban's, settled

OFFA,
K. of the
Mercians.
BRITH-
RIC,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

Epist. Leon.
111. ad Ki-
nolph. in
Angl. Sacr.
pars. 1.
p. 461.
Asser. An-
nal. p. 158.
inter Quin-
decim Scrip-
tores.

Lambert.
Archaio-
nom. p. 140.

ATHEL-
ARD,
Abp. Cant.

Matt. Paris,
ibid.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum. Angl.
l. 1. fol. 15.
Malmesb.
ibid.

a vast estate upon the foundation, and furnished the house with the Benedictine order.

King Offa's settlement of the Peter pence upon the English school at Rome was countenanced by Charles the Great, who, in his letter to king Offa, grants a free passport to the English who travelled to Rome out of devotion, and exempts them from the payment of toll and custom. In this letter Charles the Great informs the king that he had sent several rich habits to the English bishops desiring them to pray for the soul of the late pope Adrian; not that he questioned the happiness of that prelate, but only to shew his affection and pay a regard to the memory of his friend.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 1. fol. 17.

From this letter we may collect the correspondence between Offa and Charles the Great. Malmesbury observes that this prince being one of Offa's allies, was a great support to his government, and prevented the malcontents, which were very numerous, from giving him any disturbance. And thus the latter part of his reign proving smooth and easy, he declared his son Egfert his successor, and gave him the solemnity of a coronation. Egfert gave great expectations of a good governor, but his reign was very short; he was taken off in the flower of his age, and survived his father but four months. Kenulphus, his successor, though he came to the crown with great reputation, yet his conduct exceeded his character, for as Malmesbury reports, he scarce ever did anything liable to censure or misconstruction. He was very remarkable both for his conscience and courage; a brave victorious general, and a devout Christian; no less humble and condescensive in his temper than great in his dignity and success. This prince, as Malmesbury continues, restored the ancient jurisdiction to the see of Canterbury, of which more by and by. But though he was thus favourable to the archbishop, he had an old quarrel to the little crown of Kent; and therefore receiving no satisfaction, he harassed the country with his army, and at last took king Edbrith, or Pren, prisoner. But afterwards he was so humane as to give him his liberty, though without any part of his dominions, for he disposed of the kingdom of Kent to Cuthred.

Malmesb.
ibid. fol. 13.
*King Kenul-
phus's letter
to the pope
for the resti-
tution of the
province of
Canterbury.*

Kenulphus being resolved to do right to the see of Canterbury, and procure the enlargement of that province to its ancient extent, wrote to pope Leo III. for his concurrence and appro-

bation. Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, going to Rome about this time to solicit the interest of his see, might possibly carry the king's letter; it is couched in terms of great ceremony and religious submission, and runs to this purpose:—"The king promises to be governed by the pope's decision, and to execute his orders to the utmost of his power; he desires his holiness would adopt him for his son, and engages his affection and duty shall answer up to that relation." After this strain of respect he puts the pope in mind that king Offa, out of disaffection to archbishop Lambert, and the court of Kent, endeavoured to canton out the province, and maim the privileges of that see. That the late pope Adrian, at the instance of the Mercian king above mentioned, ventured upon an unprecedented stretch of authority, broke in upon the settlement of pope Gregory the Great, and raised the see of Lichfield to an archbishopric. He desires the pope would return him and the English bishops a favourable answer; that the case may be thoroughly considered; that justice may be done, and such measures laid down as may prevent the island from running into a schism. The king likewise mentions a letter written to the pope by archbishop Athelard and the rest of the bishops of that province, and desires his holiness's judgment and direction upon the contents.

KENUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
Mercians.

A. D. 798.

Malmesb.
ibid. fol. 16.

To this letter pope Leo III. returns an answer, which, being somewhat long, I shall only give the reader part of it. He acquaints the king that archbishop Athelard was well received at Rome, and assisted to support his character. Then he puts Kenulphus in mind of the authority of that prelate, and that himself had empowered him to excommunicate any irregular person, kings not excepted, within his jurisdiction. And as to the case in hand, he gives the king to understand he had satisfied his request in behalf of Athelard; and since he was deprived of the jurisdiction of several dioceses and monasteries, against justice and reason, he should be restored to them. And therefore, in virtue of his apostolical authority, he returns him the same metropolitanical power and privilege which Augustine enjoyed by the constitution of Gregory the Great.

*The pope's
answer to the
king's letter.*

And thus, at the instance of king Kenulphus, Leo reversed the order of his predecessor Adrian, extinguished the archiepiscopal character at Lichfield, and made that bishop suffragan

*The arch-
bishopric of
Lichfield
extinguished.*

ATHEL-
ARD,
Abp. Cant.

to Canterbury as formerly. The famous Alcuinus was willing to make this disappointment easy to Aldulphus, late archbishop of Lichfield. To this purpose he writes a letter to Athelard, in which, after having congratulated his success at Rome, and the restitution of his province, he desires Aldulphus might have the honour of the pall continued to him, though without any authority to consecrate bishops, or execute any part of the metropolitical function. From hence it appears, by the doctrine of this age, that the wearing the pall was sometimes no more than a mark of honour; and that there was no archiepiscopal jurisdiction necessarily implied in it. Malmesbury assigns the success of this affair in a great measure to the conduct and abilities of Athelard, of whom he gives an extraordinary character, both for his management, learning, and piety.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Pon-
tif. Angl.
145.

*The synod of
Finchale.*

About this time, or it may be a year before, there was a synod held at Phincahnhall or Finchale, in the kingdom of Northumberland. It was composed of the principal clergy and laity of that government. The design of the meeting was, to bring up the regulation of discipline and manners to the old standard, and to revive several constitutions relating to Church and State, which began to grow into disuse. And here archbishop Eanbald ordered the canons and creed of the first five general councils to be read over; all which were unanimously received by this synod.

Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 316.

*The perfid-
iousness
and disloy-
alty of the
Northum-
brians.*

As for the kingdom of Northumberland, it had been miserably harassed with civil distractions for some time: for not to mention the murder of king Oswolf, the expulsion of Alred and Ethelbert, the two next successors; Celwald, or Alfwald, miscarried by the usual perfidiousness of his subjects, being assassinated in the twelfth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Osred, Alred's son, who, being deposed within a year, made way for Ethelbert or Athelred. This prince, who was the son of Mollo, recovered his crown after twelve years' exile; but shared the fate of his predecessors, being barbarously murdered about four years after his restoration. Most of the bishops and temporal nobility, being shocked at these frequent returns of treason and rebellion, quitted the country. Alcuinus reports, that Charles the Great was extremely offended with the disloyalty of the Northumbrians, branded them with the character of perfidious regicides, declared them worse than heathens, and had he not been softened by the intercession of

Alcuinus, resolved to revenge the quarrel of their princes, and distress them to the utmost of his power.

After Athelred no body durst venture upon the crown of Northumberland. Those of the blood choosing rather to wave their pretensions and live privately, than accept a royal character with so much hazard. And thus the throne continuing empty for about three-and-thirty years, the country became both a jest and a prey to their neighbours. For in this interval, the Danes being encouraged by the report of their countrymen, who came first upon the discovery of this island, made a second expedition with a much greater force, got footing in the kingdom of Northumberland, and held it till the year 827, when the country being tired with the interregnum and ravages of the Danes, followed the precedent of the other parts of the heptarchy, and submitted to Egbert king of the West Saxons.

KENUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
Mercians.
BRITH-
RIC,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
CUTH-
RED,
K. of Kent.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 1. fol. 13.

Malmesb.
ibid. fol. 14.

To return to the Church: about the time, as has been already observed, that Kenulphus moved for the restitution of the rights of the see of Canterbury, Athelard the archbishop took a journey to Rome. The design of this voyage, amongst other things, was most probably to procure his pall, as appears from a letter of all the bishops and clergy of England, written to the pope about this time, and upon this subject. In this letter they acquaint the pope of their being informed from Bede's Ecclesiastical History, that their ancient predecessors were not fatigued with a journey to Rome to procure the pall, as has been customary of late: that pope Boniface sent Justus, archbishop of Canterbury, the pall, and empowered him to consecrate bishops: that both Justus and Mellitus had their episcopal character from Augustine the monk: that Justus ordained Paulinus, who had a pall sent him by pope Honorius, and fixed his archiepiscopal see at York. That Paulinus, after the death of Justus, consecrated Honorius archbishop of Canterbury, who likewise had a pall sent him by pope Honorius, together with a letter, by virtue of which, upon the death of the archbishop of York or Canterbury, the surviving metropolitan was to consecrate another in his room. This was done to prevent the inconveniency of a vacancy, which must have followed from a voyage to Rome undertaken by the new elect. They likewise suggest to his holiness, that the celebrated Alcuinus, in his letter to king Offa, was positively of opinion, that upon the

A. D. 798,
799.
*A letter of
the English
bishops to the
pope, by way
of remon-
strance.*

Angl. Sacr.
part. 1.
p. 461, 462.

ATHEL-
ARD,
Abp. Cant.

vacancy of a see, the archbishop of one province in England was to be consecrated by a prelate of the same dignity in the other, and that the pope was obliged to send the pall upon notice of the consecration. That the differences among the English princes had broke through this regulation; but then this innovation was by no means justifiable: for the canons are plain and decisive, that the constitutions of the Church are not to be disturbed by the State, nor set aside by any misunderstandings between one prince and another. From hence they proceed to give broad signs, as if they believed the avarice of the court of Rome was the cause of this new practice. They put the pope in mind, that in old time his predecessors governed themselves exactly by our Saviour's precept, "freely ye have received, freely give." At that time of day, simony had no influence upon promotions, nor was a holy character set to sale. And it is to be feared, as they conclude, that they who sell the spiritual function, and the gift of God, may make themselves liable to St. Peter's curse upon Simon Magus, "thy money perish with thee, for thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter."

Matt. x. 8.

Acts viii. 20.

Angl. Sacr.
ibid.

146.

There is a council said to be at Becanceld about this time; but since, by the matter treated, and the bishop's subscriptions, it seems to be the same with that convened at Clovesho in the year 803, I shall defer the account of it to that period. Sir Henry Spelman makes two considerable objections against the existence of this synod at Becanceld: first, archbishop Athelard mentions an order of pope Leo, which he seems to have received himself from the pope's hands. Whereas Athelard had not made his voyage to Rome, or at least could not be returned when this synod is supposed to be held. Secondly, Aldulphus of Lichfield stands very low upon the subscription list, notwithstanding he was not deprived of his metropolitical dignity; and yet, in the council of Clovesho, held about five years after, he has a more honourable place, signs next to the archbishop of Canterbury, though in this synod his authority was lessened, and his figure sunk to that of a diocesan bishop.

Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 317, 318.

CENT. IX.
A. D. 800.
*The synod of
Clovesho.*

In the year of our Lord 800, we have better authority for a synod held at Clovesho. King Kenulphus was present at this council, and so was Athelard with all his suffragans, and most of the considerable persons both of Church and State. And

here, the archbishop in the first place, inquired into the orthodoxy and behaviour of the province: and having received a satisfactory answer, proceeded to recover the revenues of the Church. The main business related to the abbey of Cotham, founded by Athelbald, king of the Mercians, and settled upon Christ's Church in Canterbury, where the king's charters were preserved. These evidences were afterwards stolen away by two persons in archbishop Cuthbert's family, and conveyed to Kenulphus, king of the West Saxons; who being possessed of the title, seized the lands of the monastery. The country where the estate lay was afterwards conquered by Offa from the West Saxons, and detained by him; but his successor *Ibid.* Kenulphus being a prince of great piety and justice, resigned up the abbey to Christ's Church, sent them money for their arrears, and returned them their charters and deeds.

KENULPHUS,
K. of the
Mercians.
EGBERT,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
CUTHBERT,
K. of Kent.

Three years forward will bring us to another council at Clovesho, in which archbishop Athelard was present with twelve of his comprovincials. At the opening of this synod, the archbishop takes notice of the injustice of the late king Offa, who presumed, as the Latin expresses it, to split the province, and deprive the see of Canterbury of its ancient dignity and privileges. Upon this, he acquaints them with pope Leo's constitution for restoring the full jurisdiction. And then, in virtue of the pope's authority and that of the present synod, he proceeds to denounce the highest censures against any bishop or prince, that should attempt the like encroachment for the future. This point being settled, the synod decreed excommunication against those of the laity that should take the government of a monastery upon them. The monks were likewise forbidden under the same penalty to choose any secular man for their abbot, who had not been educated to a monastic life, and entered within the rule of some order.

*Another
synod at
Clovesho.*

Before we take leave of this council, we must observe, there are some chronological difficulties in the subscriptions. For, according to the *Fasti Saviliani*, Werebert, bishop of Leicester, Almund, of Winchester, and Osmund, of London, were not promoted to their respective sees till some years after this council is said to be held. And granting this mistake may be occasioned by the negligence of those that transcribed the council, or supposing the *Fasti* mistaken, there is another singularity in the subscription-roll; and that is, the bishop's list

Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 317, 324.

*Fast. Savil.
ad fin. In-
gulph. edit.
Savil.*

ATHEL-
ARD,
Abp. Cant.

does not stand by itself, as is customary ; but every bishop has several abbots and priests immediately subjoined to his name ; and sometimes there are deacons added to them ; and under Athelard's subscription, we have one Wulfrid an archdeacon, who signs after the priests of Canterbury diocese. Now this is the first time we meet with a clergyman of this character in the English synods : upon the whole, the abbots, priests and deacons being set close to their respective bishops, looks, as if the matter had been transacted in several diocesan synods : and, upon the bishops meeting at the council of Clovesho, the subscriptions of the diocesan synods might probably be thrown into a body, and suffered to pass in the form and order they were received.

A. D. 804.
*Alcuin's
death and
character.*

The next year the famous Albin or Alcuin, departed this life. He was born in the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and educated under Egbert, archbishop of York. He was an extraordinary genius, a profound scholar, and a considerable master of style ; especially considering the declension of elocution in that age. He was bred a Benedictine monk, and lived unexceptionably by the rules of his order. He spent some part of his time in the abbey of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, where, upon the first vacancy, he was chosen abbot. He quitted this monastery upon archbishop Egbert's invitation to York, where, beside the Hebrew and Greek languages, he taught philosophy and divinity. And now, the reputation of his learning reaching to foreign countries, Lugderus Frisius, first bishop of Munster, and the famous Rhabanus Maurus, came over for his instructions. He was afterwards, as has been already observed, sent ambassador by king Offa to Charles the Great, to treat a peace. And here, the emperor was so charmed with his learning, temper, and abilities, that he procured leave for him to stay at his court : he taught this prince logic, rhetoric, astronomy, and mathematics, and was very serviceable to him in the direction of his conscience and administration. He persuaded him to found the university of Paris, and sent for some of his scholars out of England ; as Johannes Scotus, and several others, to profess the sciences, and instruct the French nobility. And thus, the French owe their progress in the polite part of learning, their improvements in philosophy, and a great part of their divinity, to the interest and instructions of Alcuin and his English acquaintance. Neither was France the only country

indebted to Alcuin upon this score: for he disposed the emperor to oblige Italy in the same manner, and found the university of Pavia: and hither Johannes Scotus was sent to encourage the beginning, and set up a professor's chair. And thus we see how great a benefactor Alcuin was to the commonwealth of learning. The emperor gave him the government of several abbeys, particularly that of St. Martin's of Tours, in which society he died. He wrote a great many books, the mention of which would be too long to give the reader.

However, it may not be improper to give a farther idea of the genius and primitive spirit of this great man from some of his writings. I shall pitch upon two of his letters to Adelred, king of Northumberland; in which address he treats this prince with the freedom and honesty of a Christian priest, gives him a great deal of good advice about the management of the office, and enforces his arguments with the terrors of the other world. Upon the whole, he makes use of great plain dealing, but not without decency of application. His manner likewise is not unentertaining, and the turns of his pen are more lively and polite than the generality of writers of this age. To give the English reader a short instance: Alcuin, declaiming against the danger of ambition and covetousness, and how much a man betrays his own interest by grasping too eagerly at the world, has these expressions: "Who will you be generous to," says he, "if you refuse to do any thing for your own soul? Or who can expect you should be true to another when you are false to yourself? And what reason have you to rely upon your neighbour, when you cannot be brought to do a real good turn to your own person? You take a great deal of pains to amass wealth, and make a figure in a place where you only pass through, and are not at all solicitous to secure an interest where you must dwell for ever."

In his second letter to Adelred, he mentions a descent of the Danes upon the coast of Northumberland, complains of the dissolution of manners among the English, and exhorts them to a reformation.

To proceed. This year, or the last, Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by Wulfrid, a monk of Christ's Church, Canterbury, who received his pall from Rome in the year 804.

KENUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
Mercians.
EGBERT,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
BALD-
RED,
K. of Kent.

Pits de
Illust. Angl.
Scriptor.
Du Pin,
New Eccles.
Hist. cent. 8.
Higden,
Polychron.
l. 5. p. 252.

See Records,
Nos. 2. 4.

Saxon
Chronol.

WUL-
FRID,
Abp. Cant.

A. D. 808.

*The pretended
restitution
of Ardulph,
king of
Northum-
berland, ex-
amined, and
Baronius's
inference
disproved.*

About four years farther, we meet with a remarkable story in Baronius, relating to the English heptarchy. The cardinal tells us, that Ardulph, king of Northumberland, being dispossessed by his subjects, was restored by the interest of the pope's legate and Charles the Great.

The relation runs thus, as Baronius transcribed it from the French annals, written in the reign of Ludovicus Pius, son of Charles the emperor: "Ardulph, king of Northumberland, being expelled his dominions by his subjects, addressed himself to the emperor at Nimeguen; and after having laid his business before that prince, he travels on to Rome, and returning thence, was restored to his crown by the interest of the pope's legate and the emperor's ambassadors. For the transacting this affair, pope Leo dispatched his legate Adolphus, an English deacon, into Britain. The emperor likewise sent Rathfrid and Nazarius, with the character of ambassadors, along with them. This was so powerful an interposition, that Ardulph was readmitted to the government without the least difficulty; the Northumbrians, as the cardinal infers, looking upon it as an unpardonable crime not to comply with the pope and the emperor." Upon the credit of these annals, the cardinal breaks out into a mighty strain of satisfaction, and flourishes upon the pope's power at a surprising rate. "Do not you perceive," says he, "the force of the pope's authority made out by matter of fact? The emperor was conscious of his defect of jurisdiction in the case. He was sensible he had no right to restore a dispossessed prince; but being satisfied this great thing was in the pope's power, he sent king Ardulph to Rome to get himself reinforced with the pope's authority." And going on with his transport of pleasure, "You see," says the cardinal, "what a deference the English had for the pope; what a submission they paid to his instructions! That though they were so far dipped in treason, and ready to run mad with ambition to seize the throne, yet when the pope came to undertake the quarrel, they changed their temper, and dropped their project, and received their abdicated king without the least opposition."

Baron.
A. D. 808.
p. 534.

In answer to this flourish, we may observe, in the first place, that the matter of fact seems suspicious, and the anonymous French annals a very questionable authority; for this

story contradicts Malmesbury, who tells us there was an interregnum in the Northumbrian kingdom, after the murder of Ethelred, for three-and-thirty years; that then they submitted to Egbert, king of the West Saxons. If this be true, there could be no such king of Northumberland as Ardulph in the year 809, to which time the cardinal assigns his restoration. And Henry of Huntingdon, though he owns such a king as Ardulph in Northumberland, and reports his expulsion by his subjects, yet he seems plainly to deny his being restored; for he adds, that the frenzy and immorality of the people kept them in a state of anarchy for some time, and that then they submitted to Egbert, king of the West Saxons. To proceed to the rest of the English historians. Matthew of Westminster relates the dispossession, but says nothing of his recovery. And as for Asserius Menevensis and Higden, they do not so much as take notice of Ardulph's being expelled. Now, the English historians being silent in so remarkable a revolution, it is a strong argument the story is false, and that Baronius's French annalist, to say the best of him, wrote upon rumour, or mistaken memoirs. But granting the truth of this imaginary restoration, it will fall short of the cardinal's purpose. Suppose Ardulph was restored at the motion of the legate and ambassadors, might not the latter have the greatest weight in the negotiation? It is likely the Northumbrians were more influenced by the emperor than by the pope. The emperor was a very powerful prince, and a near neighbour; it is not therefore unlikely but that they might be overawed by the terror of his arms, and afraid to deny him his request. Besides, if the pope had any share in the accommodation, the cardinal's inference will by no means follow; for is there no difference between rhetoric and right? Between mediation and authority? Between yielding to the reason of the case, and submitting out of mere duty? The Northumbrians may be supposed to pay a regard to the pope, without owning his supremacy in a temporal concern; but, as I observed, it is more likely they should be wrought on by fear, and swayed by the emperor's ambassadors; for people that can run through murder and treason, do not use to be so full of conscience in other matters as the cardinal would make them. If they had been governed by religion, they would have used their kings better; and if they were not, it is hard to imagine what should make them so submis-

KENUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
Mercians.
EGBERT,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
BALD-
RED,
K. of Kent.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
i. 1. fol. 14.

Matt. West.
An. Grat.
809.

148.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
i. 1. fol. 13.

WUL-
FRID,
Abp. Cant.
Baron. *ibid.*

sive to the pope. But it seems Charles the Great knew the pope could command the affair, and therefore sent king Ardulph to address his holiness. It is true Baronius, in his reflections, says so; but this is more than appears from the French annalist, even as he is cited by the cardinal; for that historian relates no more than that Ardulph, after he had informed the emperor of his misfortune, went presently from Nimeguen to Rome. And who can wonder that a prince in his condition was willing to fortify his interest, and get as many friends as he could? However, the cardinal will needs have it, that the emperor knew the pope had sufficient authority to restore king Ardulph; but how could this be? Was the pope the supreme governor in temporal affairs, by virtue of his succession to St. Peter? Or were the ancient rights of the Roman empire in Britain devolved on him? Or was the kingdom of the Northumbrians a fee of the see of Rome? Did the emperor know any thing of all this? No; none of these pretences were set up at this time of day. Charles the Great knew himself to be emperor of the Romans, and, by consequence, that the pope was his subject. To conclude. The cardinal argues from precarious topics, and erects a mighty building upon no foundation; by which we may see how far favour and prepossession may sometimes stifle sense, and work upon a great understanding.

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 7,
p. 1158,
1161.

*King Egbert's success
against the
Britons in
Cornwall
and South
Wales.*

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 19
ibid.

To say something of the State. Brithric, king of the West Saxons, dying in the year 800, was succeeded by Egbert, descended from the brother of king Ina. This Egbert making a promising appearance in his youth, Brithric grew jealous, and designed to dispatch him. Egbert having notice his life was in danger, retired to Offa, king of the Mercians; but this protection was quickly at an end: for Brithric, getting intelligence of his retreat, sent ambassadors to Offa's court to demand him; and to succeed the better in their negotiation, they carried a large present with them. They likewise moved for a stricter alliance betwixt the two crowns, and proposed a marriage between Brithric and king Offa's daughter. And thus Offa, who would have held out against menacing and rough usage, was gained by offers of friendship. Egbert, perceiving there was no safety at this court, withdrew privately, and set sail for France. This voyage proved very serviceable to him, and improved him beyond the opportunities of his own country;

the French at that time being the most considerable of any western nation, both for the art and exercises of war, and the politeness of their court. Upon the death of Brithric, Egbert was invited to the succession, and accepted the crown; and being a prince of great prudence and courage, governed much to the satisfaction of his subjects. His first military attempt was upon the Cornish Britons; here he made a perfect conquest, and annexed them to his own dominions. His next expedition was against the Britons in South Wales, whom he defeated, and forced them upon homage and contribution.

While Egbert was carrying on the course of his victories in the western part of the island, the Mercian kingdom was undisturbed, and at leisure for religious consultations. There was a council convened at Celichyth, or Calcuith, upon the six-and-twentieth of July, in the year of our Lord 816; it was composed of the bishops south of Humber, within the respective kingdoms of the East Angles, Mercians, Kent, and the West Saxons. Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, presided, and had the assistance of twelve of his suffragans. Kenulphus, king of the Mercians, with his temporal nobility, was at the council. The abbots, priests, and deacons of the province were likewise convened upon the occasion.

There are eleven canons drawn up by this provincial council. By the first canon, after a recital of the Catholic faith, the ancient constitutions of the Church are decreed to be observed.

The second canon orders all churches to be consecrated by the bishop of the diocese. The circumstances mentioned are these: The bishop is to bless the holy water, and sprinkle it according to the ritual. Then the eucharist, being consecrated by the bishop, is to be put in a pix, with some relics, and kept in the church; and in case there are no relics to be procured, the consecrated elements being the body and blood of our Saviour, are sufficient for this purpose. And, lastly, every bishop is obliged to draw the figure of the saints to whom the church is dedicated either upon the wall, on a board, or upon the altar.

The third canon, providing for the union and good understanding of the province, recommends an uniformity of doctrine and practice, and presses impartiality in judicial proceedings without favour or flattery of any person whatsoever. The reason of this advice is drawn from their being all officers

KENULPHUS,
K. of the
Mercians.
EGBERT,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
BALDRED,
K. of Kent.
A. D. 809.

Matt. West.
Flores. Hist.
An. Grat.
810.

*The council
of Calcuith.*
A. D. 816.

Liber Ministerialis.

149.

Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 327.
and deince.

WUL-
FRID,
Abp. Cant.

in the same employment, servants to the same master, and members of the same body, of which Christ is the head.

The fourth lays down the qualification of abbots and abbesses, and orders they should be chosen by the joint consent of the bishop and convent.

The fifth declares against allowing any Scotchman to baptize, read divine service, give the eucharist, or perform any part of the sacerdotal office. The reason of this prohibition was, because it was uncertain whether those of that nation were in orders, or of whom they received them.

The sixth canon confirms the determinations of the bishops in former synods; and that whatever is agreed on in such public assemblies, and attested with the sign of the Cross, ought to stand firm and uncontested.—The latter part of the canon decrees, that if any person shall be charged with any crime, and summoned to the synod; if he appears accordingly, offers thrice to answer the objections, and purge himself; if in this case the prosecutor refuses to join issue, and insists upon longer time, he shall lose the advantage of his articles, and be barred from all future advantage against the defendant.

By the seventh it is decreed, that neither bishops, abbots, nor abbesses, who are entrusted with the estates of religious houses, shall lessen their revenues, or convey away any part of the lands, unless it be by way of lease for one life; and even this is not to be done without the leave and consent of the convent. It is likewise ordered, that the original charters, the rentals, and terriers be preserved to prevent disputes about the title, and secure the interest of the premises; and that the abbots, those who are appointed to guard the privileges, and manage the estates of the monasteries, shall upon no pretence alienate, or engage any part of it, unless in case of extreme famine, or (when the country is overrun by an army) to make a composition with the enemy, to secure the society from the loss of their whole fortune or freedom.

The eighth canon determines that monasteries which are settled by the bishops, and formed under the rule of any order, or where the abbot or abbess is blessed by the bishop, with the conveyance of character and jurisdiction, shall always remain under the same state of religious distinction; and that no part of their estate shall be embezzled or sold off, unless in case of extreme necessity. But the purport of this canon

being much the same with the last, I shall mention no more of it, excepting that clause which forbids secular persons either to have the government of monasteries, or so much as to live in them.

By the ninth canon, every bishop is obliged to take a copy of the acts of the synod, and particularly of that which belongs to the regulation of his own diocese: and in this transcript he is to set down the year of our Lord, the archbishop's name that presided in the council, together with the rest of the suffragans; the addition of these circumstances being necessary to attest the authenticity of the copy, and prevent the cavils of those who shall find themselves censured. And that in case of any prosecution, upon the breach of any canons, the person prosecuted shall be allowed a copy of the synod.

The tenth canon regulates the funerals of bishops; particularly it is decreed, that upon the death of any bishop, the tenth part of his personal estate shall be distributed to the poor, and all his English slaves shall be manumised, that by this charitable distribution, the happiness of the deceased person may be heightened, and his failings overlooked. And all bishops are bound to take care that this provision be secured for themselves, and rather increased than lessened in the proportion. And it is likewise provided, that a bell shall be tolled in the churches of the respective monasteries; that the religious shall all repair thither, and sing thirty psalms for the soul of the deceased. And, afterwards, that every bishop and abbot take care that six hundred psalms be sung, and a hundred and twenty masses said; that they enfranchise three of their slaves, and give them three shillings a-piece; and that all the monks should fast a day; that the deceased prelate should have a particular share in the offices of the church for thirty days together; and that then the monks should be treated at table, with the entertainment of a festival.

The eleventh and last canon enjoins, in conformity to the ancient constitutions, that no bishop should encroach upon the diocese of another, either by consecrating churches or ordaining priests or deacons, the archbishop of the province excepted; who, upon the score of his being the head of his suffragans, is not comprehended within the common restraint. No part, therefore, of the episcopal function is to be executed within a foreign jurisdiction without the diocesan's leave.

KENUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
Mercians.
EGBERT,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
BALD-
RED,
K. of Kent.

WUL-
FRID,
Abp. Cant.

And if any prelate acts contrary to this canon, he shall be obliged to penance and satisfaction, at the discretion of the archbishop, unless the quarrel is settled before it comes to his cognizance.

150.

The canon proceeds to lay an injunction upon the priests or second order : that they should not grasp at any business above their commission, nor perform any offices in the Church beyond their bishop's licence ; unless in the cases of baptism and visiting the sick ; the meaning is, that they were not to act upon their character in a foreign diocese, unless in the two instances above mentioned, which were sometimes cases of necessity, and would not admit of delay. And therefore the synod commands their respective priests not to deny the office of baptism to any person, under the penalty of being suspended *ab officio*. The priests are likewise enjoined not to sprinkle the infants at baptism, but dip them in the font ; this circumstance of immersion being proposed to us as a precedent by our blessed Saviour, who was thus baptized in the river Jordan.

Spelman,
Concil. *ibid.*
Some re-
marks upon
the council.

A short remark upon some of these canons may not be improper ; for from hence the reader may be farther informed of the discipline and customs of the old English Church. From hence, likewise, we may in some measure collect how far they depended upon the authority of their own body.

From the second canon's declaring, that the preserving the eucharist in a *pix* is sufficient, without any other relics, at the consecration of a church, we may conclude the English prelates did not look upon the second Nicene synod as a general council, or conceive themselves bound by the regulations made there. For in this second canon they decree a contradiction to the second council of Nice, and seem to despise the censure of those Fathers. For in the seventh canon of the second Nicene council it is positively decreed, that those churches that are consecrated without martyrs' relics, must have some brought to them to be deposited there with the usual form of prayer. " And if any bishop shall consecrate a church for the future without such holy relics, let him be deposed for making a breach upon ecclesiastical tradition." But the council of Calcuith tells us plainly, there is no necessity of martyrs' relics in the case above mentioned, but that the consecrated elements are sufficient for that purpose. By this synod of Cal-

Concil.
Labbe,
tom. 7.
p. 907.

cuth's decreeing counter to the second council of Nice in the foregoing instance, we may infer, that the drawing of the picture of the saint to whom the Church was dedicated, mentioned in the close of this canon, was only done in an historical way, and in honour to the memory of the person represented. But how strongly the English Church had lately declared against the worship of images, and that with reference to the second council of Nice, has been shown already, and therefore I shall add nothing farther.

The fifth canon not allowing the Scotch clergy, who travelled hither, the exercise of any part of the sacerdotal office, is an argument that the English and Scotch Churches lived in no close correspondence; and that though the latter had conformed in the point of Easter, yet there seems to have been some other remaining differences between them. It is probable the Scots might think the English had gone too far in their submissions to the see of Rome: that they themselves maintained their ancient privileges, and stood off from the modern servitude. The reason mentioned in the canon why the Scots were not admitted to officiate is, because it was uncertain whether, or by whom, they were ordained. From whence it is plain they did not admit of ordination from all hands, and that these Scottish clergy did not travel with dimissory letters, or a certificate of their orders: from all which, and by the last words in the canon, we may conclude there was a very cool understanding between these two Churches.

To proceed: by the sixth canon, decreeing the regulations of the bishops, made in former synods, are not to be altered or contested, we may infer that the spiritual legislative authority was lodged in that order. It is true, the canon urges the subscription of the kings as one reason why none of their successors should attempt any alteration. To which we may add, that Kenulphus, king of the Mercians, was present at this council: but was not the subscription of princes to a council somewhat singular, and uncustomary? Yes, without doubt. And, therefore, unless some charters of lands or privileges are granted by the crown, or some other temporal affairs transacted in the council, we seldom or never find a prince upon the subscription list. And if there are any instances to be found, it is possible the prince might subscribe as a witness, or to give the Church a security, that the canons

KENULPHUS,
K. of the
Mercians.
EGBERT,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
BALDRED,
K. of Kent.

Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 329.

Vide Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1.

WULF-
RID,
Abp. Cant.

Spelman,
ibid.

*Consecratio
corum, ibid.*

151.

Bede, Opusc.
ep. ad Eg-
bert, p. 259.
et deince.

Ibid. p. 261.

should be taken into his protection, and the execution of them enforced with the civil authority. But let this be as it will ; it is plain that the kings did not vote in synods, where nothing but ecclesiastical matters were treated. For the decreeing part, the sentence, and sanction is assigned to the bishops, and the canons are called *judicia episcoporum*. This expression seems likewise to strike the abbots, the priests, and deacons, out of all legislative capacity ; and that these lower orders were convened by the bishops, only for their advice to prefer petitions, and represent the condition of the places they came from.

The eighth canon is supposed to distinguish those religious houses, where the abbots and abbesses had been blessed or consecrated by the diocesan, from others of a secular character ; and that no laymen are allowed to be abbots, or so much as to live in such societies. This distinction infers, that there were some collegiate foundations whither people retired for privacy and religion, without being tied to the strictness and particularities of a monastic rule. This custom is supposed to be referred to by Bede in his epistle to Egbert. But under favour, I question whether this place will furnish a precedent : for Bede, in his letter, after a great deal of complaint and satire against the abuses in religious houses, takes notice, as an instance of what he had been declaiming against, that in some places laymen of figure erected monasteries, and made themselves abbots without submitting to any order, or taking any religious character upon them. He adds, likewise, that their wives made themselves abbesses in the same irregular manner.

But then he does not inform us that the convent was perfectly secular, and under no monastic obligations. On the contrary, he tells us that these men of quality used to admit strolling disorderly monks into their abbey, and sometimes make their own servants take the tonsure, and promise obedience. He complains, likewise, that their ladies, though no more than lay women, usurped an authority over the nuns, and governed those who were under a religious distinction ; from hence it is evident, that in Bede's time the monasteries he complains of, were furnished with monks and nuns, though the abbots and abbesses were secular. This custom might probably improve and go farther upon continuance ; for at a council held at Clovesho, in the year 747, the fifth canon takes notice of

secular monasteries, though by *monasteria sæcularium* may possibly be meant no more than that their abbots were laymen. But if the convents were unprofessed too, it was looked upon as an unwarrantable declension from the primitive institution. But whatever the number of the laity might be, it is certainly censured as a breach upon the canons, and condemned by the council upon this score.

KENUL-
PHUS,
K. of the
Mercians.
EGBERT,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
BALD-
RED,
K. of Kent.

To return to the synod of Calcuith, where we find a provision for the annexing the year of our Lord, and the names of the bishops to the copy of every council. From hence, as the learned Dr. Inet observes, it is probable the monks might take occasion to fix the dates, and annex the bishops' names to councils and charters prior to their own times, to prevent the authority of these records from being suspected; and thus the mistakes in chronology, the inconsistency of names and dates, and the applying the names of bishops either to a wrong see or a wrong time, may be accounted for; so that, when we find these ancient records somewhat perplexed in any of these circumstances, we need not charge the monks with imposture, or question the credit of the evidence.

Spelm.
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 247.

Orig. Angli-
can. p. 250.

The eleventh and last canon, by enjoining the priests not to sprinkle the infants in baptism, shows the great regard they had for the primitive usage of immersion: that they did not look upon this as a dangerous rite, or at all impracticable in these northern climates: not that they thought this circumstance essential to this sacrament; but because it was the general practice of the primitive Church, because it was a lively instructive emblem of the death, burial, and resurrection of our Saviour; for this reason they preferred it to sprinkling.

The bishops' names are here mentioned in the preamble, and not subscribed at the foot of the canons. But this order seems to be matter of indifference, and is neither addition or diminution to the authority of the council. In sir Henry Spelman's first volume of the councils we find this circumstance often varied: and though some few of the Saxon councils only mention the bishops' names in the introduction, or prefatory part of the council, yet there are several others, both ancient and well attested, where they stand subscribed upon a roll at the bottom; neither is this method of subscribing the bishops' names immediately after the canons peculiar to the English Church, there being a great many instances of

WULF-
RID,
Abp. Cant.

Council.
Gen. Ephes.
An. 431.
A. D. 819.
Council.
Labbe,
tom. 3.
p. 105.
Council.
Afric.
An. 432.
Council.
tom. 2.
p. 1699.
Council.
Arausican. l.
An. 441.
Council.
tom. 3.
p. 1452.
Council. Au-
reliancens.
An. 549.
Council.
tom. 5.
p. 397, &c.
*The kingdom
of Mercia
extinguished,
and swal-
lowed up by
the West
Saxons.*
Malmesb.
de Gestis.
Reg. Angl.
l. fol. 17.
Saxon.
Chronol.
Saxon Chron-
ol. Ad An.
825.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
Angl. l. 2.
fol. 135.

152.
Malmesbur.
ibid.

this custom to be met with in the tomes of the councils : I shall point to some of them in the margin.

About three years after this council of Calcuith, Kenulphus, king of the Mercians, died, and with him the vigour and prosperity of the Mercian government seemed to expire : for after this time the Mercians did nothing but lessen and languish. However, Malmesbury sets down a short account of this prince's successors ; which, because it may afterwards give some light into the church history, I shall just mention. To begin ; Ceolwulph, Kenulphus's brother, reigned one year, and was then dispossessed by Bernulph. Bernulph enjoyed the throne not much longer : for this prince, envying the success and glory of king Egbert, and venturing to make war upon him, was defeated in a main battle at Ellandune, now called Wilton. This misfortune lost him his crown : for not thinking himself safe in Mercia, and retiring to the East Angles, he was murdered there ; the people having an old quarrel against him for pushing king Offa upon the conquest of their country. Ludican, the next Mercian king, endeavouring to revenge the death of his predecessor, was likewise cut off by the East Angles, after two years' government. And thus the kingdom of the Mercians, which had been a terror to its neighbours, and the most flourishing kingdom of the heptarchy, was lost, as it were, at one blow, by the rashness and ambition of Bernulph. The province of the East Angles being terribly harassed by this Ludican, the bishoprics of Dunwich and Elmam were extremely impoverished. For this reason the two dioceses were thrown into one, that of Dunwich extinguished, and the see fixed at Elmam, where it continued for some time. The following kings of Mercia were no better than homagers and vassals : under this disadvantage, we may reckon Withlack and Berthwulf, who held their crown under king Egbert, and paid an acknowledgment to him. Burkred stood under the same obligations to Ethelwulf, Egbert's son. This Burkred was afterwards dispossessed by the Danes, who set up Selwulf, one of his ministers of state, taking an oath of him to resign at pleasure. And thus, after the Mercian government had been shifted into several hands, and tossed about in an arbitrary manner, it was at last fixed to the dominions of Alfred, grandson to king Egbert, and determined in the year of our Lord 875.

But now to keep truth and time the better together, we must return to the affairs of the Church; which will bring us to a synod, said to be held under Bernulph, king of the Mercians, and Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury. The design of the meeting was to restore some lands to the Church of Canterbury, which had been unjustly seized by king Ceonulf, and were detained by the abbess Cenedrith, his daughter and heir. Now it is said, that the taking away these lands from the Church occasioned so much confusion and disorder, that the sacrament of baptism was discontinued for about six years in all the divisions of the English. This circumstance, if there was nothing else, is sufficient to disprove the council: for Bernulph, under whom it was held, was only king of the Mercians: how then is it likely, that a dispute between his predecessor and the archbishop of Canterbury should operate so strongly beyond his own dominions; suspend the exercise of what is essential to Christianity, and exceed the rigour of an interdict in the foreign kingdoms of Kent, Northumberland, and the West Saxons? Farther, the time of this stop upon baptism is either too long for the reign, or disagrees with the character of the prince. If by Ceonulph is meant Ceolwulph, the immediate predecessor of Bernulph, then the time of this intermission of baptism is too far continued: for this Ceolwulph held the government but one, or at most two years, as appears from Malmesbury, Westminster, and others. But if by Ceonulphus is meant Kenulphus, then neither the seizing the church lands, or carrying the quarrel so high to the prejudice of religion, is in the least agreeable to the character of that pious prince. For Kenulphus, as Malmesbury reports, was so unblemished in his justice and conduct, that it is hard to fasten a censure upon any act of his whole reign: besides, is it likely that Kenulphus should hazard the happiness of his subjects, and almost extinguish Christianity for six years together, and all this, rather than do justice to the Church, and give up a sacrilegious oppression? Is all this likely, I say, to proceed from Kenulphus, who, in the year 800, restored to the Church of Canterbury the lands of which they had been dispossessed by king Offa, returned them the charters which had been stolen away, and sent the Church a sum of money, by way of reparation? But enough of this pretended synod.

EGBERT,
K. of the
West
Saxons.

*The pre-
tended coun-
cil of Cal-
cuth.*

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. I. p. 332.

Malmesbur.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
I. I. fol. 17.
Westmin-
ster, An.
Grat. 821.

Malmesbur.
ibid.

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. I. p. 319.

WULF-
RID,
Abp. Cant.
*Another
council at
Calcuith.
Spelman.
p. 334.*

The next council, held in the reign of Bernulph, A. D. 824, has no such marks of forgery. This synod, I say, has a more probable face; for here the names of the bishops are mentioned, neither is there any such contradiction of circumstances as we meet with in the other. This synod was convened to decide a controversy concerning some lands between Heabert, bishop of Worcester, and the monks of Berkley. And here the title was tried by oath, without the verdict of a jury, there being a hundred and fifty priests sworn upon this occasion. The trial, though begun at this council, yet was ended at Westminster, where the priests and monks of Berkley were sworn, and judgment given for the bishop.

Spelm. *ibid.*
p. 335.

A. D. 823.

Chronol.
Saxon.

*King Egbert
subdues the
heptarchy,
and becomes
monarch of
the island.*

About this time, Egbert having defeated Bernulph at Ellendune, detached his general, Wulferd, with a great body of troops into Kent. This army, being too strong for king Baldred, forced him to quit the country, and take over the Thames. Upon this the Kentish-men submitted to the conqueror, and the South and East Saxons soon followed their example. This year likewise the king and country of the East Angles, being afraid of disturbance from the Mercians, applied for the protection of king Egbert, and owned him for their sovereign. About four years after, the kingdom of Mercia fell wholly into the hands of king Egbert, being a consequence of the victory against Bernulph already mentioned. And now his dominion extended as far northward as the Humber, and London fell under his jurisdiction, which had for some time been parcel of the kingdom of Mercia. Upon this success, he drew down his army into Yorkshire against the Northumbrians, who, wanting either force or inclination to stand upon their defence, gave hostages, and submitted without striking a stroke. And thus we are come to a period of the heptarchy, which, after about two hundred years' continuance, fell all under the power of the West Saxons. For the petty Mercian princes we find mentioned afterwards, were no better than viceroys to king Egbert and his successors.

Ibid.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Reg.
Angl. l. 1.
fol. 13.

A. D. 827.

Chronol.
Saxon.

Malmesbur.
ibid. fol. 17.

Egbert being thus successful against the Saxon princes, received a title correspondent to his victories: for about this time he was, by a general consent of the nobility of the heptarchy then convened at Winchester, declared king of the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles. At which time he ordered the

whole country to be called England; the Angli, or English, being the most considerable clan: for from these the Mercians, the East Angles, and the Northumbrians were descended. EGBERT,
K. of the
West
Saxons.
It cannot be denied, however, that the name of England and English had been formerly sometimes given to the Saxon part of the island; thus Bede entitles his book, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*. And pope Boniface, in his letter to Ethelbert, calls him king of the English. Spelm. Life
of Alfred.
Ercombert, king of Kent, and Oswi, king of Northumberland, sent Wighard to Rome, to be ordained bishop of the English. Bede, l. 2.
c. 4.
Bede, l. 4.
c. 1.

The next year the Saxon Chronicle relates an expedition of Egbert's into North Wales, where he defeated the Welsh, and forced them to terms of submission: but Matthew of Westminster speaks higher of his victories, and makes him conquer the whole country of Wales.

In the year of our Lord 829, Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by Theologild, who living but three months, had Celnoth for his successor, who received his pall about two years after from pope Gregory the Fourth.

Mat. West.
An. Grat.
830.

Chronol.
Saxon.

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

153.
CEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

THE little principalities of the heptarchy being dissolved, and falling all to the share of the West Saxons, king Egbert passed most of the remainder of his reign without contest or disturbance; the close of his life must be excepted, at which time the descent of the Danes made him very uneasy. And since these Danes were so great a scourge to the kingdom for above two hundred years, got so much footing in the island, and caused so many revolutions in it, it may not be improper to say something concerning the original, genius, and manners of this barbarous people.

*The original,
manners,
and ravages
of the Danes.*

As to their original: they were a collection of all the rabble of Germany, especially that part of it which lay upon the ocean and the Baltic: thus they were compounded of the Goths, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Frisians, &c. And though of so many different clans, they were all agreed in laziness and barbarity, and gave their mind to nothing but thieving and robbing. In a word, they were the most frightful enemy that ever the island was pestered with. It is true, the Romans made themselves masters of the country in a short time; but then they seemed to conquer for the advantage of the natives: the Britons were better polished by losing their liberty; they were subdued to sense and civility, and made a much better figure in the Romans' hands, than in their own. And afterwards the Scots and Picts, though they made frequent irruptions, yet it was only upon the more northern and barren part of the

Huntingd.
Histor. l. 5.
in Prolog.
Hovedon.
Annal. pars.
prior.
fol. 236.

island: and where being once seated, they were quiet for a great while, and desisted from any farther attempt. And as for the Saxons, who came next upon the country, they were nothing so destructive as the Danes. These Saxons, who were first called in as allies, when they had broke with the Britons, and seized their country, used their good fortune with some temper, formed themselves into regular governments, secured property by equitable laws, improved the country, and were more remarkable for their justice and probity than the nation they dispossessed. But the Danes seemed only qualified for mischief and ravage, and had nothing of humanity in them: their business was rather to spoil and destroy, than to conquer; so that though they reduced the country to the lowest extremities of want, they looked like Pharaoh's lean kine, and were little the richer for their acquisitions. The product of the year, and the wealth of the country, did by no means satisfy them: they were so savage as to murder the people without distinction of age, sex, or condition; to burn the towns and villages, and lay all in blood and ashes; insomuch, that there was scarce any part of the island free from the fury and devastations of this enemy. Being masters at sea, their fleet gave them the advantage of a speedy motion. Upon their making a descent upon any part of the country, they used to retire to their ships, and shift the expedition when they found the Saxons too strong for them: and thus the English were tired with marches and countermarches, and found it impracticable to encounter the enemy before the country was destroyed: and when they happened to get the better in a battle, their victory was but little significant; for the Danes being reinforced to a greater strength, quickly recovered and grew upon them. And though these foreigners overrun the island in a terrible manner, yet their conquests were not so fatal as their manners. Their contempt of religion, and the barbarity of their temper seemed to spread like a contagion, and grow epidemical in the country. The liberties of war had debauched the Saxons, and made them more vicious and ignorant than they were before. It is true, they were very much declined in their morals, before the invasion of the Danes, which, as Huntingdon reports, was the cause that these barbarous nations were let loose upon them. Our historian tells us, the English were degenerated to a great dissolution of manners: that for libertinism, treason, and rebel-

EGBERT,
K. of
England.

Huntingd.
and Hoved.
ibid. Sir John
Spelman.
Life of King
Alfred in
in Præfat.
edit. Oxon.

154.

Huntingd.
and Hoved-
den. ibid.

CEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

lion, they were particularly infamous: that nothing but virtue and religion was uncreditable, and that it was scarcely safe for an honest man to live among them. To punish these impieties, God gave them up to the fury of the Danes; who, wherever they came, either murdered, or made slaves of the inhabitants; rifled and burnt the monasteries and churches, and destroyed all the monuments of learning and religion. Thus much in general, concerning this barbarous enemy.

To proceed to particulars. In the year 832, the Danes made a descent upon the isle of Sheppey, and plundered it. Being encouraged with this success, and charmed with the wealth of the country, they manned out a fleet the next year of five-and-thirty sail, and landed at the river Car, in Dorsetshire: hither Egbert drew down his forces, and gave them battle. The dispute was obstinate and bloody, and the loss pretty equal on both sides; however, the Danes kept the field, and entrenched themselves. Herefrid and Wigferth, two Saxon bishops, and Dudda and Osmund, king Egbert's generals, fell in this fight.

A. D. 833.

Chronolog.
Saxon.
Huntingd.
Histor. l. 4.
fol. 198.
Hovedon.
Annal. pars
prior.
fol. 236.
*The Danes
make several
descents upon
England.*

The Danes growing thus troublesome, there was a state convention at London, to consult of measures to preserve the country. Egbert was present at this meeting, and so was Withlaeth, who reigned over the Mercians by the courtesy of Egbert. The archbishops of Canterbury and York likewise, and the rest of the prelates, made part of the assembly. Here king Withlaeth gave a famous charter of privileges and lands to the monastery of Croyland: amongst other things, he orders all his officers in the kingdom of Mercia to receive the abbot and monks of Croyland, when they happened to travel to any towns or castles belonging to the king, with the same regard and entertainment usually paid to Wymund his son; and that they should take no money of them for lodging or diet. The island of Croyland is likewise made a sanctuary to any malefactor that shall fly thither, and put himself under the protection of St. Guthlac. And all ministers of justice are forbidden to prosecute or give any disturbance, under the penalty of forfeiting their right foot. The king likewise made the abbey several rich presents in gold plate. The motive to this extraordinary bounty was this:—King Withlaeth, it seems, had been formerly very much distressed. In the preamble to this charter, he takes notice of his being pursued by some potent enemy,

and that retiring to Croyland he was concealed by Ethelred, a holy nun of the royal family; that he absconded four months in this place, till the difficulty of his affairs was over. And lastly, to give this charter the greater force it was confirmed by king Egbert, whom Withlaeth calls his sovereign.

EGBERT,
K. of
England.

About this time one Frederick, born in Devonshire, who had his education under his uncle Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, was nominated to the bishopric of Utrecht, by Lewis the Debonair, emperor and king of France. Frederick dining with Lewis the day of his consecration, the emperor took occasion to press him to a careful discharge of his office: he told him, he was obliged to imitate the bold honesty of his predecessors, to exert his character upon the disorders of the age; to have no regard to any man's person or privilege, but to use his authority with all imaginable impartiality, and excommunicate those he found incorrigible. Frederick returned his imperial majesty thanks for his good advice; "but, sir," says he, "there is one difficulty which I desire your majesty would disentangle." Upon this question, he points to a fish served up to the table, and asked the emperor, "whether it was most proper to take hold of it by the head or by the tail?" The emperor replied with some little quickness, "By the head." Upon this the bishop told him, "that his majesty's admonition, and the duty of his office, obliged him to begin reformation with himself, who was the head; and that when the subjects saw the failings of the prince fell under discipline, they would not expect impunity for their own misbehaviour. Therefore, sir," says he, "break off that unlawful marriage, and disengage from that incestuous correspondence with the empress Judith; and do not sully your royal character with such licentious practices."

Ingulph.
Histor.
Spelman.
Concil.
p. 336.

The emperor, though disgusted with the freedom of this reply, dissembled his resentment; and dismissed the bishop without any marks of his displeasure. But the empress Judith could not be satisfied without a revenge. To this purpose she ordered some assassins to murder him. When they came to inquire for him, the bishop was in the church, and preparing to consecrate the eucharist. When the service was over, he went into the vestry, and ordered them to be brought in; upon which he was immediately murdered, not without some unusual circumstances of barbarity. The ruffians went off immediately, and made for the Rhine with all possible speed. However, in

155.

CEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

all likelihood, they had been pulled in pieces, if the bishop's good-nature had not prevented it: for one of his servants coming into the vestry, and seeing his master desperately wounded, inquired about the accident. To this the bishop would give him no answer, but ordered him to go out immediately, and bring him an account, whether those gentlemen that came to him from the empress had passed the Rhine? This question being answered in the affirmative, when he understood they were safe from the revenge of the people of his diocese, he called his friends to him, and holding his bowels in his hands, without any signs of the least concern, gave them an account of the whole matter, and expired at the end of the relation.

Harpsfield.
Hist. Eccles.
Anglic. Non.
Sec. c. 15.
p. 130.
A. D. 835.
Sax. Chron.
Huntingd.
and Hove-
den, *ibid.*

Two years forward, the Danes made another expedition, and landed upon West Wales, or Cornwall. And here the Cornish Britons, either thinking themselves too weak, or willing to try their fortune against the English, patched up a confederacy with the pagans, and, joining their forces, attacked king Egbert, who, receiving them with great bravery, gave them a total defeat at Hengistandune.

The next year king Egbert died, after he had reigned seven-and-thirty years. He was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf, a prince of a very pious disposition, and, as several of our historians report, educated to a religious character. Some make him a monk, others a priest, and Brompton and Huntingdon will have him bishop of Winchester; and that upon his father Egbert's death he was forced, it may be for want of other issue-male, to take the crown upon him. Higden mentions a sort of dispensation of the pope's for this purpose; but the other historians are silent as to that point. And farther, Asserius Menevensis takes no notice of his being bred an ecclesiastic; neither indeed is it very probable, that the only son of Egbert, and the heir-apparent of the crown, should be bred a churchman, especially when the country was so disturbed with the incursions of the Danes. At this juncture, the exercises of war might seem a more seasonable employment; and that Ethelwulf was bred to the camp is beyond question: for, in the twenty-fourth year of his father's reign, he commanded an army, and conquered the kingdom of Kent; though this does not absolutely prove he was no ecclesiastic. For Alstan, bishop of Sherburn, and several other prelates,

Higden,
Polychron.
l. 5.
Brompton,
Chronicon.
p. 302.
Alfred, Vit.
p. 2.
Huntingd.
Historiar.
l. 5. p. 200.

were generals about this time. Ethelwulf, soon after his accession to the throne, married Osburg, a lady of admirable qualities. She was daughter to earl Oslac, whose ancestors had the government of the Isle of Wight given them by Cerdic, first king of the West Saxons. By this lady, Ethelwulf had five sons, Athelstan, Athelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred, who all reigned in their turns; the eldest was made king of Kent in his father's life-time, and died before him without issue, in the year 852. The rest succeeded their father in the order of their birth. Though, after all, historians are not perfectly agreed about Athelstan, the eldest; for the Saxon chronology makes him son to king Egbert; but Asse-rius and Ethelwerd call him his grandson, and are positive that Ethelwulf was his father.

ETHEL-
WULF,
K. of
England.
Chronolog.
Saxon.
Saxon
Chronol.
A. D. 833,
834.

Alfred, Vit.
p. 3. in Not.

The Danes had sped too much in their adventures, and relished the country too well, to give over their invasions; and therefore the next year we hear of their landing with three-and-thirty sail at Southampton: and here being charged by Wulferd, king Ethelwulf's general, they were defeated with a great slaughter. The same year, earl Ethelhelm fought the Danes at Port, with the forces of Dorsetshire. The first part of the day was favourable to the English; but at last the Danes prevailed, and remained upon the field of battle. The next three years, the counties of Lincoln and Kent, the East Angles, the towns of London, Canterbury, and Rochester, were terribly overrun and harassed by this enemy.

Spelman,
Life of King
Alfred, p. 2.
in notis.

About this time flourished Kenneth II., king of Scotland, who governing part of the island, and being a prince of a considerable figure, for the body of laws made by him, I shall mention something of this part of his character, and give the reader some of the most remarkable of his constitutions. They lie under the distinction of civil and ecclesiastical. Some of the first are as follow.

Saxon
Chronolog.
Hoveden
Annal. pars
prior.
fol. 277.
Saxon
Chronolog.
ibid.
*The laws of
king Ken-
neth II.*
A. D. 840.

If any person is convicted of forgery, or false witness, let him be executed upon the gallows, and his carcase remain unburied.

Whosoever shall speak dishonourably of God, the saints, the king, or the chief of his clan, let his tongue be cut out.

Whosoever shall be convicted of lying, to the damage or

CEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

detriment of his neighbour, let his sword be taken from him, and nobody keep him company.

Let those that are indicted for any capital crime be tried by the verdict of seven persons of unquestionable reputation and integrity; and if the case requires it, let the number be increased to eleven, thirteen, fifteen, or more.

Let strollers, ballad-singers, rhymers, buffoons, and such sort of idle fellows, be corrected at the whipping-post.

156.

He that debauches a single woman shall suffer capitally, unless the injured person demands him for a husband.

When a married woman is debauched with her consent, both the adulterer and adulteress shall suffer death.

If any person abuses his parents, either by words or blows, let the criminal member be cut off, the malefactor hanged, and his carcase remain without burial.

A man guilty of murder, a mute, and he that is ungrateful to his parents, shall be barred the privilege of being an heir at law.

Let conjurors, necromancers, those that correspond with wicked spirits, and apply to them for assistance, be all burnt alive.

If a man strikes his adversary in a court of justice, the cause shall be given against him.

King Kenneth's laws relating more immediately to religion are these :

Let the churches, altars, priests, and all persons of religious character, be treated with regard.

Let holy days, fasts, vigils, and all solemnities instituted in honour of our Saviour and the blessed saints, be respectfully observed.

Let any injury or affront done to a Christian priest be severely punished.

Let the field in which a murdered person is buried lie seven years fallow.

Let all graves have the privilege of a holy place, and let a cross be set upon them to prevent their being trampled on.

Let funeral expenses be governed with regard to the circumstances of the person deceased.

Let persons of condition, and those who have been remarkably serviceable to their country, have the respect of a public

and pompous funeral. Part of the ceremony was to be managed in this manner: Two men were to march before the funeral, one mounted upon a white horse, and accoutred with the suit of armour of the deceased; the other was to appear in mourning, with his face covered, upon a black horse. This last, when the company was come to church, used to force his horse backwards to the altar, crying aloud that his master was dead; upon which the people used to bestow hard language upon him, and bid him immediately be gone. The other marching straight to the altar, put off his suit of arms, and made a present of them and his arms to the priest. This custom, as Hector Boethius tells us, being looked upon as not solemn enough in all its circumstances, was afterwards laid aside, and instead of the horse and armour, the priest had five pounds sterling, by way of compensation.

ETHEL-
WULF,
K. of
England.

The bishop's see of Abernethy was translated to St. Andrews in the reign of this king Kenneth. And from this time to a considerable period, the prelates of this place were called the chief bishops of Scotland; for as yet that kingdom was not divided into dioceses, but all the Scottish bishops had their jurisdiction as it were at large, and exercised their function wherever they came. And this form of administration in the Church continued to the reign of Malcolm III.

The Scottish bishops not fixed to sees, but exercised jurisdiction at large.

In the year of our Lord 851, Ceorl, earl of Devonshire, with the forces of that country, fought the Danes at Wiegambeorg, and routed them. The same year these pagans embarked a considerable force, and entering the Thames with three hundred and fifty sail, came up to London and sacked it. And from thence, marching forward against Berthulf, a tributary king of the Mercians, fought him, and forced him to retire. From hence they turned south-west into Surrey; here Ethelwulf and his son Athelbald encountered them with their whole force at Aelea. The fight continued a long time, and both the armies behaved themselves with extraordinary courage; but at last the Danes were entirely routed, and most of their troops cut in pieces. This year Athelstan had another dispute with the pagans, at Sandwich, in Kent, where he killed great numbers of them, took nine of their ships, and forced the rest to sheer off. This, by the description, must be a sea engagement.

Hector Boëthius, l. 10. Spelman, Concil. vol. 1. p. 1. Buchanan, Rerum Scot. l. 6. p. 164. Edit. Franc. A. D. 851. *The Danes sack London.*

They are routed by king Ethelwulf.

CEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

Asserius de
Alfredi Re-
bus Gestis.
p. 2.
A. D. 855.

See the ori-
ginal Collec-
tion of Re-
cords, No. 3.

In the year 855, there was a famous synod, or convention of the bishops and temporal nobility at Winchester. Here Ethelwulf, king of the West Saxons, as he is styled, and Beored and Edmund, two tributary princes of Mercia and the East Angles, were present. At this meeting Ethelwulf granted the tithe of the kingdom to the Church. The charter, translated, runs thus :

“ I, Ethelwulf, by the grace of God, king of the West Saxons, with the advice of the bishops, earls, and all the persons of condition in my dominions, have, for the health of my soul, the good of my people, and the prosperity of my kingdom, fixed upon a prudent and serviceable resolution of granting the tenth part of the lands throughout our whole kingdom to the holy churches and ministers of religion, officiating and settled in them, to be perpetually enjoyed by them, with all the advantages of a free tenure and estate. It being likewise our will and pleasure, that this unalterable and indefeasible grant shall for ever remain discharged from all service due to the crown, and all other incumbrances incident to lay fees. Which grant has been made by us in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed Virgin, and all saints ; and out of regard to the paschal solemnity, and that God Almighty might vouchsafe his blessing upon us and our posterity. This charter is engrossed, and signed in the year of our Lord DCCCLIV. Indiction the second, at the feast of Easter.”

Monastic.
Angl. vol. 1.
p. 100.
157.

Ingulph.
Histor. p. 17.
Edit. Gale.
Mat. West.
Flores. Hist.
An. Grat.
854.

Thus the charter stands in the Monasticon. And here we must observe, that this charter is dated at the king's palace at Wilton, in the year 854, at Easter, whereas the charter of king Ethelwulf, in Ingulphus, and Matthew of Westminster, is dated at Winchester in the year 855, upon the nones of November, not to mention some other differences in the preamble and body of the grant. From hence it appears that the king repeated his charter, that by the instrument dated at Wilton nothing passed but the tithes of the king's demesnes or crown lands. But the charter at Winchester the year after, made by the consent of the nobility and people, enlarged the bounty, and extended it to the whole kingdom. Thus Asserius Menevensis, Malmesbury, and Hovenden, tell us king Ethelwulf granted the tithe of his whole kingdom to the church, discharged from all secular service and incumbrance. Malmesbury calls the proportion of this grant the tenth of every hide, and Asserius,

Hoveden, and Matthew of Westminster, describe it by the tenth part of the land of the kingdom. The charter in Ingulph mentions that the clergy were particularly exempted from murage, pontage, and all taxes due to the crown. This charter is not only attested by the English historians, but allowed by Selden himself. Now it being so famous a record for settling the tithes in England, some people finding they cannot weaken the authority of the instrument, endeavour to cramp it in the extent; they object that Ethelwulf was only king of the West Saxons, and not monarch of England, as appears by the style of the grant. This law, therefore, it is pretended, could not oblige any farther than Cornwall, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire; these comprehending the whole of the West Saxon dominions: to this it may be answered, that he is still king of the West Saxons by way of eminence, not exclusively; being, it is probable, best pleased with this title upon the score of its having been his father Egbert's hereditary kingdom, in contradistinction to those principalities conquered by him. Thus Egbert contented himself with this style after he had conquered the heptarchy, annexed the kingdoms of Kent, the East, the South Saxons, and Northumbrians, to his West Saxon dominions, and reduced the Mercians and the East Angles to tribute and submission; not to mention his acquisitions in South Wales, insomuch that Huntingdon makes no scruple of calling him monarch of Britain. So that by the language of those times the king of the West Saxons is equivalent to the king of England; and if there was any difficulty in this matter it might be removed by observing that Beored king of Mercia, and Edmund, king of the East Angles, the only remaining princes which were allowed the royal style under king Ethelwulf, signed this charter.

ETHEL-
WULF,
K. of
England.

Seld. Hist.
Tithes, c. 8.
p. 208.

Huntingd.
l. 4. fol. 198.

Ingulph.
Histor. p. 17.

There is another little objection in sir Henry Spelman against the extent of that grant, and that is, there are none but the bishops, clergy, and monks, of the West Saxons, that make a solemn acknowledgment of this great favour, by ordering psalms and masses to be said every Wednesday for the soul of Ethelwulf, and the other great men who consented to the grant. But this objection, as this learned antiquary observes, has little weight in it; for not to insist, in the first place, that this singing of psalms, &c. is unmentioned by

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 349, 352.

CEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

Ingulphus, it is sufficient to say, in the second place, that Ethelwulf was the natural prince of the West Saxons; and, as some authors assert, was both a monk and a bishop at Winchester. It is no such wonder, therefore, to find the West Saxon Church more forward in their returns, and more particularly concerned for the honour of their prince's memory than the rest of the country. Sir Henry Spelman seems to be somewhat at a loss about the meaning and benefit of this charter; the reason of this doubt, I suppose, is because the king is said to grant the church the tithe of every hide, or the tenth part of the land. These words, it is likely, he imagined could not comprehend tithes in the modern notion and settlement; and therefore he seems to think it not improbable that the parsonage houses and glebe lands might be settled by this grant; if this conjecture will hold, it is plain the Church has lost a great part of the benefit of Ethelwulf's charter, for now the glebes are much short of the tenth part of the land of the parish.

Spelman.
ibid.

Tithes predial and personal passed by Ethelwulf's grant.

But, as Selden observes from Ingulphus and other historians, the design of the charter was to make a general grant of tithes; and thus "decima omnium hidarum infra regnum suum, &c." is to be interpreted the profits of all lands; for, as the learned Selden continues, the granting of the tenth part of the hides, or plough-lands, denotes the tenth of all profits growing in them. Thus, "decima acra sicut aratrum peragrabit," imports the tithing of the profits in the laws of king Edgar, Ethelred, and Canute; and doubtless Ingulphus understood it no otherwise than of perpetual right of tithes given to the church, where he remembers it by "tunc primo cum decimis omnium terrarum, &c." So that the tithe of predial or mixed profits was given, it seems, perpetually by the king, with the consent of estates, both secular and ecclesiastic; and the tithe of every man's personal possessions were at that time also included in the gift. It is likewise granted by this learned lawyer that the privilege or liberty annexed to this charter of tithe included an exemption, not only from all common taxes and exactions used then in the state, but particularly from that burthen and service to which all other lands of the freest tenure were subject, that is, from military service, pontage, and castle guard. By this freedom every man was from thenceforth to be valued in all subsidies and taxes according only to the nine

Ingulph.
Hist. p. 17.

parts of his lands and profits; and the profits of the tenth being due to the church were both in his and their hands hereby discharged from all payments and taxes whatsoever. And thus far the learned Selden.

And now king Ethelwulf, for the greater force and solemnity, offered the charter upon the altar, where the bishops receiving it, ordered it to be transcribed, and sent down into their respective dioceses to be fully published.

It is said that this charter, after all, falls short of divine right: to this it may be answered, there is no need of disputing that point; human constitution is sufficient; tithes standing upon the foot of law, give the clergy the same right to the tenth that the owner of the lands has to the nine parts. And as for the tenants, they have no reason to complain, because the tithes are not paid by them, but the landlord. Were the tithes not due to the Church, the terms of the lease would be altered and the rents raised upon them. But the clergy do nothing but preach for it. That is not true, he that has the cure of the parish has more business than preaching. But granting the objection, what follows? Has not many a man a thousand pounds per annum without preaching for it, or doing anything else, and yet nobody grudges him his estate. This shows the scandalous partiality of some of the laity; that they envy the clergy the benefit of the law and the common right of the subject. If it is said the men of great estates are born to this advantage, which the clergy are not to their livings; were all this true, which oftentimes is not, it would signify nothing. Whether a right accrues by inheritance, purchase, or gift, is indifferent in the eye of the law; the property is equally secured, and the title as good the one way as the other; it is the law which governs the terms of an estate, and creates a right by descent. Formerly lands and honours were granted by the crown only for life, and may be so now if the constitution pleases. Besides, if a man buys an estate, no man repines at the advantage; he enjoys it with the same good will of his neighbours as if it had been cast upon him by descent. But it may be said the clergy do not purchase; I hope they do not, in a sense of simony; but in a defensible construction I believe they may. The expense of education and study, and the continual burthen of their employment, will often, upon a reasonable allowance, amount to more than the

ETHEL-
WULF,
K. of
England.

History of
Tithes, c. 8.
p. 206. et
seinc.

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. 1.

p. 350.
*Divine right
not neces-
sary.*

CEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

value of their preferment. To this we may add that tithes are part of the Church's patrimony, and cannot be detained without sacrilegious injustice. In short, therefore, those sectaries who refuse the payment of tithes upon the pretence of the unorthodoxy of the clergy, may with the same honesty take away the nine parts from the laity. They may, by the same reason, refuse rent to their landlords in case they differ in religion from them. And if ever these saints should become capable of inheriting the earth, how far this principle might lead them it is easy to discover. I shall conclude this remark with observing, that to deny a demand undoubtedly warranted by law is downright defiance of the government. Those who are dissenters in this point renounce the constitution upon which their property is founded, and teach other people to return their own usage upon them. For the purpose, if a Quaker will not pay a clergyman his tithes, though clearly settled by law, why should he expect any benefit from that law by which he refuses to be governed? Why should he expect the recovery of his own legal debts, or any sort of protection for his property? This puts me in mind of the answer of an eminent sergeant at law given to the impertinent cavils of those who excepted against the payment of tithes, because, as they pretended, they were due only by human right. "My cloak," says he, "is my cloak by the law of man; but he is a thief by the law of God that takes it away from me." For the farther satisfaction of the Quakers, I will tell them another story out of Fuller's Church History.

Book 2,
p. 112.

A doctor in divinity in Cambridge was troubled with a stiff anabaptist at his living at Hogington, near that university. After some dispute upon the argument, this man tells him plainly, "It goes against my conscience to pay you tithes, except you can shew me a place of Scripture whereby they are due unto you." To this the doctor answers, "Why should it not go as much against my conscience that you should enjoy your nine parts for which you can shew me no place in Scripture?" To this the other replies, "But I have for my lands deeds and evidences from my fathers who purchased, and were peaceably possessed thereof by the laws of the land." "The same is my title," says the doctor, "tithes being confirmed to me by many statutes of the land time out of mind." Thus the anabaptist was silenced; and having some share of conscience

and common sense, was converted to the honesty of paying his tithes.

To proceed, Ingulphus pretends this charter was made after Ethelwulf's voyage to Rome; but Asserius Menevensis, who lived about this time, makes it prior to this journey, in which he is followed by Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester. That these authors are in the right appears by Ethelwulf's subscribing himself king of the West Saxons; whereas, upon his coming back from Rome, he resigned that kingdom to his son Ethelbald, and contented himself with the dominions of Kent, Surrey, &c.

During Ethelwulf's stay at Rome he rebuilt the English school founded by king Offa, which was burnt down the year before, and gave the pope three hundred mancuses, or marks, as some historians call them, for the uses already mentioned. After a year's stay at Rome he returned home through France, where he married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France. This match, and his being absent about a year from his kingdom, proved very unfortunate. Asserius reports that it gave occasion to the forming a treasonable and unnatural conspiracy against him; which was so infamous, as the historian continues, that there was scarcely an instance of it to be found amongst Christians. Ethelbald, king Ethelwulf's eldest son, Alstan, bishop of Sherburn, and Eanwulf, Earl of Somersetshire, concerted a plot against king Ethelwulf, and resolved not to admit him at his return. But God was not pleased to permit the success of so great a wickedness. When the king arrived, the greatest part of the Saxon nobility stood firm, were willing to assist their sovereign in the recovery of his dominions, to chastise the rebels for their breach of duty, and drive Ethelbald and his adherents out of the kingdom. But Ethelwulf, being a very mild and merciful prince, was willing to prevent the effusion of blood, consented to a partition of the kingdom, and resigned the best part of it to his son; and at his death, which happened about a year after, he left the kingdom of Kent to his second son Ethelbert. Ethelbald, king of the West Saxons, who behaved himself so unnaturally towards his father, proved an unactive and licentious prince. To give one instance of his immorality, he scrupled not the marrying Judith, his father's wife, which, as Asserius expresses it, was not only a notorious violation of the law of

ETHEL-
BALD
K. of
England.

Asser. de
Alfridi Re-
bus Gestis.

159.

A. D. 855.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 2. c. 2.
Asserius de
Alfredi Re-
bus Gestis.

*A rebellion
against king
Ethelwulf, at
his return
from Rome.*

Asser. ibid.
Malmesb.
ibid.

A. D. 857.
Ethelbald,
king of the
West Saxons.

CEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

Ibid.

God, a contradiction to the sobriety of the Christian religion, but an excess beyond the liberties even of paganism. However, the best circumstance in this prince's reign was the shortness of it, for he died in the year 860, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelbert.

Historiar.
l. 5. fol. 200.
Hoveden,
Annal. pars
prior.
fol. 231.

But before we take leave of Ethelbald, it will be no more than justice to endeavour the relieving his memory from other historians, though of somewhat less antiquity. Now Huntingdon and Hoveden tell us, that Ethelbald governed very much to the satisfaction of his subjects, and that his death was extremely regretted. And Rudburn informs us, that the two first years and a half after his father's death he proved a very arbitrary and tyrannical governor: but that afterwards being recovered by the admonitions of St. Swithin, he parted with Judith, his mother-in-law, repented his incest, and lived regularly the remaining part of his reign.

Rudburn,
Hist. major.
Winton in
Angl. Sacr.
pars. 1. p. 204.

To proceed to Ethelbert. The Danes made terrible depredations in this prince's reign; for landing at Southampton, they marched up to Winchester, and plundered it: but before they could carry off their booty, they were encountered, and defeated by the earls Osric and Ethelwulf. Meeting with this check, the enemy embarked, and sailed back to the Isle of Thanet; where, after having received hostages and contribution from the Kentish men, they broke their articles, and ravaged at discretion. Upon which the country rose upon them, and forced them to re-embark. Ethelbert having held the government five years, with great courage, and other commendable qualities, departed this life, and was buried at Sherburn.

Asser. and
Malmesb.
ibid.

St. Swithin.

About this time St. Swithin departed this life, who being a person of so remarkable a reputation, something must be said of him. He was bred a monk at Winchester, where, behaving himself to all imaginable commendation, he was elected abbot of the monastery, and ordained priest by Helmstan, bishop of Winchester. King Egbert having a great opinion of his conduct and abilities, made use of his advice in state affairs, and trusted him with the education of his son Athelwulf. When this prince came to the crown, he had such a regard for his preceptor, that upon the death of Helmstan he procured him the bishopric of Winchester. It was likewise by the suggestion, and by the interest of St. Swithin, that king Ethelwulf made a grant to the Church of the tithes,

Malmesb. de
Gestis Pon-
tif. Angl.
l. 2. p. 137.
Angl. Sacr.
pars 1. p. 200.
et deinceps.

in the famous charter above mentioned. St. Swithin behaved himself in his see suitably to his former character, and was a very exemplary and unexceptionable prelate. He was particularly remarkable for affecting a private way of living, declining as much as might be, the usual figure and appearance of his station: for the purpose, when he went to consecrate a church, he usually walked on foot, and refused the attendance of a pompous train. But then we must observe, St. Swithin had the privilege of working miracles: this was a shining distinction, this guarded his character, and commanded respect much more effectually than all the glitter of wealth and equipage. A prelate that has this advantage, needs nothing farther to support his character. In other cases, the authority of the Church, as well as that of the State, must be kept up by customary marks of honour, by something that strikes the senses, and makes an impression of regard upon the minds of the generality. St. Swithin's humility appeared in a circumstance in his last will, by which he ordered his body not to be buried in the church. He was succeeded by Alfrith, a person of considerable learning. This Alfrith, in bishop Godwin's opinion, is the same with Ethelred, successor to Celnoth, in the archbishopric of Canterbury. To proceed:

Ethelbert's brother was the next that mounted the throne. This prince had likewise a short and very troublesome reign. He was a person of extraordinary courage, and ventured himself with all the bravery imaginable, in the service of his country. Besides several skirmishes, in which he frequently surprised the enemy, he is said to have fought nine pitched battles within the compass of one year; in which he had the better for the most part. The fight at Ashdown, near Reading, in Berkshire, was particularly remarkable. The Danes being encamped upon this place, divided their army into two bodies; one of which was commanded by two of their kings, and the other by the rest of the generals. King Ethelred, with his brother Alfred, marched up to them; and resolving to follow the enemy's fancy in the command of their troops, and the disposition of the battle, ranged himself against the kings, and gave Alfred a body of troops to encounter the generals; but the evening coming on, they were obliged to be quiet that night. The next morning early the enemy drew out, and attacked Alfred, who being somewhat pressed by

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

Angl. Sacr.
ibid.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Pon-
tif. Angl.
fol. 137.
Harpshfield,
p. 168.

Malmesb.
ibid.
Godwin de
Præsul.
Angl.

160.

CEL-
NOTII,
Abp. Cant.

Asser. de
Alfredi Re-
bus Gestis.
p. 7.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 2. fol. 23.
*King Ethel-
red defeats
the Danes at
Ashdowne.*
Ibid.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 2. fol. 23.

Simeon Du-
nelm. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
p. 123. et
deinc.

*Monasteries
of Croyland,
&c., de-
stroyed.*

inequality of numbers, sent to the king, his brother, to rein-
force him. The king being at prayers in his tent, returned
him word, he was resolved not to move till the service was
over. Alfred's troops fighting with disadvantage of ground
and number, began to be discouraged, and give way: but king
Ethelred coming up in the juncture, and charging the enemy
with great fury, turned the fortune of the day. For though
the Danes kept the field a considerable time, and fought with
great resolution, yet at last they were entirely broken, with
the loss of abundance of their men; king Bagsac and five
earls fell in the fight, and the Christians pursued the debris of
the army till night. But about a fortnight after, the success
of this victory was dashed with a misfortune at Basing, in
Hantshire; where, though the battle was well fought, king
Ethelred had the worst of it, the enemy having lately received
a reinforcement. The king was likewise routed soon after,
near Devizes, in Wiltshire. In this battle he received a
wound, of which he died, after he had reigned five years with
extraordinary commendation. During the troubles of this
prince's reign, the kings of Mercia and Northumberland took
the advantage of the opportunity; and while Ethelred was
engaged with the Danes, renounced their homage and subjec-
tion, and set up for their former independency. This intem-
perate desire of standing clear of the sovereignty of the West
Saxons, proved fatal to the whole country. These tributary
princes were not displeased to see Ethelred thus hard set, and
being jealous of his success, they took no care to stop the
progress of the Danes, till the remedy was out of their power,
and the mischief grew irresistible. Thus the pagans overrun
the kingdoms of Mercia, Northumberland, and the East
Angles, burnt York, and plundered Nottingham, with a great
many other considerable places, too long to mention.

In this miserable ravage the famous monasteries of Croyland,
Peterborough, and Ely, were plundered and destroyed; the
monks and nuns killed, the altars and monuments broken and
defaced, the churches, cloisters, and libraries burnt. From
Ely the pagans marched farther into the East Angles, de-
feated earl Wilketul, king Edmund's general, who, after a
brave resistance, was overborne with numbers. Soon after the
loss of this battle, the pious king Edmund was taken prisoner;
and refusing to submit and renounce the Christian religion,

was treated with all imaginable barbarity: for the Danes, tying him to a stake, set him up for a mark, and shot him to death with their arrows. From hence they continued their victorious march into the kingdom of the West Saxons, where they were fought by King Ethelred, with the variety of fortune already related.

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

Ingulphus,
Histor.
p. 22—24.

But since king Edmund had the honour of being a martyr, as well as a prince, I shall stop a little upon his story, and point out some of the causes which made way to the tragedy above mentioned.

*The ground
of the Danes'
war upon
king Ed-
mund, and
occasion of
his martyr-
dom.*

Lodebroch, a petty prince in Denmark, going a hawking in a boat, and designing to put into some little island, near the shore, where he expected game, was surprised by a sudden storm, driven out to sea, and cast upon the English shore, near Yarmouth, in Norfolk. Upon his arrival he was seized, and brought to Edmund's court, who was then king of the East Angles. The king was surprised with the oddness of his dress and the strangeness of his escape, and finding him an excellent sportsman, was much pleased with his company. One Bern, king Edmund's chief falconer, perceiving himself outdone in his own business by this stranger, resolved to get rid of him. To this purpose he drew him into a wood, under pretence of showing sport, and as it is supposed barbarously murdered him. Upon this he goes back to court, and seems to wonder what was become of the Dane. Some few days after, Lodebroch's dog, being almost starved, comes to the palace, and being fed, goes away again. The dog doing this several times, made the king's servants follow him; and thus they were brought to a sight of the corpse. In short, Bern was tried for the murder, and being found guilty, was condemned to be put in Lodebroch's boat; and thus, without either tackling or provision, he was committed to the mercy of the seas. This Bern, who had the same good fortune in his passage with Lodebroch, was carried to the Danish shore, where the other set out. The boat was immediately known, Bern was apprehended, and being examined about Lodebroch told them, that he arrived upon the coast of the East Angles, and was put to death by king Edmund's order.

This story being believed, Ingvar and Hubba, Lodebroch's sons, resolved upon the revenge of their father's murder. To this purpose, they levied a considerable army, and set sail for

ATHEL-
RED,
Abp. Cant.
161.

the East Angles; but meeting with a cross wind, they were forced upon the coast of Northumberland. Upon their landing, they moved eastward, plundering and killing all along their march, till they came to Thetford, where they encamped. From hence they sent a trumpet to king Edmund, demanding, in Inguar's name, that he would resign half his treasure and revenues, and submit to the title of a viceroy. The king having consulted Humbert, bishop of Helnam, refused to comply with the articles: this resolution being approved by his nobility and officers, he drew his forces together, and advanced towards the enemy, and came to a battle near Thetford: the dispute was very obstinate, and the fight maintained for a whole day together. However, the pagans seemed to be worsted, and drew off from the field of battle; and the king with his forces marched back to Hegelsdune, or Hoxon, in Suffolk. Soon after, Inguar being reinforced with ten thousand men, commanded by his brother Hubba, moved forward towards king Edmund. This pious prince, perceiving himself in no condition to face the Danes, resolved to spare the lives of his subjects, and contest the point no farther. And finding himself surrounded by the enemy, went into the church, where himself and bishop Humbert were both murdered.

Matt. West.
Flor. Hist.
An. Grat.
870.
Alfred, Vit.
l. 1. p. 13.
et deinc.

Malmesb.
ibid.
A. D. 872.

Alfred succeeded his brother Ethelred, and proved a prince of extraordinary merit and distinction. He was sent to Rome at five years of age, with a train suitable to his quality. Pope Leo IV., being particularly affected with the respect of the voyage, or out of some other motive, best known to himself, gave this young prince the ceremony of a royal unction, put a crown upon his head, and confirmed him with the highest solemnity. Some learned men will have all this ceremony amount to no more than confirmation: but this conjecture has no probable appearance; for Asserius, Ethelwerd, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, and Hoveden, are all positive for the royal unction. Several of them add the circumstance of coronation, and most of them distinguish the unction from the confirmation as things of a quite different import. Upon what view the pope did this, whether out of the transport of satisfaction, or a prophetic spirit, or the persuasion of a prognosticating faculty, is uncertain. That which makes the circumstance look strange, is, because this solemn anointing was performed when king Ethelwulf, his father, and three of his elder brothers, were

*Alfred
crowned in
his childhood
at Rome.*

Asser. p. 2.
Ethelwerd,
Chronicor.
l. 3. fol. 478.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Reg-
um Angl.
l. 2. c. 2.
fol. 20.

living. If the remark of the learned annotators upon king Alfred's life written by sir John Spelman holds good, this difficulty will be tolerably removed. In these notes it is observed, that Ethelwulf, making a conquest of the greatest part of South Wales, settled those new acquisitions, with the county of Sussex, upon his youngest son Alfred. It is true this settlement was not to take place till after the death of his elder brother Athelstan; but then, this prince dying in 852, Alfred was in possession of this royal inheritance a year before his first voyage to Rome. From hence it is supposed Ethelwulf sent his son Alfred to Rome to be anointed king of North Wales, and to receive the solemnity of coronation from the pope. This supposition is fortified by Alfred's having the command of the Welsh in the reign of his brother; and, what is more, some writers, as Rudburn reports, make the rebellion against Ethelwulf proceed from Ethelbald's being disgusted with his youngest brother Alfred's coronation, performed by the pope at his father's instance. But enough of this matter.

ALFRED,
K. of
England.

Saxon
Chronolog.
Alfredi
Magni Vita,
p. 3. edit.
Oxon.

As for Alfred, the greatest part of his minority was spent in hunting and other diversions of the field; these sort of exercises being customary to the Saxon nobility. By this discipline young people were trained up to fatigue and hardship, and made more bold and enterprising. Alfred, having passed through this course of education, was thought fit to make a campaign at eighteen years of age. His brother, king Ethelbert, having a great opinion of his courage and interest, persuaded him to serve under him; and, for an encouragement, proposed that all the country recovered from the enemy should be equally shared between them. These articles were accepted by Alfred, who made it his business to earn the reward, and serve the king with the utmost hazard and application.

When the crown fell to his share by the demise of his brother, he found himself in a post of great difficulty. To give a particular account of the battles fought, the marches and countermarches, and all the variety of events in the field, would make a tedious and confused relation. For, if the enemy happened to be routed in one quarter they immediately appeared in another, leaving marks of ravage, slaughter, and desolation wherever they came. They seemed, like Hydra's heads, to multiply after a defeat, and grow up under the executions of steel. By continual recruits, and the advantage of

ATHEL-
RED,
Abp. Cant.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 2. fol. 23.

*King Alfred
forced to
retire to
Athelinge,
near Taun-
ton.*
162.

Malmesb.
ibid.

Alfred. Vit.
l. 1. p. 31.
edit. Oxon.

their shipping, their motions were extremely swift and surprising; and, since they appeared almost in all places at once, and ranged all over the island, it is to no purpose, as Malmesbury speaks, to pursue them with the pen. It may be sufficient therefore to say in general, that king Alfred was continually in a state of war for nine years together: in which interval, though there were some short intermissions of respite and truce, yet the enemy quickly broke their articles, so that the country was always either frightened or alarmed. In short, the king lost ground, and had nothing but the three counties of Hantshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire, remaining. Being thus distressed, he was forced to retire within the morass of Athelinge, near Taunton, in Somersetshire; and, being willing to be certainly informed of the posture of the enemy, he put himself into the disguise of a fiddler, and went upon the discovery. This appearance of a buffoon made him pass without suspicion, procured him admittance into the Danish king's tent, and gave him the opportunity of a full information. Having stayed in the enemy's camp several days, he returned to his troops at Athelinge; and, at a council of war, made a report of the negligence and ill condition of the enemy. This intelligence, together with a victory lately gained by some of the king's forces in Devonshire, animated the army, and made them desirous of a battle. The king, being reinforced to a considerable body, drew out his men, and made a speech to this effect: he told them how thankful they ought to be to God Almighty, for affording them patience and courage to struggle with so great difficulties, and hold out after so long a trial; that they ought to look upon their misfortune as a punishment for their misbehaviour; that it was their sins that had given their enemies this advantage over them; that reformation would undoubtedly turn the scale, and alter the face of affairs; that they were to recollect the justice of the cause, and depend upon the protection of heaven; that they were to consider the advantages of their own side, and the necessity of engaging; that Christians were to encounter heathens, and honest men pirates and thieves,—men who, without any provocation, had destroyed their country, seized their fortunes, and murdered vast numbers of their friends and relations, and that without any regard to age, to sex, or condition. “We are to fight those,” says he, “that have nothing of good faith or justice in

them; that have violated the most solemn securities, and broken their articles a hundred times over." That this was no contest of ambition, no striving for the enlargement of empire; that their swords were drawn for no other reason but purely to secure themselves and recover their own; it was to preserve their parents, their wives, and children, from the hardships of servitude, and from all the barbarous insults of a haughty and licentious enemy; and, which was a stronger motive than all this, they fought for the honour of God, for the interest of his Church, and to prevent the extirpation of the Christian religion.

ALFRED,
K. of
England.

After this speech he advanced towards the enemy; and, coming unexpectedly upon them by a sudden march, cut most of the troops in pieces, and gained an entire victory. The Danish king, with the forces that escaped, begged a peace, promised either to turn Christians, or quit the country; and gave hostages for the performance of articles, which were accordingly made good: for their king Guthrum, or Gurmund, with thirty of his nobility, and almost all the common soldiers and people, were baptized. This prince had king Alfred for his godfather: who being pleased with his conversion, and expecting more conscience and honour than formerly, gave him and his heirs the kingdoms of the East Angles and North-umberland, to hold of him, under fealty and homage. But Guthrum's conversion, being no more than interest and hypocrisy, he proved a very ungrateful and oppressive prince. Neither were the people at all relieved by the reigns of his posterity till the time of Athelstan, Alfred's grandson, who wrested the country out of the hands of the Danes, and annexed it to the English monarchy. As for those Danes that refused to turn Christian, they went all aboard, under the command of one Hasting, made several descents upon France, and harassed the country in a miserable manner. By the way, it was in this king's reign that Rollo, after an unsuccessful trial upon England, got footing in France; but the duchy of Neustria, or Normandy, was not resigned him by Charles the Simple till the reign of Edward the Elder.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 2. fol. 23.
Harnfeld,
Hist. Eccles.
p. 159.
*He gives the
Danes an en-
tire defeat.*
A. D. 878.

*The Danish
king and
most of his
troops turn
Christians.*

Malmesb.
ibid.

Mezcray,
p. 160, 164.

About thirteen years after this pacification, the Danes returned from their ravages in France, and landed in England. During this interval, the country had been very happy and undisturbed under the government of Alfred, who had now all

ATHEL-
RED,
Abp. Cant.
*The English
attacked
again by the
Danes.*

England for his dominions, excepting that part of the country assigned the Danes by the treaty above mentioned: but now the war revived, and a new scene of blood began to open. However, the case was somewhat altered, and the English had the advantage in this new quarrel. The Danes, who had been battered in their disputes with the French, were not altogether so lively and enterprising as formerly; whereas the English, being veterans, well disciplined, flushed with their late victory, and encouraged by the bravery of their prince, were prepared not only to maintain their ground, but attack the enemy. As for the king, he was always in the heat of the action, exposing his person to the utmost hazard, and no less distinguished by his valour than by his quality. And when he happened to meet with a check, his spirits never failed him: a defeat served only to awaken his caution, and make him more impatient for revenge; so that it was seldom long before he rallied his fortune, and recovered himself. Next to the blessing of God, his success against the Danes was principally owing to his fleet: his strength at sea was an advantage of his own raising. The galleys invented by him were longer, and better commanded by the helm, than those of the enemy. He was furnished with a hundred and fifty of these men of war, as we may call them, with which he often prevented the enemy in their descent upon the coast, and defeated them upon their own element.

*King Al-
fred's bra-
very.*

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 2. fol. 24.

*Alfred the
first Saxon
prince that
set out a
fleet.*

Asser. de
Alfredi Re-
bus Gest.
p. 9.
Chron. Sax.

*Some of king
Alfred's
laws.*

163.

Alfredi Vit.
l. 2. p. 63.
et deinceps.
edit. Oxon.
Brady, Com-
plete Hist.
of England,
p. 116.
Lambard.
Archaio-
nom. p. 22.

To proceed, now, from his martial undertakings to the civil part of his administration. He is famous for his legislation, and making provisions for the government of the commonwealth. He made inquiry into the constitutions of foreign countries, collected those of his predecessors Ina, Offa, and Ethelbert; and, as it is supposed, drew up an entire body of law: but if such a system was compiled, it is now lost: for the fragments in Lambert, Spelman, and the English historians, fall short of the idea of so great a work. I shall mention some few of his secular and ecclesiastical laws which are most remarkable.

One of the former secures the entail of estates, and enacts, "that those who had book-land, or estates in land conveyed to them by writing or deed, should not have a power of alienating it, or disinheriting their heirs, provided there could be proof made, either by evidence in writing, or witnesses, that he

that first granted the estate, settled it upon such conditions of non-alienation.

ALFRED,
K. of
England.

Another law of Alfred's forbids the buying of a man, a horse, or an ox, without a voucher to warrant the sale. From hence we may observe, that villainage was in the height of disadvantage in king Alfred's time, and that a man's slave was as much his property as his cattle.

Lambard.
Archaio-
nom. Fœdus
Alured. et
Guthron,
p. 36.

Thirdly, he that perjured himself, and refused to make good the obligation of a lawful oath, was "to deliver up his arms, and surrender his estate into the hands of some of his friends: after this, he was to be imprisoned forty days, and submit to the penalty imposed on him by the bishop." If he made any resistance, and refused to submit, "he was to forfeit his whole estate." If he fled from justice, "he was to be put out of the protection of the law, and excommunicated." And if any person had been surety for his good behaviour, "the surety, in case of failure, was to be punished at the bishop's discretion."

Lambart.
Leges Alu-
red. p. 22,
23.

Fourthly, "He that robbed a church was to return the value of the things stolen: to pay a fine proportionable to the theft, and to lose his right hand: and if he was desirous to buy off the forfeiture of his hand, it could not be done under the value of his whole estate."

Fifthly, "If any person debauched a man's wife, the valuation of whose estate amounted to twelve hundred shillings, he was obliged to pay a hundred and twenty shillings to the husband. If the fortune of the person injured was less, the fine was set somewhat lower. And here, if the adulterer happened not to be wealthy, he was obliged to sell all his estate to make satisfaction."

Sixthly, "Perjured persons, witches, and strumpets, were to be banished, unless they reformed."

Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 377.

I shall mention one law with relation to holydays, by virtue of which, the twelve days after the nativity of our Saviour are made festivals; Good Friday, the anniversary of Gregory the Great; a week after Easter; a week after Whitsuntide; St. Peter and St. Paul; a week in autumn before the Assumption of the blessed Virgin; All Saints' Day, and Sundays, were all holydays.

These ecclesiastical and secular laws of king Alfred have the decalogue, and several of the judicial laws of the Old Testament, and the Apostles' constitutions, mentioned in the Acts, Acts xv.

ATHEL-
RED,
Abp. Cant.

set at the head of them. This was done, I suppose, for the greater solemnity: for that they did not conceive themselves bound by every part of the judicial law, is plain, by their setting a pecuniary punishment upon adultery, which was death by the Mosaic constitution. Some of these laws were made jointly by Alfred and Guthrum, who held the East Angles and Northumberland under king Alfred. These laws, which run in the form of a concurrence of legislation between these two princes, are probably no more in reality than articles of pacification, and conditions upon which Guthrum was to hold the country assigned him by the treaty. King Alfred seems to have a particular regard for the security of the Christian religion within the Danish division: for by the first law, the worship of the true God is provided for, and the renunciation of paganism enjoined: from whence it follows that if Guthrum or his successors should happen to renounce Christianity, their crowns would be forfeited to the Saxon line.

As for the time when king Alfred made these provisions, with relation to Church and State, it is somewhat uncertain. The ecclesiastical laws passed by Alfred, with the consent of the bishops and temporal nobility, are fixed by sir Henry Spelman to the year 887. And he is of opinion, those laws in which Guthrum the Danish king joined with him, are posterior to the other: however, this is certain, that both one and the other must be drawn up after the great defeat he gave the Danes in Somersetshire, which happened in the year of our Lord 878. For before this time, he was so perpetually harassed by the Danes, his kingdom so broken and disturbed, and his fortune at so low an ebb, that he had no leisure nor opportunity for consultations of this nature.

The tithings.

Ingulph.
Histor.
Malmesb. de
Gest. Regum
Angl. 1. 2.

To proceed to some farther regulations of the commonwealth. King Alfred, as has been observed already, divided the kingdom into counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings. This provision was made, that every man might be more under the notice and jurisdiction of the government, and more certainly answerable to the law for any misbehaviour. These last divisions were called tithings; because ten householders and their families were thrown into a distinct body. These ten men were all bound to the king for the good behaviour of each other. The more particular circumstances of the provision were these: the lords were to answer for their

slaves; husbands for their wives; fathers for their children, till fourteen years of age; and generally the master of the family was to be security for those that lived with him. Now if any one of the ten happened to break the peace, or fall under any forfeiture, the other nine were to have him ready for justice, and see him forthcoming. If the guilty person fled for it, he was not to be received in any place without a certificate from his own tithing, and if any person was admitted to live at large in a town, without being entered within some tithing, the place was fineable at the king's mercy. There are several other provisions in this constitution, which are too long to mention.

ALFRED,
K. of
England.

164.

As for the division of the kingdom into counties, some are of opinion it was prior to the reign of Alfred. It is true, there is mention of the earldoms of Lincoln, Kent, Somerset, &c. before this division of Alfred; but then it is observed, that these earldoms or counties related to the present jurisdiction and government of the earls, and were either enlarged or lessened in proportion to the tenor of their commission; but king Alfred fixed this ambulatory nature of the counties, and ascertained their number and limits, giving the government of several of them sometimes to one person: for instance; when he extinguished the title of the tributary kings of Mercia, he made his general and son-in-law, Ethelred, earl of that whole principality.

Alfred. Vit.
l. 2. p. 74.
Spelman,
Glossar. in
Friborga.
Alfred. Vit.
l. 2. p. 77.
*Counties first
settled by
king Alfred.*

To proceed. The forms of original writs are supposed to have been first settled by this prince. The office of sheriff likewise was his constitution. The valuation of the kingdom drawn up by the Conqueror, and called Doomsday-book, was taken from king Alfred's scheme; who, making an inquiry into the estates and properties of the kingdom, caused the whole account to be registered in his Winchester-book: from this register the Conqueror took his matter and his method; inso-much, that his Doomsday-book was little more than a larger edition of that of Winchester.

Ibid. et
p. 78.
*Forms of
law and
sheriffs.*
Ibid. p. 81.

County courts, and court-leets, were another regulation of this prince. He was so great a justicer, that he used to re-examine the causes tried in his absence; and if he found any injustice done, it was his method to send for the judges, and expostulate the case with them; and if he found them swayed either by favour or interest, he punished them severely, and re-

Ibid. p. 82.

*County
courts, and
court-leets.*

*The impar-
tiality of his
justice.*

ATHEL-
RED,
Abp. Cant.

Miroir des
Justices,
c. 20. et alib.
Malmesb.
l. 2. fol. 25.

Asser. de
Alfred. Reb.
Gest. fol. 21.
*The last ap-
peals made
to the king's
person.*
Asser. ibid.

Malmesb. de
Reb. Gest.
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 24.
Alfred. Vit.
l. 2. p. 112.

turned the *lex talionis* upon them. Thus, the *Mirror of Justice*, written in the reign of king Edward I., tells us, that he executed four-and-forty judges within the compass of one year. And in case the judges confessed they were misguided in their sentence for want of skill; if this plea held, he used to reprimand them sharply for their ignorance, and ask them how they durst presume to take commission to determine about life and property, when they knew themselves so wretchedly unqualified? He ordered them therefore, either to furnish themselves better with sense and learning, or quit their post. And thus, the earls and great men, who were frequently not bred to learning, applied themselves to study, being willing rather to run through an unusual discipline and fatigue, than sink their figure, and be turned out of their office. From hence, and from Alfred's receiving appeals, and reversing judgments, (mentioned by Asserius) it appears, that the king's person was the last resort of justice; and that he tried the causes himself, and not by his judges, whenever he pleased.

I have already mentioned king Alfred's building a fleet of men-of-war, and that he was the first Saxon prince that began the empire of the seas, and made his naval forces a guard to himself, and a terror to his neighbours. To this we may add, that he improved his invention of shipping for commerce, and contrived his merchantmen much fitter for sailing, stowage, and length of voyage than formerly. Being thus far advanced, he sent a present to the East Indies, in honour of St. Thomas. Sigelin, bishop of Sherburn, was employed to deliver it, who performed the voyage successfully, and brought back a great many precious stones, perfumes, and other Indian commodities; all which, at that time of the day, were great curiosities in England. But here we are not to suppose this voyage was performed by the sailing on the back of Afric, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope; no, this passage was unknown to the Europeans many hundred years after king Alfred's reign.

What course then did the bishop take? Why, he passed through the Straits, landed at some of the ports of Palestine, and travelled the rest of his way in caravans; or else, he embarked upon the Red Sea, fell into the Arabian Gulph, and so coasted along the Persian shore till he came to the Indies.

To proceed to other public designs carried on by king Alfred. He built two monasteries; one at Athelinge, in Somersetshire,

and another at Winchester. The devastations made by the incursions of the Danes, had fallen so heavy upon the monasteries, that that way of living was perfectly disused in England; and though several of the buildings were remaining, yet there were no monks in them: whether the reason of this desertion proceeded from their fear of the enemy, or dislike of the discipline, is more than Asserius can determine. This is certain, there were very few monks in England, from the reign of Alfred's predecessor to that of king Edgar, when St. Dunstan was archbishop of Canterbury; during which interval, the married clergy were possessed of several monasteries. For instance; thus the case stood at Ely, where, soon after the monastery had been plundered and burnt by the Danes, the married clergy came thither, repaired the buildings, formed themselves into a body, and dwelt there under the government of an arch-priest, as the *Historia Eliensis* calls him. A person of this character, it seems, inquiring with too much curiosity into the condition of St. Ethelred's or St. Audrey's corpse, was severely punished. For this presumption, as the historian will have it, his wife and children were soon after taken off with the plague.

ALFRED,
K. of
England.

*The monastic
life disused
in England,
and the mar-
ried clergy
settled in the
monasteries.*
Asser. de
Alfred. Reb.
Gest.

Angl. Sacr.
par. l. p. 206.

Angl. Sacr.
par. l. p. 602.
165.

Ibid. p. 603.

In this reign, Leovine, bishop of Leicester, united the sees of Leicester and Lincoln, and removed to Dorchester in Oxfordshire; which, though but a small town in Malmesbury's time, continued the see of that large diocese till bishop Remigius, in the Conqueror's reign, settled at Lincoln.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
l. 4. fol. 165.

To return to king Alfred, who, beside the two monasteries above mentioned, founded a nunnery at Shaftesbury, where he made his eldest daughter the abbess, the nuns being generally persons of great quality. The scarcity of monks was so great at this time, that the king was forced to send for foreigners, and stock his two monasteries with monks of different orders; and to make a full complement, he put in several children, who were afterwards to take the habit upon them.

Asser. de
Alfred. Reb.
Gest. fol. 18,
19.

Asser. p. 18.
Alfred. Vit.
l. 3. p. 132.

The late ravages of the Danes had ruined the commonwealth of learning, and frightened the muses out of the island. This barbarous enemy seemed to proclaim war against sense and understanding; they hated to see the English better polished than themselves. And as they plundered the monasteries out of covetousness, so they burnt the libraries out of envy; and

ATHEL-RED, Abp. Cant. that there might be nothing remaining to reproach their ignorance.

King Alfred encourages learning. That learning was at a very low ebb in this prince's reign, appears by his letter to bishop Wulfsig : it stands as a preface to Alfred's translation of St. Gregory's Pastoral. In this letter he puts the bishop in mind, "that both the clergy and laity of the English were formerly bred to letters, and made great improvements in the creditable sciences ; that by the advantage of such a learned education, the precepts of religion and loyalty were well observed, the Church and State flourished, and the government was famous for its conduct in foreign countries. And as to the clergy, they were particularly eminent for their instructions ; for acting up to the expectations of their character, and discharging all the parts of their function to commendation ; insomuch, that strangers used to come hither for learning, discipline, and improvement. But now the case is miserably altered, and we have need of travelling to learn, what we used to teach : indeed, knowledge is so entirely vanished from the English, that there are very few on this side the Humber, that can either translate a piece of Latin, or so much as understand the Liturgy in their mother-tongue," &c.

Asser. de
Alfred. Reb.
Gest. p. 27.

The king, who besides the motives of his own genius, knew the use and ornament of knowledge, was willing to encourage the interest and revive the study of learning. To this purpose, he invited a great many scholars of character to his court ; amongst whom, Johannes Scotus Erigena, an Irishman, was one. He was a person of considerable learning, and a great master of languages. Charles the Bald, of France, entertained him at his court, used to set him at his own table, and conversed and jested with him with great friendship and familiarity. This Scotus being strongly invited by king Alfred, came over into England ; where, at first, he was the king's preceptor, both in languages and other parts of learning ; he was afterwards made public professor in the monastery of Malmesbury. This preferment proved unfortunate, for a quarrel happening between him and his pupils, they were so barbarous as to stab him with their pen-knives. This Scotus wrote strongly against the doctrine of Paschasius, who maintained, that the body of Christ in the eucharist was the same that was born of the blessed Virgin. Charles the Bald, of France, engaged him in

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. fol. 24.
Alfred. Vit.
l. 2. p. 99.
*Scotus writes
against transubstantia-
tion.*
Du Pin's
New Eccles.
Hist. cent. 9.
p. 71.

this dispute; in the managing of which, he argues plainly against the corporal presence. Notwithstanding this performance, he was invited into England by king Alfred, preferred by him, and honoured with the title of a martyr after his death. These circumstances, to speak softly, are a strong presumption that transubstantiation was not the doctrine of the Church of England at that time.

ALFRED,
K. of
England.
Du Pin,
ibid. p. 77.
He is
counted a
martyr.

Cressy seems apprehensive of this inference, and endeavours to fence against it. He affirms, in the first place, from Hoveden, that Scotus had brought himself under a just infamy in France, upon the score of his heterodoxy: this imputation made him desirous to retreat into England. But in this relation, Cressy misrepresents Hoveden; for this historian asserts no more, than that Scotus was eclipsed in his reputation; which is no wonder, considering the letter pope Nicholas wrote to Charles the Bald, to his disadvantage; where he taxes him with unsound opinions, but without naming any particulars. It is true, Hoveden does say, he lay under an ill report; but that this historian thought he deserved it, we have no reason to conclude. On the contrary, after the relation of his murder, he tells us, he had an obscure burial; that there was a miraculous light for several nights together, shining over his grave: upon which the monks removed him from St. Lawrence's, and buried him in the great church, close by the altar. This discovery of his corpse by such an extraordinary appearance, is an honour peculiar to a martyr. We have several instances of this kind in Bede. How then could Hoveden believe Scotus lay under a just infamy, when he relates him thus distinguishingly honoured by God Almighty? Cressy grants, that posterity had a great veneration for his memory: but then he will not allow, that any ancient author calls him a martyr. But is not Malmesbury an ancient author, who lived in the reign of Maud, the empress? Now this historian is full for the point. Besides he cites his epitaph to vouch the truth of the relation. He tells us the very structure and diction of the verses argue their antiquity, and that they were by no means polished up to the smoothness of his own time. They are these:—

Cressy's
objections
answered.
Cressy's
Church
History of
England,
p. 771.

166.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Reg.
Angl. l. 2.
fol. 24.

*Clauditur hoc tumulo sanctus sophista Johannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro,*

ATHEL-
RED,
Abp. Cant.

*Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum,
Quo meruit, sancti regnant per sæcula cuncti.*

This epitaph, we see, is clear for his martyrdom, and Cressy himself is contented to own, at last, that he is registered in the supplement of the Gallican martyrology, and commemorated among the saints, on the fourth of the ides of November; and that his name had stolen even into the Roman martyrology, till Baronius got him expunged. By Cressy's account, we see the credit of Scotus's martyrdom was well established: and it is rather more probable, that Baronius stole him out of the Roman martyrology, than that he was stolen in before. And now Cressy not knowing what to do with this honourable character, will needs have Scotus retract his former errors: without this, he thinks, posterity would never have treated his memory with so much regard. But what ground is there for this supposition? Does Malmesbury, Hoveden, or any other historian, hint any such matter? Mr. Cressy cannot say that. Besides, if Scotus retracted his errors, as Cressy calls them, what made Baronius sit so hard upon his reputation, and strike him out of the holy register? This conjecture therefore being altogether precarious and unwarranted, I shall consider it no farther.

Cressy,
p. 772.

Grimbald
and other
learned
foreigners
invited hither
by king
Alfred.

Asser. de
Gest. Alfred.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. l. 2.
fol. 24.

Asser. de
Alfred. Rcb.
Gest. p. 18.

The king con-
sults several
English
prelates.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Reg.
Angl. l. 2.
fol. 24.

Grimbald was another eminent foreigner of letters, invited over by king Alfred. Besides his learning, he was a considerable master in church-music, and a man of exemplary piety. The king was first acquainted with him when he travelled to Rome in his minority: for, passing by Rheims, this Grimbald gave prince Alfred and his train a very honourable and splendid reception. The king, at his coming over, made use of him for the restoring of learning, and preferred him to the government of the new abbey of Winchester. The king likewise sent for several other priests and deacons of character from France.

But notwithstanding this application to foreign countries, the island was not altogether so unfurnished, as not to afford some supplies of learning from home.

Amongst those of this character, we may reckon Asserius, who wrote king Alfred's life. This Asserius, according to primate Usher, died archbishop of St. David's, and was not the same with the bishop of Sherburn of that name. For Asserius, Alfred's historian, tells us, he wrote that prince's life

in the year of our Lord 893 ; whereas Asserius of Sherburn, according to Florence of Worcester and Florilegus, was dead ten years before this period.

ALFRED,
K. of
England.
Usher. Brit-
tan. Eccles.
Antiquit.
p. 544.

To proceed : Werefrid, bishop of Worcester, Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, Dunwulf, bishop of Winchester, Wulfsig, bishop of London, Werebert, bishop of Leicester, the famous St. Neots, and some others, were the persons the king made use of in his scheme for the restoring of learning. To speak a word or two of each of them.

Wereford was bishop of Worcester in the reign of Burrhed, king of the Mercians, but when the Danes made themselves masters of that division, Werefrid was forced to retire beyond sea. His exile continued till Alfred recalled him. He was one of the first class for learning, at Alfred's court. He translated the Dialogues of Gregory the Great into English at the king's instance. In short, he had a great reputation when living, and was registered as a saint after his death.

A short character of some of them.

Plegmund was remarkably eminent for his skill in divinity, and always made one at the committees for learning and religion.

Dunwulf had a very low education, and is said to have been a herdsman ; however he had honesty enough to shelter the king in his distress ; who finding him a person of a great genius, and much above the business he was bred to, got him instructed in learning. His proficiency answered the king's expectation so far, that he promoted him to the see of Winchester, and used his advice in affairs of the greatest moment.

Alfred. Vit.
l. 2. p. 101,
102.

That Wulfsig, to say no more of him, was a prelate of value and distinction, appears by the king's letter to him above mentioned.

And as for St. Neots, he was an abbot of extraordinary strictness and regularity, of primitive zeal and courage for promoting the interest of religion. His reputation was so great, that he made a standing impression upon the place where he was buried ; and left the name of Neotstow upon Einsbury in Cornwall. And to honour his memory farther, earl Alrick's seat in Huntingdonshire was turned into a monastery on his account. And upon the removal of his corpse thither, the town had the name of St. Neots. This saint used to reprove king Alfred with great freedom, and was a sort of check upon the sallies of his youth. For though the

St. Neots.

ATHEL-
RED,
Abp. Cant.

king was a libertine in no part of his life, yet he might sometimes be too far pushed by his fancy, and want the assistance of good advice. St. Neots, who gained upon the king's opinion by degrees, was very serviceable upon such occasions, and prompted him to a great many noble undertakings. To throw in a word about his family: he was descended from the blood royal of the East Angles; and when that country was overrun by the Danes, he retired to the West Saxons for the advantages of study and devotion. He is said to have departed this life in the year 890.

167.

Alfred. Vit.
I. 2. p. 103.

These were the principal persons the king made use of to recover the Church and State; to retrieve his subjects from the disadvantages of an unlettered education; to inform their understandings, direct their conscience, and polish their manners. By the assistance, I say, of these learned men, the king was directed in his inquiry after men of parts and probity, who, being found out, were put into a method of education, and furnished with opportunities of improvement. And thus, in a short time, there were persons enough of competent learning to furnish the English sees, and support the character of a bishop.

Ibid.

And for fear the disadvantage of the times should be such that the learning of the present clergy might die with them, and not descend upon their successors, the king resolved upon making some provision for the instruction of posterity. To this purpose he translated Gregory the Great's Pastoral into English. Several copies of this version were transcribed, and one sent to every bishop, with an order they should be carefully preserved; and thus, if the clergy of future times should happen to be low in their education, and unacquainted with their duty, they might learn it from hence. The preface of this pastoral is written by way of letter to Wulfsig, bishop of London; I have mentioned some of it already, and shall give the reader part of the rest.

*Part of the
king's letter
to bishop
Wulfsig.*

“He conjures the bishop to communicate his knowledge, and transfuse his own good qualities as far as he can. Consider (says he) what punishment we have reason to expect even in this life, if we neither take care of our own improvement, nor consult the benefit of posterity. We vainly value ourselves upon the name of Christianity; but, alas! there are but a few of us that live answerably to that profession. These consider-

ations made me reflect, that though before these late times of ALFRED, K. of England. rapine and desolation, all the churches of the English were well stocked with books, yet many people were little the better for this advantage; because they were written in foreign languages which the people did not understand. Now, at first, I was somewhat surprised to find men of so great learning and piety, with which the country was plentifully furnished in former ages; to find these men, I say, omit the translation of, at least, some part of their libraries. But this difficulty I easily got over, by considering, that our ancestors had no apprehension we should ever have sunk to this degree of ignorance, and therefore declined the translating of books on purpose: imagining that the locking up learning in foreign languages would push people upon study and application, and, by consequence, promote their improvement. The king's letter proceeds to observe, that the Bible written in Hebrew was translated into Greek and Latin, and that all Christendom had some part of the inspired writings turned into their own language. For these reasons he thought it advisable to translate St. Gregory's Pastoral into English; for though the late commotions had discouraged learning, and made Latin an unintelligible language, yet a great many of his subjects were able to read English. He informs Wulfsig that he had a design that all the English, who had any thing of circumstances or sufficiency, should be obliged to educate their children to read English before they put them to any trade; and if they intended to have them preferred to any degree of notice and consideration, they should get them instructed in Latin. And lastly, as to the sense of translation, he declares that he had governed himself by the directions of Plegmund, Asserius, Grimbald, and John."

These books, as I observed, were sent to all the respective sees, and each copy had a style, or golden pen, worth fifty marks, fastened to it: both which were to be laid in the church, and all persons solemnly conjured not to remove either of them.

From this prefatory letter, we may see how strong the king's inclinations were to provide for the security of religion, to retrieve the study of learning, and promote the happiness of his people. To this purpose he mentions a scheme of founding schools throughout the kingdom. How far this project was executed is hard to determine; however, it is certain he settled

Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 379, 380.
Alfred, Vit.
l. 2, p. 104.
et deinc.

ATHIEL-
RED,
Abp. Cant.

Alfred. Vit.
l. 2. p. 107.

Ibid. l. 3.
p. 149.

*The anti-
quity of the
university of
Oxford
briefly con-
sidered.*

Twine, Apol.
De Alfred.
Reb. Gest.
p. 16.

a noble seat of learning at Oxford. Here he built and endowed three halls, settled a revenue for about eighty scholars, and formed them into a society under certain statutes and regulations. These three halls, called the Great, the Less, and the Little, were afterwards thrown into one society, and called by the name of University College.

Brian Twine sets the antiquity of Oxford much higher than the reign of Alfred. Sir John Spelman, on the other side, seems pretty well assured this prince was the first founder. Twine, amongst other arguments, insists upon a famous passage in Asserius; I shall transcribe it for the reader.

“The same year there happened a troublesome quarrel at Oxford, between Grimbold and the learned men he brought with him, on the one side, and the old scholars he found upon the place on the other; these latter refusing to go entirely into Grimbold’s plan, to submit to his regulations, and be governed by all his forms of reading. For the first three years they only growled at the innovation; but now the flame broke out, and they came to an open rupture. King Alfred being informed of this misunderstanding, went to Oxford to put an end to the dispute. The king had both parties brought before him, and here the old University men pretended, that learning had flourished there long before the coming of Grimbold, though the late descents of the pagans had discouraged the muses, and reduced the scholars to a lesser number. They likewise proved, from unquestionable records, that the constitutions and discipline of their University had been settled by several persons of eminence for erudition and piety; by St. Gildas, by Melkinus, by Nemrius, Kentigernus, and others, who all of them spent their time there in the pursuit of knowledge, governed without broils, and managed to the satisfaction of the society. They insisted, likewise, that St. Germanus, when he came into Britain to combat the Pelagian heresy, resided at Oxford a year and a half, and was mightily pleased with the methods and orders of the place. The king having heard the plea of both parties, with great patience and goodness, advised them to drop the dispute, and agree. But Grimbold being displeased with the issue of the debate, left the town, and retired to the new monastery of Winchester.”

This testimony, were it allowed, would be very considerable. But sir John Spelman contests the passage, observes it is not

in the copy published by archbishop Parker, and seems to tax Cambden, who inserted and commends it with partiality to his own University. And, which is more, primate Usher is positive for the interpolation of this authority, and affirms, that one of the most ancient copies of Asserius, written in Saxon characters, and preserved in the Cotton Library, has not a syllable of this dispute between Grimbold and the old Oxonians, nor any thing of the passage above mentioned. And this copy, the learned primate is of opinion, was either a transcript made by the author, or at least in the age immediately following. However, to make the authenticity of this testimony look somewhat probable, it is said, that Constantius of Lyons, in his life of St. German, mentions the University of the British country. Now this was before the reign of Sigebert, and therefore can be nothing but the University of Oxford. But here the archbishop proves that the sense of Constantius is clearly mistaken; and that, by *Universitas Britannicæ Regionis*, he meant no more than *Universa Regio*, or the whole country of Britain; for, as the learned primate proves, *Universitas* was so far from the modern signification in the age of Constantius, that even Cambden acknowledges this term was not used for a seminary of general learning till about the time of Henry III.

ALFRED,
K. of
England.
Alfred. Vit.
l. 3. p. 140,
141.

Usher. Brit.
tan. Eccles.
Antiquit.
p. 183, 184.

Another argument for the antiquity of the University of Oxford is taken from Whelock's note upon the fourth book of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, where, making a remark upon archbishop Theodore's industry in propagating learning throughout his province, that he read humanity to the Britons, and had a great many followers for his instructions; upon these words of Bede, "*congregata discipulorum caterva*," Whelock reports, from an ancient manuscript in Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, that a little town called Grekislake had its name from Theodore's having a public school there, and reading upon the languages. Now this Grekislake is supposed to be the same with Crecgelade; however, this is but conjecture without proof. But granting the supposition, what follows? Why then Whelock will tell us, that in an old Saxon manuscript, Crecgelade and Oxford are mentioned together; and so they might be, though they were considerably distant. But let that be as it will, it is plain, by the distinct mention, that Crecgelade and Oxford are not the same; so far from that, that Cambden assures us, Crecgelade, or Greeklade, stands in

Usher. *ibid.*
Cambd. in
Oxfordshire.

Bede, l. 4.
c. 2. p. 260.

ATHEL-RED, Abp. Cant. another county, is a little town in Wiltshire, and by consequence can give no assistance to the antiquity of Oxford.

Farther, we may observe that Bede, in his Ecclesiastical History, takes no notice of any such place as Oxford, which, had it been a public seat of learning, is hard to account for; and in his preface to king Ceolwulphus, where he mentions the memoirs from whence his history was extracted, in this preface, I say, he acquaints that king of his receiving materials from Rome, from Canterbury, and from the Church of Lindesfern, but is perfectly silent about any assistance from Oxford. Now, was this place an University in Bede's time, and yet without any monuments or records of Church history? Oxford was within the division of Mercia; was it not therefore the most likely place to have furnished an account of the conversion of that people? And yet Bede tells us he was supplied with this part of his history from the monastery of Lestingae, founded by St. Chad.

Bede in
Præfat. p. 3.

The famous Alcuinus passes this University over with the same silence, and that in a place where we have the least reason to expect it. In his letter to Charles the Great, where he mentions archbishop Egbert's fine library, and the flourishing condition of learning at York, he recommends the sending the youth of France into Britain for education. Whither would he have them sent? To the University of Oxford? Not a word of that. No; York was the place pointed out for learning and improvement. Alcuinus advises the young people of France to travel thither, "*Ut non sit tantum modo in Eboraco hortus conclusus, sed etiam in Turonica emissiones paradisi.*"

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. 1. 1.
fol. 12.

To this we may add, that Ingulphus and other historians, who describe the ravage of the Danes, and their burning the libraries in the monasteries of Croyland, Ely, &c., say nothing of the least damage done to Oxford; and yet the Danes overrun the whole kingdom of Mercia, and reduced king Alfred to the three counties of Hantshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. 1. 2.
fol. 23.
169.

Now, it is somewhat strange that these Danes, who destroyed all the monuments of learning in other places, should lay down the barbarity of their temper, and be so particularly civil to the University of Oxford! Or if they burnt and destroyed libraries here with their usual savageness, it is a wonder no historian should record the calamity, and take notice of so con-

siderable a loss. Besides, we may remember, king Alfred, in his letter to Wulfsig, complains, that there were very few on this side the Humber that either understood the Church prayers in English, or could so much as construe any Latin book. Was the ignorance of the south parts of England thus gross, and yet Oxford a seat of the muses at the same time? It is somewhat surprising the country should be thus barren, when watered by such a fountain! It is something odd, too, that so noble a seat of knowledge should not be excepted in the king's complaint, and rescued from so coarse a character! With submission, I think those who argue for the antiquity of this place, had better drop their pretensions, than make it an University without either learning or Latin.

Farther, the king, to carry on his design for the promoting of learning, sent for several eminent scholars beyond sea, as Grimbald, Johannes Scotus, &c. He likewise drew together some of his own subjects, as we have seen, to this purpose; but we do not find that Oxford furnished out any quota towards this business. Now, is it not very strange that an university should be able to contribute nothing upon such an occasion? Instead of this, we find Oxford wanted instructors herself; and that several of these learned men were sent thither, as we shall see afterwards.

Now if Oxford had been so famous a seminary as some will have it, what necessity was there for the king's entertaining foreigners? Why should he draw down auxiliaries from all quarters? Why should he be at all this trouble to no purpose? Why should he reproach the ignorance of the University with so needless a project, and lay such an undeserved imputation upon them at so much expense?

But lastly, sir John Spelman proves from the concessions in Twine's apology, that king Alfred was not the restorer but the founder of the University of Oxford. He begins his testimonies with the annals of Winchester, which speak to this purpose:—

“In the year of our Lord 886, which was the second of St. Grimbald's arrival in England, the University of Oxford was begun. The professors were these—the abbot St. Neots and Grimbald read divinity; Asserius, the monk, set up a chair for grammar and rhetoric; John, a monk of St. David's, taught logic, arithmetic, and music; and another John, a companion of Grimbald's, professed mathematics and

ALFRED,
K. of
England.

*King Alfred
owned to be
the founder
of Oxford.
A. D. 886.*

ATHEL-
RED,
Abp. Cant.

Twine,
Apol. 1. 2.
sect. 176.
Alfred. Vit.
1. 3. p. 147,
148.
Apol. 1. 1.
sect. 2. 1. 2.
sect. 172.
Alfred. Vit.
1. 3. *ibid.*

Twine,
Apol. 1. 2.
sect. 218.

Apol. 1. 2.
sect. 219.
Alfred. Vit.
1. 3. p. 149.
*No decision
of the
question.*

A. D. 889.
*The death of
Athelred,
archbishop of
Canterbury.*
Ang. Sacr.
part 1. p. 4.
*Several
synods.*

astronomy." Thus far the annals of Winchester. Higden, Rosse, and Rudburn, might be cited to the same purpose. Rosse is very explicit, and reports, "That at the first foundation of the University the king built three halls within the walls of Oxford. That one of them, for the accommodation of six-and-twenty that studied grammar, was called the Little Hall; that another, where provision was made for six-and-twenty logicians and philosophers, was called the Lesser Hall; and that the third, which entertained six-and-twenty divines, had the name of the Great Hall." From hence sir John Spelman proceeds to cite the letters of the university to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, in which it is acknowledged, "That his highness was the greatest benefactor they ever had excepting king Alfred, the founder of the university." And lastly, he quotes the old Bedel's books, where it is said, "That upon St. Martin's eve it was an ancient custom at Oxford to pray for the souls of their benefactors in the schools, and especially for king Alfred's soul, the first founder of this university."

And thus, though I have represented something upon this subject, I do not pretend to determine; the reader is to judge for himself. He may try the cause farther, and examine Twine, Wood, and Caius, if he pleases. However, I humbly conceive the credit of either university is sufficiently established without the advantage in point of time. There is no need of torturing a text, catching at bare possibilities, and applying almost to romances for relief. They are, both of them, without contest, the most illustrious seats of learning in Europe. And since they are thus well founded in merit, what occasion is there to strain for antiquity, to have recourse to questionable records, and run as it were into the dark for light and evidence? However, it must be said in behalf of Oxford, that it has the honour of one of the most glorious English princes for its founder, and above eight hundred years of undoubted antiquity. I wish I could draw a descent for Cambridge of the same length, and set so great a person at the top of the pedigree. But I will not pretend to any great skill in this sort of heraldry, and therefore shall dismiss the argument.

In the year of our Lord 887, Athelred, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, and after two years' vacancy was succeeded by Plegmund. About this time, though it is hard to determine the precise year, there were several Welsh synods

held under the bishops of Llandaff, in which Teudur, Gurean, Hovel, and some other petty princes of that country, were excommunicated; one of them for perjury and murder; another for incest with his mother-in-law; and a third for seizing the revenues of the church. These censures were published in a synod, in which the bishops of Llandaff presided. That they were convened about this time appears probable enough from a passage in Asserius, where the names of most of the excommunicated princes are mentioned upon another occasion. "At that time," says he, (viz. anno Dom. 887,) "all the country of South Wales belonged to king Alfred;" or, as the Latin has it, "omnes regiones dextralis Britanniae partis ad Alfred regem pertinebant, et adhuc pertinent." Now that South Wales is meant by "dextralis Britanniae pars," appears by the author's calling it "Demetica regio" in the next line. Thus he calls Sussex "regio dextraliū Saxonum." But to proceed to a list of the princes that submitted to king Alfred. And here he tells us, Hemeid, with all the division of South Wales, and six of the sons of Rotrus, or Clotrus, were forced to a submission to king Alfred. Hovel, also, the son of Ris, king of Gleguising, and Broachmail, and Fernail, sons of Mouric, kings of Guent, being harassed by the Mercians, their neighbours, put themselves under the protection of king Alfred. The same measures were likewise taken by Helised, son of Teudur, king of Brecknock. Thus we see the names of most of these princes are the same with those in the synods collected by sir Henry Spelman.

ALFRED,
K. of
England.

Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1. p. 331.

170.

Asser. de
Alfred. Reb.
Gest. fol. 15.
Ibid. fol. 14.

The next remarkable accident which occurs is the death of king Alfred, which, according to Asserius, happened in the year 900, though the Saxon chronicle places it a year forward. Now this prince being so eminent in his station, and making so shining a figure, it may not be amiss to add something farther concerning the rest of his character.

Malmesbury and others relate that he divided the four-and-twenty hours of day and night into three parts, eight hours of it he spent in reading, writing, and prayer; eight hours in sleep and other refreshments; and the remaining third was employed in dispatches of government. His inclinations for virtue and sobriety were remarkable in the most critical periods of life. When he was in the heat of his youth, and the strength

CENT. X.
*The death of
king Alfred.*
A. D. 900.

*The remain-
der of his
character.*

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
1. 2. fol. 24.

PLEG-
MUND,
Abp. Cant.

Alfred. Vit.
l. 3. p. 163.

Ibid. p. 164.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. fol. 25.

Asser. de
Alfred. Reb.
Gest. fol. 17.

Ibid. fol. 14.

Ethelwerd.
Chronicor.
l. 4. c. 3.

of his passions, he used to rise in the night, walk privately into the church, and pray that God would fortify him with his grace ; and rather than run the risk of a libertine practice, he begged some check might be put upon his health to secure his conduct, and abate the edge of desire. The piety of his youth held on through the several stages of his life ; the licence of the camp made no impression upon his virtue ; the continual exercises of war, and the necessary ruggedness of some part of the military profession, had no unhappy effect upon him, nor weakened the sweetness of his disposition ; his munificence and charity were extraordinary, as appears by the management of his fortune ; he divided his revenues into two parts, and then subdivided the first moiety into three, with one third of which he paid the salaries of his court, another third was expended in buildings, and the third was bestowed upon strangers and indigents that travelled hither. The other moiety was thrown into four divisions ; one of which was distributed among the English that were poor, the monasteries had a second portion, the scholars (I suppose the Oxonians) a third, and the transmarine Churches were presented with a fourth.

As for his genius, the strength and universality of it was extraordinary. The new way of building ships, by which he prevailed upon the Danes, was his invention. He was a considerable architect ; drew models with great beauty and exactness, and taught the English to build with more regularity and magnificence than formerly.

And since he was so great a promoter of learning among his subjects, it is but justice to take notice of his own. He was twelve years of age before his education touched the least upon letters ; afterwards he applied himself heartily this way, and had a great relish for books. And when he came to the crown he always entertained learned men at his court, such as Plegmund, Werefrid, &c., who at the intervals of public busi-

ness used to read to him. Afterwards he advanced to a remarkable proficiency, and translated St. Gregory's Pastoral, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, Boëthius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, and a great many others, as his kinsman Ethelwerdus relates of him. He made collections of laws, and wrote several other tracts mentioned by Bale and Pitts, too long to insert. He is likewise said to have translated the Old and New

Testament into English. However, it is on all hands agreed ALFRED, K. of England. that he undertook the translation of the Book of Psalms, but Alfred. Vit. l. 3. p. 167. died when it was about half finished.

He was very constant in his devotion, used to frequent the public service every day; slip sometimes from his court into the church, and seldom missed any stated hours of prayer, either by day or night. He was a prince of great condescension, and inoffensive pleasantness in conversation; easy of access, and had nothing that was rugged, contemptuous, or disobliging in his behaviour. Asser. fol. 13.

As for his reputation in the field, nothing can be better established. He commanded in more battles than Julius Cæsar, distinguished himself with all imaginable bravery, and fought up to the character of a hero in romance. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. l. 2. fol. 24.

In short, he appears to have been almost a prodigy of sense, virtue, and greatness. To look on the devout part of him, he seems to have lived always in a cloister. By his conduct and exploits in the field, one would think his genius and time had been wholly spent in the camp. By his writings, one would conclude the university had engrossed him. And, lastly, by the prudence of his administration, and skill in the art of government, he seems to have made law and politics his whole study. He paid, it is true, a great deference to the pope. The present of the Peter pence was several times sent to Rome, by the hands of bishops, and other great men. Pope Marinus, likewise, was friendly in his turn, sent the king some of our Saviour's cross, and discharged the Saxon school from the payment of taxes. But notwithstanding these civilities, we meet with no letters of compliment or submission: we find no learned men sent from Rome, to assist the king in his scheme for the revival of the arts and sciences. There is no intercourse of legates upon record; no interposings in the councils, and regulations in the Church; no bulls of privilege for the new abbeys of Winchester and Athelney; and, which is more, king Alfred, as we have seen, entertained Johannes Scotus Erigena, and treated him with great regard, notwithstanding the discountenance he lay under at Rome. From all which we may conclude, the correspondence between England and Rome was not very close; and that this prince and the English Church were not servilely governed by that see. 171. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. d. 887. Chronolog. Saxon. et Vit. Alfred. l. 3.

To conclude. Posterity had so great a veneration for the

PLEG-
MUND,
Abp. Cant.

memory of king Alfred, that he has sometimes the title of a saint bestowed upon him; and, which is more, his name stands in the calendar of the English martyrology, printed in the year 1608, and in two Saxon calendars, cited by the learned annotator upon the Saxon translation of the New Testament: the day of his death is registered upon the six-and-twentieth of October. And so much for the glorious king Alfred.

A. D. 900.
Alfred. Vit.
l. 3. p. 171.
in notis.

King Edward enlarges his dominions, and succeeds against the Danes.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Regum Angl.
l. 2. fol. 25.

Edward, Alfred's son, succeeded, and reigned three-and-twenty years. This prince, though much inferior to his father in point of learning, was somewhat more fortunate in the field, and had a greater extent of dominion: for he took the kingdoms of the East Angles and Northumbrians out of the Danes' hands; forced the Scots and Welch to own his sovereignty, and was all along so successful as never to receive a rebuke in any one battle. He checked the excursions of the Danes by fortifying his great towns, and putting strong garrisons in them. Besides, the length of the war had so disciplined his men, and hardened their courage to such a degree, that whenever they heard the enemy approaching, they would frequently sally out and fight them, without orders from their general; and in these party skirmishes they always had the better. Neither had those recruits that came from Denmark any better fortune. Ethelwold, the king's cousin-german, headed these foreigners, and gave Edward some disturbance in the beginning of his reign. But the king surmounted the difficulty, and suppressed the rebellion. Here Malmesbury touches upon the character of Ethelfleda, king Edward's sister, and Ethelred duke of Mercia's widow. The historian tells us, this princess was a lady of great courage and abilities; that she was very popular, and proved a great support to the king's interest; was well qualified for the council-board, and put the king upon several serviceable projects. She died five years before her brother, and was buried in the monastery of St. Peter's, in Gloucester, which was founded by her and her husband, Ethelred.

Malmesb.
ibid.
A. D. 904.
Pope Formosus's bull of excommunication against king Edward inconsistent with chronology.

In the year of our Lord 904, as Malmesbury reports, pope Formosus sent a bull of excommunication into England, in which the king, and all his subjects, were struck with the censure. The reason of the pope's severity, as the historian relates, was occasioned by a neglect in the ecclesiastical ad-

ministration; for it seems there was a vacancy in the West Saxon sees for seven years together. The king, finding the pope thus angry, convened the great men of the kingdom, where Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, laid the pope's censure fully before them: upon this the king and the bishops not only filled up the vacancies, but erected three new sees in the country of the West Saxons. In short, Plegmund is said to have consecrated seven bishops at Canterbury at one solemnity. Before this consecration, he took a journey to Rome, presented the pope nobly, and addressing his holiness with great submission, reported the king's expedient; which being approved by the pope, the archbishop returned, and proceeded to the consecrations above mentioned. Thus far Malmesbury. The register of the priory of Canterbury speaks much to the same purpose, but with this remarkable addition, that there was a particular provision made for the Cornish men, to recover them from their errors: for that county, as the record speaks, refused to submit to truth, and took no notice of the pope's authority.

ED-
WARD,
K. of
England.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 2. fol. 26.

*The Cornish
Britons in-
dependent of
the pope.*
Spelman,
Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 387, 388.

By the way, we are to observe, that these Cornish men were Britons, and a succession of that Church that refused to submit to the jurisdiction of Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury: and thus continuing all along in the sentiments of their predecessors, it is no wonder if we find them represented under a character of disadvantage, and censured for refusing to be governed by the pope.

Parsons, in his answer to sir Edward Coke's reports, makes a great flourish upon this bull, and produces it as a strong instance of the pope's authority, not only over the bishops, but the kings of England. But after all, this bull, upon examination, will be found inconsistent with chronology: the most favourable date of it is fixed to the year 904. But Formosus, as Baronius informs us, died in the year 896; and in 897, was dragged out of his grave, and horribly insulted, by Stephen, his successor.

*The Catho-
lic Divines'
Answer to
Sir Edward
Coke,*
p. 136, 137.
Malmesb.
fol. 26.
Baron. An-
nal. tom. 10.
Baron. ad
an. 987.
*Baronius
and Cressy
endeavour to
disentangle
the difficul-
ties of the
bull, but with-
out success.*

Baronius, to salve the credit of the bull, thinks Malmesbury or the transcriber mistaken; and that the year 904 was inserted for 894. This correction of the cardinal's sets the matter right as to Formosus, and brings the bull within the compass of his pontificate; but then what he gets in the pope, he loses in the king: for it is certain Edward never had the

172.

PLEG-
MUND,
Abp. Cant.

title of king till after his father's death, which fell not till the year 900, according to the earliest account. And therefore if pope Formosus dispatched any such bull, it must bear date in the reign of king Alfred. But since our historians take notice of no quarrel between Alfred and the pope, why should we suppose his holiness should make use of such rigorous methods, and pass to the extremity of censure, without disgust and provocation?

Cressy ventures to contradict Malmesbury and Baronius in several material points. It is true he assigns the bull to Formosus, but then he interprets the contents to a different sense, makes no mention of the king's being struck at, and that the excommunication was only threatened, without execution. This bull he places to the year 894, and reports it directed only to the English bishops. To give Mr. Cressy his due, this account agrees pretty exactly with sir Henry Spelman's copy. But then in his conjecture upon the reason of the pope's displeasure, he seems very much out. The pope, in the beginning of his letter, taxes the English with the practice of some execrable pagan customs, lately revived, and blames the bishops for their silence upon the occasion. These abominable heathenish customs, Cressy interprets to the insobriety of the clergy. They deviated, as he calls it, from their former chastity; that is, according to the modern notion of that word amongst the Roman Catholics, they did not live single. Now though the marriage of the clergy was discountenanced by the Roman see, yet I do not find they ever called it a pagan abomination, or branded it with such a character of infamy as this amounts to; neither is there anything in the bull that determines the complaint to this meaning. But Cressy goes farther upon new ground, supposes two excommunications threatened; one by Formosus in the year 894, and another by John IX. in the year 905; and that king Edward, and his subjects, were menaced by this latter. But here he is very unfortunate in his authorities, one of which is Malmesbury: for this historian not only differs a year in the date from Cressy, but assigns it to a distant pope, and says positively it was Formosus. Polydore Virgil is Cressy's other voucher. It is true this author tells us king Edward was severely reprimanded, and threatened with an excommunication, unless the bishops were speedily convened, and the discipline of the

Cressy's
Church
History,
p. 787.
Spelm. Con-
cil, vol. 1.
p. 338.

Cressy's
Church
History,
p. 800.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Reg.
Angl. l. 2.
c. 5. fol. 26.
Polydor.
Virgil. l. 6.
p. 108.

Church restored. But what pope was this? Polydore tells us, it was John X. and not John IX., as Cressy relates; and so the story sinks under the weight of chronology: for John X. was not promoted to the papacy till about ten years after Cressy's period.

ED-
WARD,
K. of
England.

Thus we see the bull, by which the king and kingdom is threatened with excommunication, will not hold. As to what historians report, concerning the consecration of seven bishops by Plegmund, there is no reason to question the matter of fact. But as to the time, this circumstance is much perplexed; Malmesbury seems to place it to the year 904; Florilegus and the Canterbury register assign it to the year 905. But this will not do: for at this solemnity two of the new consecrated prelates are said to be promoted to the sees of Winchester and Sherburn. But how could this be? for both these bishoprics were full at this period. For instance, Dene-wulfus was bishop of Winchester from the year 879 to 909. And Asserius, bishop of Sherburn, continued upon the see till the same year.

*Three new
sees erected.*

Florent.
Vigorn.
Chronolog.
Saxon.

To disentangle this difficulty, the learned Mr. Wharton pitches upon this expedient: he is of opinion the synod mentioned by Malmesbury was convened by the king and the archbishop, in the year 904 or 905; that in this synod the erection of three new bishoprics was determined; and that these new sees were to be taken out of the dioceses of Winchester and Sherburn: however, they did not think it proper to lessen these sees till after the death of the present bishops. Now it so happened, that both the bishops of Winchester and Sherburn died in the year 909. There was a vacancy, also, in Mercia and Sussex at the same time. Things standing thus, the provision of the late synod was satisfied by founding three new bishoprics, and the four old vacancies were likewise supplied. And thus we have the number of seven bishops consecrated together by Plegmund: and as for the time, we must take Radulphus de Diceto's account, who fixes it to the year 909. The names of the consecrated prelates were Fridstan, bishop of Winchester, Werestan of Sherburn, Kenulph of Dorchester, Beornock of Selsea, Athelm of Wells, Eadulph of Crediton, or Kirton, in Devonshire, and Athelstan of St. Petrox, or Padstow, in Cornwall. These three sees last mentioned were newly erected; particularly, the see in Cornwall

Abbreviat.
Chronicor.
Angl. Sacr.
pars. 1.
p. 554, 555.

Ibid.

PLEG-
MUND,
Abp. Cant.

seems to have been set up to bring the inhabitants to an acknowledgment of the Roman see, and a conformity to the English Church.

But as for the pope's excommunication, or his confirmation of the new erected bishoprics, neither Asserius, in his annals, nor the Saxon chronicle, take any notice of them: and therefore it is probable that Malmesbury, Higden, &c., when they mentioned these circumstances, described the customs of their own times. And because they saw the popes interpose in the English Church upon every considerable occasion, they concluded the pretences of that see had been always the same; which is a great mistake.

About this time Gregory, king of Scotland, a prince of admirable qualities, summoned a convention of the estates at Forfar, where the following privileges and immunities were settled upon the Church, viz.:

173.

That all priests should be exempted from taxes; from keeping watch and ward, and serving in the field against the enemy. That they should not be forced to appear in secular courts of justice for any civil cause: but that all pleas and controversies relating to them should be tried by their bishops. Matrimonial causes, right of tithes, testaments, and all verbal contracts and promises, were made part of the bishops' jurisdiction; the making canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, the trial of heresy, blasphemy, perjury, and witchcraft, were likewise brought within the cognizance of the Church. And, lastly, it was enacted and statuted, that all succeeding kings, at their coronation, should swear to maintain the clergy in these rights and liberties.

Spotswood's
History of
the Church
of Scotland,
book 2. p. 26.

To return to England and king Edward. In this prince's reign the treaty between Alfred and the Danes was renewed, and the old laws, agreed upon by the two princes, confirmed. This, as sir Henry Spelman conjectures, was done in the year 906; for then, as Florence of Worcester and Huntingdon report, the pagans of the East Angles and Northumberland perceiving Edward invincible, made a peace with him at a place called Intingford. But neither of these historians give us the name of the Danish king. Now at the convention mentioned by sir Henry Spelman, it is said the ecclesiastical laws were confirmed by Edward the Elder, king of England, and Guthrum, king of the Danes in the East Angles. But

Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 395.
Flor. of
Wor. and
An. 906.
Huntingd.
Histor. l. 5.
fol. 202.

here lies the difficulty; Guthrum was the Danish prince that treated with king Alfred, and died in the year 890. How then could this prince treat with Edward the Elder, in the year 906, and ratify the articles agreed on, in the reign of king Alfred? To disentangle this difficulty, we must either suppose two Guthrums, or else correct the text, and read Ebroic, who, as sir Henry Spelman reports from Malmesbury, succeeded Guthrum in the kingdom of the East Angles.

EDWARD, K. of England.
A. D. 906.
Chronolog.
Saxon. Huntingd. Hist.
l. 5. fol. 201.

Spelm. Concil. vol. 1.
p. 395.

King Edward, remembering how much his father had encouraged learning at Oxford, is said to have imitated something of this munificence at Cambridge. Rudburn tells us, he repaired the University of Cambridge. Whether he means with respect to the buildings, or the state of learning, or both, is uncertain. However, Fuller, to make him a considerable benefactor to this place, cites a manuscript charter of privileges, lodged in the library of Clare Hall, which runs thus:

Rudburn, in Angl. Sacr. pars 1. p. 209.

“In nomine D. Jesu Christi, ego Edvardus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, divino compulsus amore, præcepto Johannis apostolicæ sedis episcopi, ac Plegmundi Cantuar. archiepisc. consilio, omnium sacerdotum, et principum meæ dominationis, universa et singula privilegia, doctoribus, et scholaribus Cantabrigiæ, nec non servientibus eorundem (uti ab olim viguit indesinenter mater philosophiæ, et reperitur in presenti fons clerimoniæ) a me data, seu ab antecessoribus meis quomodo libet concessa, stabili jure grata, et rata decerno durare, quam diu vertigo poli circa terras, atque equora, ethera, syderum justo moderamine volvit. Datum in Granticestria anno ab incarnatione D. 915. Venerabili fratri Frithstano civitatis scholarium Cantabrig. cancellario, et doctori per suum,” &c.

King Edward's charter to Cambridge.

Fuller's Church History, book 2, p. 125.

There are several things which look somewhat singular in this charter. I shall just mention one or two of them: first, the ancient privileges are said to be confirmed “præcepto Johannis,” &c. by the commands of pope John. This submission of style is somewhat suspicious. King Alfred founded the University of Oxford without so much as consulting the pope, or taking any of his directions, as far as it appears. Why then must his son Edward be so much governed by his holiness upon a lesser occasion? We do not find the court of Rome had gained so considerably upon the kings of England in

PLEG-
MUND,
Abp. Cant.

this short interval. Could not king Edward confirm the ancient privileges of this University, without the pope's precept for his warrant? Besides, this pope was John X. a person scandalous both for his intrusion, and immorality; and therefore, was very unlikely to have any extraordinary respect paid him.

Baron. An-
nal. tom. 10.
ad an. 12.
et deinceps.

Secondly, the grant of the privileges is made to the doctors, &c. This clause is confirmed by Ross, an antiquary in the reign of king Edward IV. His authority is an ancient inscription on a table or plate, hung up in Hyde Abbey, near Winchester; the record speaking of this Edward the Elder is as follows:—

“Propterea ad clerimoniam augmentandum sicut pater suus Oxoniam, sic ipse ab antiquo cum cæteris studiis generalibus suspensam, desolatam et destructam Cantabrigiam, iterum ad primam gloriam erexit, necnon ibi aulas studentium et doctorum magistrorumque cathedras et sedilia — suis sumptibus erigi et fabricari precepit,” &c. This Ross, as Fuller observes, was an Oxford man, and therefore we cannot suppose him pre-
Fuller, *ibid.* possessed to partiality for Cambridge. But after all, the title of doctor was much later than the reign of this king Edward. Rhenanus tells us, that about the year 1140, those that read publicly upon Peter Lombard's sentences began to be called doctors. So that this distinction is supposed to be no older than the twelfth century; and according to sir Henry Spelman, the degree of doctor was not much known in England till the reign of king John. And even in Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge, Humphrey Necton, who lived in the latter end of the reign of Henry III., is the first doctor we meet with. However, it must be said, that Petrus Blesensis, who lived in Henry II.'s reign, reports, that England was much improved by the University of Cambridge, which furnished the country with a great many learned men, whom he mentions under the distinction of masters and doctors; his words are, “Videmus nunc lætificatam civitatem Dei, et totam Angliam factam frugiferam per plurimos magistros et doctores de Cantabrigia exeuntes ad similitudinem sancti Paradisi” But,

Præfat. in
Tertull.

Spelman,
Glossar. in
Verbo Ma-
gister. Ful-
ler, p. 19.

174.

Per. Bles-
sens Conti-
nuat. ad
Hist. In-
gulph.
p. 115.

Thirdly, the fustian in the phraseology is another disadvantage to the record. The sentence of “vertigo poli,” &c. does

ED-
WARD,
K. of
England.

not seem to be drawn up by a court secretary. For notwithstanding the age might be something low in learning, yet we do not find such trifling flights as this in any of the royal charters in Ingulphus. But not to insist upon all the difficulties, I am afraid it is no easy matter to get over Frithstan, and the titles about him. To take him as he stands in the charter, "*Venerabili fratri Frithstano civitatis scholarium Cantabrig. cancellario*," &c. Here Frithstan is called "*frater venerabilis*" by the king. What, then, was he the king's brother by birth? That cannot be said. Did he call him so then by custom and condescension? That is without precedent. Frithstan then, to make sense of the style, must be a friar. But which way can this distinction consist with his office? He is said to be a vice-chancellor; for that is the meaning of *cancellarius* for a considerable time after the Norman conquest. But if Frithstan was a monk, how could he disengage from his cloister, perform the functions of his new station, and govern the university? But I shall ask no more of these questions.

Another objection may be raised from the circumstance of time. The charter is dated in the year of our Lord 915. Now it seems not improbable, that the Danes were possessed of Cambridge at this time: for Cambridge, it is well known, was part of the East Angles. This division, as we have seen, was granted by king Alfred to Guthrum the Dane: and if Cambridge was under the Danish jurisdiction, what authority had king Edward to grant privileges to the subjects of a foreign dominion? That the case stood thus, appears probable by the Saxon chronicle. Here we are told, that in the year 921, six years posterior to the date of this charter, king Edward marched with his forces to Colchester, and repaired the fortifications. That then a great many of the East Angles, who were under the government of the Danes, came in to the king, and owned him for their sovereign; and particularly, that the army at Cambridge submitted to his protection, and received him upon his own terms. And here, by the army at Cambridge, we are in all likelihood to understand the Danish army; for we do not read of any rebellion of the English against king Edward about this time. And if the matter of fact stood thus, the inferences above mentioned seem to follow. However, after all, notwithstanding the perplexities in this

ATHEL-
NUS,
Abp. Cant.

charter, and in the table of Hyde Abbey, it does not follow, but that Cambridge might be a seminary of learning in the reign of Edward the Elder: for the unauthenticity of a record disproves no farther than the privileges pretended to be granted by it. Truth is one thing, and evidence another; and it must be said, that Cambridge lies under a particular misfortune in this point. For in the insurrection headed by Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, in the reign of king Richard II. the rebels entered the town, seized the university records, and burnt them in the market-place.

A. D. 923.
*The death of
archbishop
Plegmund.*
Chronol.
Saxon. Ste-
phen Ber-
kington.
Angl. Sacr.
pars 1.
Radulphus
de Diceto,
de Archi-
episc. Can-
tuariens.
Angl. Sacr.
pars 2, p. 681.
Asser. de
Alfredi Re-
bus Gestis.
Antiquit.
Britan. p. 74.

In the year of our Lord 923, Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life. This prelate was born in Mercia, in the ninth century. He was a person of extraordinary learning for his time. At first he lived a hermit in Cheshire, the place being since called Plegmundsham. He was afterwards made preceptor to king Alfred: and upon his election to the see of Canterbury, went to Rome for his consecration. Not long after, this prelate, with the rest of the bishops and religious, made a great collection of money, which by king Alfred's order was remitted to Rome, and some part of it to Jerusalem. As for the rest of his life, it has been given already. He was buried in Christ's Church, Canterbury. Athelnus, first abbot of Glassenbury, thence promoted to the see of Wells, succeeded Plegmund.

A. D. 924.
*King Ed-
ward's suc-
cess against
the North-
umbrians,
Danes,
Scotch, and
Welsh.*
Chronolog.
Saxon.
Brady's
History of
England,
p. 118.

The next year king Edward had an acknowledgment of sovereignty paid him by the king and kingdom of Scotland. The petty princes of Northumberland, both Danish and Saxons, submitted to him. The king likewise of Stræcdel-wales and his subjects received him for their sovereign. These Stræcdel Welsh were a clan of Britons, which were seated in Galloway in Scotland. And here Buchanan confesses, that the English army, though far inferior to the Danes, who had the Scots for their auxiliaries, gained a great victory, and took Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scots: but then he will by no means acknowledge the submission of Scotland. And now king Edward having outed the Danes, reduced the petty princes of Northumberland, and gained considerably upon the Welsh and Scots, departed this life, leaving behind him the character of a great and successful prince. He was buried with his father king Alfred, in the abbey of Winchester.

Buchanan,
Rer. Scoti-
cor. l. 6.

Chronolog.
Saxon.
A. D. 925.

After the death of king Edward, his eldest son Athelstan was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, by Athelnus, archbishop of Canterbury. This ceremony of crowning and anointing the English kings by some prelate was, as far as I can discover, first used in the reign of king Alfred. The beginning of this prince's reign was disturbed by one Elfred, a nobleman, who formed a conspiracy against him, pretending a blemish upon his birth, and that his mother was never married to king Edward. This Elfred being apprehended, was sent to Rome to purge himself before pope John. He made no scruple of standing this test, but swore his innocence at St. Peter's altar. And here Malmesbury relates, from king Athelstan's charter, that Elfred fell down at the altar immediately after he had taken the oath, and being carried by his servants to the English school, survived his perjury but three days.

ATHELSTAN,
K. of
England.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Re-
gum Angl.
l. 2. c. 6.
Rudburne,
Hist. Major.
Winton.
Angl. Sacr.
pars 1.
p. 207.

175.

Athelstan, soon after his coronation, began to enter upon action, and gave great expectations of his government. The terror of his name kept his enemies quiet, and none but the Northumbrians disputed his authority. Sihtricus, a Danish prince related to Guthrum, was possessed of this country, and stood as it were at some defiance against the late kings of England. But the reputation of Athelstan's arms made him court his friendship, address him with presents, and desire an alliance. Athelstan gave him his sister in marriage : but Sihtricus living but a year after this treaty, Athelstan seized the kingdom of Northumberland, as parcel of the crown of England ; and suppressed an insurrection raised by one Aldulphus. Athelstan pushed on the advantages of this beginning, carried his conquests beyond the English limits, and forced Ludwal king of Wales, and Constantine of Scotland, to resign their kingdoms. However, being a prince of great generosity and good nature, it was not long before he returned them their dominions, upon the terms of homage. As for Constantine, he neither proved grateful for the obligation, nor just to the treaty ; but entered into a confederacy with Analavus, Sihtricus's son, and assisted him in his attempt upon Northumberland. Athelstan drew down his forces against them, and coming to a battle, gave them an entire defeat ; where Constantine, king of the Scots, five other petty princes, twelve earls, and a vast number of common soldiers, were cut off. As for the Welsh, they paid

Malmesb.
fol. 28.

*Athelstan an
enterprising
and success-
ful prince.*

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 26.

ATHEL-
NUS,
Abp. Cant.
Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 27.

him yearly twenty pound weight in gold, three hundred in silver, and five thousand beeves, by way of tribute. The Cornish Britons likewise were reduced by him, forced to quit Exeter, and keep within the bounds of the river Tamar, as Wye was the frontier of the other clans of the Welsh.

Malmesb.
fol. 29.

The only blemish upon Athelstan's reign, was the rigour with which he treated his brother Edwin. This young prince was charged with a plot against the king's life. It is thought he was wronged by the informers: however, the king gave credit to these depositions, and had him banished. And here the circumstances of sending him off were extremely cruel. He was put on board only with one servant, without either rigging or crew to sail the vessel: and being overtaken with a storm in the midst of his passage, and not having patience to go through with the fatigue, or it may be despairing of getting to land, he jumped into the sea, and was lost. Athelstan, upon the hearing this misfortune, and inquiring further into the matter, perceived he had been too precipitate in his revenge; and having great remorse of conscience for the rigour, he submitted to seven years' penance, and executed the informer against his brother.

Malmesb.
ibid.

*The synod of
Graetley.*

A. D. 928.
Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 407.

There were several synods, or rather mixed conventions of Church and State, held in this prince's reign. Sir Henry Spelman mentions four convened at Exeter, Feversham, Thunderfield, and London: to these we must add that at Graetley, which was the most considerable. These synods were all held within the compass of sixteen years, for Athelstan's reign reached no farther. The synod at Graetley, sir Henry Spelman fixes to the year 928, and the rest to the ten years following.

The constitutions of the council of Graetley are these.

The first enjoins the payment of tithes, both personal and predial. The bishops, governors of the county, and the king's officers, are particularly charged to give a good example in this point, and take care this order be punctually observed.

Farther, the king commands all his officers or governors of the towns belonging to the crown, to maintain a poor man in diet, and furnish him with a suit of clothes every year. This charity seems to be at the king's charge. Each of these officers are likewise obliged to manumise a slave. And if they hap-

pened to fail in the performance of the premises, they were to forfeit thirty shillings, to be distributed by the bishop among the poor.

Secondly, He that is convicted by all the circumstances of an ordeal trial, to have broken into a church, is left to the penalty of the law.

The third is against witchcraft and idolatrous sacrifices, and against those that countenance robbers: particularly, if any persons endeavour to free a thief or highwayman, he is to forfeit a hundred and twenty shillings to the king.

Fourthly, The king ordains, that there should be none but one sort of money current through the kingdom: and that it should not be lawful for any person to coin money, excepting in a town licensed for that purpose. And if any person belonging to the mint shall be convicted of debasing the coin below the standard, his right hand was to be cut off, and nailed upon the outside of the mint. If any person, prosecuted upon suspicion for adulterating the coin, is willing to purge himself by ordeal, let him be tried by clapping a hot iron upon his hand; if the experiment makes a guilty impression, and he appears cast by this test, let the law pass upon him, as in the case above mentioned.

At the end of this head, the places for coining money are mentioned. Canterbury was to have seven minters or mints; four for the king, two for the archbishop, and one for the abbot of St. Augustine's. Rochester was to have three; two for the king, and one for the bishop. London was to have eight; Winchester, six; Lewes, two; Hastings, one; Chichester, one; Southampton, two; Exeter, two; Shaftesbury, two; Wareham, two: and every other great town was to have one.

The fifth regulates the circumstances and solemnity of the trial ordeal. Any suspected person that offered to purge himself this way, was obliged to these preliminaries. He was to go to the parish priest three days beforehand, and eat nothing but bread, salt, water, and salad, during this time: he was likewise obliged to be at mass, and offer according to custom: when the day of the trial came, he was to receive the consecrated bread, and swear himself innocent of the crime laid to his charge. Then, if cold water was to be the ordeal test, let him be plunged, says the law, under water to the depth of an ell and a half. But if the trial is to be made by a hot iron, let

ATHEL-
STAN,
K. of
England.

WULF-
HELM,
Abp. Cant.

his hand be bound up and sealed, and not be opened till three days after he has undergone the test. As for the prosecutor, he was to take an oath that he did not prosecute out of interest or ill will. He was likewise obliged to the same abstinence of diet with the other, and neither of them were to appear with above twelve in their company. If the person accused came to his trial with a greater number, and refused to dismiss them, it amounted to a conviction in law.

Sixthly, If any man bought a commodity before witness, and it happened to be challenged by a third person, the seller was to warrant the bargain, and make the sale good. By this law, buying and selling upon the Sunday was forbidden, under the penalty of forfeiting the thing sold, and fining thirty shillings to the king.

Seventhly, If any person is convicted of perjury, his testimony shall signify nothing for the future ; neither shall he be buried in consecrated ground, unless there is a certificate from the bishop produced, of his compliance with his penance. And here the parish priest is to certify the bishop of the person's behaviour within thirty days after the penance enjoined. And in case the priest fails in giving this information, he is to be punished at the diocesan's discretion.

Eighthly, The bishops are put in mind to promote justice, both with respect to ecclesiastical and civil causes. They are to take care of the king's peace, and assist the secular judges in their respective courts. They are not to suffer any circumvention in weights or measures ; but to inspect the management of commerce, and prevent the practices of fraud and injustice. For this reason, the bishops should not fail to appear upon the bench with the secular magistracy, that the solemnity of their character may have an influence upon the court, and give conscience a greater force in the proceedings. By the way, all weights and measures are to be regulated by the bishop's standard. It is likewise part of the bishop's office to do his utmost, that the poor may not be oppressed by the rich, nor slaves used with unreasonable rigour by their masters. And here, all those that keep slaves and servants, are admonished to treat them with lenity and condescension. For, as the law goes on, all conditions are equally redeemed by our Saviour ; he paid the same price, and has the same regard for one as for another. Besides, we are all servants, with respect

to God Almighty, who will judge us at the last day by the measures of our practice to those under our jurisdiction, and return our own usage upon us.

ATHEL-
STAN,
K. of
England.

Ninthly, If any of the magistracy, who are entrusted with the execution of these laws, proved remiss or negligent in his duty, he was liable to fine, and lose his office ; and the bishop was to receive the forfeiture : the penalty of the first offence was five pounds ; for the second, the forfeiture was much deeper, and came up to the weregild. And if the offence was repeated the third time, the offender was to lose all his estate.

Archbishop Wulfhelm is said to be present at this synod of Graetley, together with many others of the nobility, and men of learning, summoned thither by king Athelstan.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 396. et
deinc.

By the preamble of these constitutions it appears, that the legislature in civil matters lay wholly in the king ; and that the bishops, and other great men, were convened only for their advice, and not to give any force or authority to the law.

Spelman,
ibid.

The fifth article, for the regulation of the ordeal, mentions the panis eucharisticus, or the consecrated bread. This expression looks as if the Church of England was not yet come up to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

By the seventh, sacerdos loci illius, or the priest of the place, was to inform the bishop of the penitent's behaviour. From hence we may conclude, that the administrations of the priests were not ambulatory ; that they did not reside with their bishop at their mother-church, as at the first planting of Christianity ; but that now their respective cures were considerably settled, and the distinction of parishes sufficiently known.

And having lately mentioned the weregild, it will not be improper to give some account of it. We are to take notice then, that the fine which was to be paid for the killing of a man was called the weregild in the Saxon laws. This weregild was rated in proportion to the quality and condition of the person killed. For instance, the weregild for killing the king was thirty thousand thrimsas ; half of this sum was to be paid to the king's relations, and the other fifteen thousand to the nation.

Weregild,
what.

The life of an archbishop or duke was valued at fifteen thousand thrimsas : half of which was to be divided as the former, only the last moiety, I suppose, was to reach no farther than the province ; for so far an archbishop's spiritual, and a duke's temporal jurisdiction extended.

WULF-
HELM,
Abp. Cant.

The life of a bishop, of an alderman, or earl, was valued at eight thousand thrimsas.

A masthane, or priest, and a secular, or law thane, at two thousand thrimsas.

The life of a peasant was valued at two hundred shillings by the Mercian law ; but if he grew rich, and purchased five hides of land, he was raised to the quality of a thane.

Spelman,
Glossar. in
Thrimsa.
Selden,
Tit. Hon.
fol. 507.

As to the value of the thrimsa, sir Henry Spelman makes it three shillings. Somner is at a loss about it ; and Selden sinks it to the third part of a shilling. However, take it at the highest, it seems to be a slender satisfaction for blood ; and therefore the learned author of the notes upon king Alfred's life is of opinion that wilful murder, committed out of malice prepense, was not to be bought off by fine, nor comprehended within this law ; and that this weregild was only to be taken in case of manslaughter.

Alfred. Vit.
l. 2. p. 63.

Indeed, the Saxon kings, particularly king Alfred, had a great regard for the judicial law of Moses. They preface their own constitutions with almost whole chapters out of Exodus ; they govern themselves in a great measure by these directions, and superstruct upon this foundation. These things considered, it is very unlikely they should punish murder under the worst circumstances so very gently, and fall so much short of the precedent of the Mosaic law.

*The quality
of the clergy
and laity
stated by
law.*

Amongst these laws we may observe, that the force of an oath, in a court of judicature, depended on the condition of the person that took it. For the purpose : A churl, or husbandman's weregild, was two hundred shillings ; that of a thane, twelve hundred, or six times as much. For this reason, the oath of a thane, or twelve hindmen, was equivalent to that of six churles, or husbandmen. And the oath of a priest was equal to that of a secular thane. And here, likewise, we may observe, what proportion the condition of the clergy and laity bore, with respect to each other. For instance : by the Saxon constitution, we see a parish priest was set in the same scale of quality with the thane, or lord of the manor, rated equally with him in the weregild, and valuation, and had the same consideration in other circumstances of respect ; because, as the law speaks, "thani rectitudine dignus est." A bishop's quality was the same with that of an earl, who, at that time of day, had the jurisdiction of a whole county. An archbishop stood

Spelman.
Concil. vol.
l. p. 406.

upon the same footing with a duke, who governed a province, EDMUND, or several counties. And thus, in other cases, ecclesiastical ^{K. of} dignity held up with the secular, in proportion to the extent of ^{England.} their respective jurisdictions.

Amongst the laws above mentioned, there is one made in favour of foreign trade and merchandizing. It runs thus: "Si massere ascenderet ut ter magnum mare transfretaret," &c.; that is, if a merchant makes three voyages into the Straits, and deals for himself, and not under the disadvantage of a factor; "thani dignus rectitudine," that is, he shall be raised in his condition, and enjoy the privilege of a gentleman.

Spelman.
ibid. et in
Dedicat. ad
Regem.

The councils, as they are called, of Thunderfield, Feversham, Exeter, and London, are mostly spent in civil affairs, and have little in them excepting provisions for the State; however, the constitutions of Graetly are confirmed in most of them.

Spelman,
p. 406.

In the year 940, king Athelstan departed this life at Gloucester, and was buried at Malmesbury. Besides what has been said already, historians report him a prince of great condescension and affability; that he did not unnecessarily tie himself up to the grandeur of his station, but knew how to stoop his quality, and make himself agreeable to his subjects. He was far from an avaricious temper, and spent a great part of his revenue upon pious and charitable uses. He was a graceful person, and very promising from his infancy, insomuch, that his grandfather, king Alfred, gave him an unusual mark of his affection. This prince knighted young Athelstan, and gave him a scarlet cloak, a belt powdered with jewels, and a golden scabbard, at the ceremony. This, as far as I can discover, is the first solemnity we meet with of this kind in the Saxon reigns. Malmesbury concludes king Athelstan's character with this sentence, "Vir qui parum ætatis vixit, multum gloriæ." His life was little in time, but great in action.

Brompton.
Chron.
p. 848. et
deinc.
King Athelstan's death.

About this time, archbishop Wulfhelm died, though others make his life shorter by some years. He was succeeded by Odo.

This prelate was born in the East Angles, of Danish extraction. His parents were persons of quality and fortune; but had a strong aversion to the Christian religion, insomuch that Odo was at last disinherited for frequenting the churches, and discovering an inclination to turn Christian. Being thus discarded, he left his family in a very unfurnished condition,

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 27,
28.
Canonicus
Lichfield-
ensis. Angl.
Sacr. p. 1.
p. 100.
*Odo's ex-
traction and
education.*

Osbern. de
Vit. Odon.
p. 78.
Angl. Sacr.
pars 1. p. 78.

ODO,
Abp. Cant.

178.

and put himself into the service of one Athelmus, a nobleman of figure in king Alfred's reign. Athelmus being a Christian, and understanding the reason of Odo's application, took him into his protection; and perceiving he had a genius for learning, put him to school, where he continued till he had made a considerable progress in Greek and Latin. He was afterwards baptized, and went into orders at the instance of Athelmus. Osbern relates, that his patron falling sick in his journey to Rome, Odo, who kept him company, cured him by a miracle. In the reign of king Edward the Elder, Odo was in priest's orders, and had a great character for the discharge of his function. He was promoted to the bishopric of Sherburn by king Athelstan, who had received great service from him at the battle of Brunanburg. Several historians ascribe the victory to the efficacy of his prayers, and relate a miracle upon the occasion.

Osbern. *ibid.*
p. 81.
Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 27.
*Odo's excep-
tions against
taking the
see of
Canterbury.*

Odo had no less interest at king Edmund's court than formerly, and therefore, upon the death of archbishop Wulfhelm, the king importuned him to accept of that see. Odo excused himself modestly, told the king his abilities were too slender for so great a post; and besides he conceived translations were by no means warrantable by the canons. The king gave him several precedents to get rid of this scruple. He told him St. Peter quitted his see at Antioch, and removed to Rome; and that several other instances might be brought from antiquity. "And to prove this point, we have," says he, "sufficient authority from the practice of our own country; for were not Melitus, bishop of London, and Justus of Rochester, both of them translated to the see of Canterbury?" Odo being forced to yield this argument, started another objection. He alleged, that the archbishops of Canterbury had been all monks from St. Augustine downwards; and that since he had not been educated under any religious rule, he looked upon himself unqualified for that station. By the way, Odo was bishop of Sherburn when this scruple troubled him. Now, if he was qualified to be a bishop, without passing through the monastic life, what should hinder him from being an archbishop? The functions of a bishop and an archbishop are much the same, abating the extent of jurisdiction; why therefore must a monastic character be more necessary in one case than in the other? With submission, I think Odo might almost as well

have alleged that his stature or complexion was somewhat different from all the metropolitans of Canterbury, and therefore he was unqualified to succeed them. But was there any papal decree, any synodical provision within the province, which obliged to the choice of a religious? Nothing of this is pretended. Besides, he was mistaken in his supposition; for there had been several secular priests, as they call them, preferred to the see of Canterbury. I shall mention one or two. Bede relates, that Wighard, a priest, was sent to Rome to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, but died there before he could receive his character; however, there is no exception made against him upon the score of his not being a monk. If it is inquired, how does it appear he was no monk? I answer, Bede's calling him a priest is a plain decision of the case, and excludes the monastic character. Nothelm, who succeeded Tatwine, is another instance; and the author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* mentions two others, of which Laurentius, Augustine's successor, I suppose, was one. However, Odo could not get over this difficulty; and therefore, to satisfy the king's request, commissioners were sent over to the abbot of Fleury, in France, to admit him into that society. This motion being complied with, and the monastic habit sent over, Odo, though with some reluctance, accepted the see of Canterbury. And having brought him to this station, I shall leave him here for some time, and take the rest of his history as it comes in course.

EDMUND,
K. of
England.

Bede, Hist.
Eccles. l. 3.
c. 29.
Bede, l. 4.
c. 1. et alib.
Bede, Præ-
fat. in. Hist.
Eccles. p. 2.
Antiquit.
Britan. in
Nothelm.
p. 59.
Bede, Hist.
Eccles. l. 1.
c. 27.

Osbern, *ibid.*
A. D. 940.

About this time there was a synod, or convention, held under Hoeldha, king of Wales. It consisted of several bishops, with their metropolitan of St. David's, together with the principal laity, six of which were summoned out of every *kemut*, or hundred. The preamble to the constitutions sets forth, that the king and the rest of the convention met in Lent, and kept a strict fast through the whole solemnity, to qualify themselves for God's direction. Some of the constitutions are as follow.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 403.

1. He that injured or killed a priest was to undergo the censure of the synod, beside the punishment of the courts of justice.

2. Those priests or clergy that travelled were to be entertained at the parsonage house. The constitution calls it *domus capellani villæ*, the house of the chaplain, or parson of the parish. From hence we may infer, that the cures were

ODO,
Abp. Cant.

settled and the parishes divided in Wales, at the meeting of this synod.

By the seventh, at the assizes, or solemn trial of causes, the chaplain or parish priest was to go to church with twelve of the principal persons belonging to the court, and after Divine service he was to give the judge an oath, that he would manage his commission with integrity, and never be swayed either by favour, interest, or disaffection. When the judge had taken this oath, he was to return back to the king, and receive his authority for the bench.

Ninthly. If a thief had discovered his associates to a priest, and sworn the truth of the information in the church porch, or at the entrance of the choir; in case the thief cannot be produced afterwards in a court of justice, the priest's testimony shall stand for evidence, and decide the cause without any farther dispute.

The tenth punishes quarrelling in a church or church-yard, with a fine of fourteen pounds; the moiety of which forfeiture was to be paid to the priest and clergy of the place.

The thirty-second declares, that the clergy are only to be judged in a synod, and that no ecclesiastic is obliged to answer for his misbehaviour elsewhere. This privilege is limited in the next article with the following proviso.

That, in case a clergyman holds any land of the king with service reserved, he is obliged to plead for the premises in the king's court when summoned thither; and unless he makes his appearance, the land is forfeited to the crown.

The thirty-ninth article mentions seven episcopal sees in Wales, of which St. David's was the principal, and had metropolitical jurisdiction.

Spel. Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 409, et
deinc.
*King Ed-
mund's reign
and suc-
cesses.*

King Athelstan was succeeded by his brother Edmund, who came to the crown at eighteen years of age. The Northumbrians, it may be, despising this prince's youth, broke their articles made with Athelstan, sent for Analafus out of Ireland, and elected him king. Analaf, being upon this ground of advantage, levied an army, and harassed the country as far as Northampton. King Edmund drew down his forces, and came up with the enemy about Leicester: but here there was not much fighting: the quarrel was taken up by the mediation of the two archbishops Odo and Wulfstan: and Watling-street

made the barrier of each prince's dominions. Analaf, after some farther ravages of the country, died this year, as Hoveden will have it, and was succeeded by his son Sitricus. The Saxon chronicle relates the matter somewhat differently with respect to time. This author reports, that in the year 942, king Edmund marched his forces into Mercia, and recovered Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby, out of the hands of the Danes. That upon this advantage, Analaf and Reginald, Gurmund's sons, submitted, and were baptized, and had king Edmund for their godfather. But this treaty being quickly broken by these Danes, king Edmund was not long without his revenge: for, in the year 944, he conquered the country of the Northumbrians, re-annexed it to his crown, and banished the two princes above mentioned. And the next year he gave Cumberland to Malcolm, king of the Scots, upon the terms of homage, and that he should be obliged to assist him in the field upon all occasions.

EDMUND,
K. of
England.
Malmesb. de
Gestis Reg.
Angl. fol. 29.
Hoveden.
Annal.
fol. 242.

A. D. 942.

Chronol.
Saxon. et
Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.

In the year of our Lord 943, St. Dunstan, who will make a great figure by and by, was preferred to the abbey of Glassenbury. This year, Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, published his constitutions. They are divided into ten chapters.

A. D. 943.
Hoveden.
Annal.
fol. 242.
Spelman.
Concil. vol.
1. p. 416.
*Odo's consti-
tutions.*

The first threatens all those that injure the Church in her property, with excommunication.

The second puts princes in mind of their office, and conduct towards the bishops, and is couched in a style of great plainness and authority. It sets forth, that kings and princes, and all secular great men, ought to treat their bishops with regard, be governed by their directions; because the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing, are delivered to them. That they ought not to overrate themselves upon the score of their secular dignity and jurisdiction: for "God resists the proud, and gives grace to the humble." That the king is obliged to make use of men of capacity and conscience, to represent him in the administration. That the common people may be the more effectually brought to the practice of virtue and religion, by the good examples of the magistracy: that the prince is to be particularly careful, not to oppress any person by the strength of his prerogative. That he is to judge between man and man without partiality or prejudice; to protect the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow:

ODO,
Abp. Cant.

to suppress theft and injustice, to punish adultery, keep knaves and libertines out of posts of honour and advantage, and be charitable to the poor. For though all persons are bound to the precepts of Christianity, yet kings, and those in high stations, are particularly obliged to guard their conduct, because, at the great day of judgment, they must answer not only for their own faults, but for the miscarriage of those under their authority, in case the negligence of their government has occasioned it.

In the third the bishops are admonished to support their character with a suitable behaviour, to inspect their dioceses carefully every year, and preach as they make their visitation. They are likewise put in mind not to undertake the episcopal office out of a mercenary view, but in prospect of an eternal reward. That they are to execute their commission without fear or flattery. To put princes and persons of condition in mind of their duty, with all decent plainness and freedom, and omit no necessary part of instruction for fear of displeasure. And, in short, neither to censure nor absolve any person without reason and justice.

In the fourth the priests are enjoined to be exemplary for the benefit of their flock: to inform their consciences in all necessary truth, and be no less distinguished in their lives than in their habit.

The fifth regards the clergy under the degree of priesthood, and gives much the same advice with that last mentioned.

The sixth gives directions to the religious, puts them in mind to live up to the design of the institution, and the rules of their order: not to ramble about, and remove from one monastery to another; but to be obedient to their superiors, to spend their time in reading the Scriptures, prayer, and laborious employments.

The seventh prohibits unlawful marriages, upon the score of nearness of relation: but the degrees of consanguinity or affinity are not recited. This article likewise denounces excommunication against those that marry a nun.

The eighth recommends unity among Christians of all conditions. The reason of this exhortation is drawn from the consideration of our Saviour's being the only head of the Church: but something of this we have had in the former councils, and therefore I shall waive the repetition.

The ninth presses fasting and giving of alms, and that care EDMUND, K. of England. be taken in the manner of performance. The fasts are that of Lent, the four ember weeks, together with every Wednesday and Friday. Sunday likewise, and the festivals of the saints, are commanded to be kept holy in conformity to canon and precedent; and all secular business is to be forborne on those days. The article concludes with a caution against magic, superstition, and idolatry.

The tenth enjoins the punctual payment of tithes. The constitution argues from the Old Testament, where it is said, Mal. iii. 10. "Bring ye all the tithes into the store-house, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts; if I will not open unto you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it. And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground," &c.

This year, Constantine III., son of Ethus, king of Scotland, resigned his crown, took the habit of a religious, and was made abbot of the Culdees at St. Andrews. And here we are to observe, that a misrepresentation of the character of these Culdees, first published by Fordon, in his *Scoti Chronicon*, has furnished the dissenters with an argument against the universality of the episcopal government. But by the way, this Fordon lived no earlier than the fourteenth century, and is an author of slender credit. Having premised this, I shall advance to his story. He affirms, there were a sort of men that governed the affairs of religion in Scotland long before the coming of Palladius, which yet were no bishops; but only monks with the character of priesthood. These priests were the famous Culdees mentioned by the succeeding Scottish historians, and made use of as a precedent for presbytery. But to show the mistake of this account, I need only put the reader in mind, that I have already proved from authors of unquestionable authority, that before the coming of Palladius, Christianity was not received by the Scots; that Palladius's mission was into Ireland, and that the Scots did not settle in the country, now called Scotland, till a considerable time after this period.

A brief account of the Culdees.
 Usser. Brit. Eccles. Antiquit. p. 346.
 Fordon. Scot. Hist. p. 672.
Their antiquity disproved against the Dissenters.
 Selden. Pref. ad Decem Script. sect. 19, 20.
 Fordon. Scot. Hist. c. 3. p. 625.
inter Quindecim Scriptor.
 Bishop of St. Asaph's Historical Account of Church-Government, &c. p. 134.

As for the Culdees, so much insisted on, they are not men-

ODO,
Abp. Cant.

tioned either by Nennius, who wrote in the seventh, or Bede, who wrote in the eighth century. And as the learned bishop of St. Asaph observes, the word Culdee is not to be met with before the time of Giraldus Cambrensis.

Bishop of
St. Asaph's
Account of
of Ch. Gov.
p. 139.

Hector Boëthius is strangely extravagant in this relation. He reports, "that in the time of the emperors Decius and Aurelian, the Scots began to come over to Christianity: that they were assisted in their conversion by certain monks called Cultores Dei, or Culdees." But it is well known there was no such thing as monks in the western parts of Christendom at this time of day. And I might add, not in the eastern neither.

Hect. Boëth.
Scot. Hist.
l. 6.

Farther, as to the Culdees, we read of none of this distinction in Scotland, either at Hy, or in any other place where the Scots anciently dwelt. But as often as they are mentioned, we find them at St. Andrews, which was within the division of the Southern Picts: neither are they said to have been here, till after the see of Abernethy was removed hither, which was not done, as Buchanan reports, till the year 854.

Buchanan.
Rerum
Scotic. l. 6.

About a hundred years after this time, Constantine above mentioned quitted his kingdom, and turned abbot of the Culdees.

The next news we hear of them is in the year 1108, when Turgot, prior of Durham, was made bishop of St. Andrews.

Usser. Bri-
tan. Eccles.
Antiquit.

About this time the bishop of St. Asaph is of opinion, they were dean and chapter, and had a right of confirming the elections of all the bishops in Scotland. This privilege his lordship conjectures might belong to them upon the score of the primacy of the see of St. Andrew's.

St. Asaph.
ibid. p. 141.

In the year 1272, the Culdees of St. Andrew's are mentioned by Silegrave in his catalogue of the religious houses in Britain.

Usser. Bri-
tan. Eccles.
Antiquit.
p. 346.

In the year 1207, when the canons of St. Andrew's elected William Lamberton bishop, the Culdees opposed the election, and appealed to the pope, but without remedy. And from this time, they lost all their right they had formerly enjoyed, that is, all the right of electing the archbishop, which probably belonged to them before, in consequence of their being dean and chapter of that see. And this is all the credible account of the Culdees in Scotland.

Usser. Brit.
Eccles. An-
tiquit. p. 346.
Dempster.
Hist. Eccles.
Scotor. l. 1.
num. 45.
Bishop of St.
Asaph, ibid.
p. 143.

As to the case of Columba, and the pretence that the monks of Hy had no episcopal ordination, it has been already disproved.

EDMUND,
K. of
England.

The next year there was a convention held under king Edmund at London, at which the archbishops Odo and Wulfstan were present, together with a great many other bishops and temporal nobility. There were several ecclesiastical laws passed in this session, some of those which are new and remarkable shall be mentioned,

A. D. 944.
Vide supra
in the Hist.
of St. Co-
lumba.
*Ecclesiasti-
cal laws
made under
king
Edmund.
Spelman,
Concil.
vol. i. p. 419,
et deince.*

1. If any man killed a Christian, he was not permitted to come into the royal presence, though he belonged to the court, till he had made satisfaction according to law, and done penance upon the bishop's order.

2. If any person debauched a nun, he was obliged to the same fine and penalty, as if he had committed murder. The adulterer was likewise liable to the same punishment.

3. Every bishop was to repair and ornament his cathedral at his own charge, and to put the king in mind to provide for the good condition of the other churches in the diocese.

181.

4. If any person that fled to a church, or any of the king's towns, for protection, was disturbed or injured, the person that broke through the privilege of the sanctuary was to be apprehended.

5. Those that perjured themselves, or sacrificed to idols, were to be for ever excommunicated, unless they reformed immediately, and submitted to penance.

Farther, the ceremonies and securities preliminary to marriage are something particular.

After the woman and her friends have given their consent, the bridegroom is not only to make a solemn promise of the performance of articles, but likewise to declare his entering into the engagement, according to the tenor of the Gospel.

2. Then the maintenance of the bride is to be adjusted, and the bridegroom and his friends are to give security upon this head.

3. After this, the bridegroom makes a declaration of his wife's dowry, and mentions the particulars in which it is to consist.

4. And if she happens to survive her husband, she is allowed the moiety of his goods and estate: and in case they

ODO,
Abp. Cant.

have any issue, she is to enjoy the whole fortune till her second marriage. These articles are all to be guarded by securities given by the man and his friends.

5. When the conditions are agreed between them, the woman's relations are to engage for her virtue and good behaviour, and to take security for the solemnization of the marriage.

6. If the husband afterwards removed her out of the jurisdiction of the thane, or baron, where she was brought up, he was to enter into articles, that nobody should injure her. And, on the other side, in case she should do her husband any considerable damage, her friends were obliged to make him satisfaction.

7. The marriage was to be solemnized by a priest; and care was to be taken that there was no bar of consanguinity, or relation, which being afterwards discovered, might force the Church upon a divorce.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 426, 427.

*King
Edmund's
charter to
the abbey of
Glassenbury.*

This year king Edmund granted a charter of extraordinary privileges to the abbey of Glassenbury; by virtue of which, the abbot had the same authority of trying causes, punishing and pardoning misdemeanours within the precincts of his jurisdiction, that the king himself had in his own courts. And here, according to custom, there is a solemn denunciation of divine vengeance against those that should seize any part of the privileges, or disappoint the design of the charter. This grant was engrossed in gold letters in a book of the Four Gospels, with which king Edmund presented the abbey church of Glassenbury. St. Dunstan, as we observed before, was made abbot of Glassenbury by this prince. Now St. Dunstan having so great a share of the history of these times, I shall give the reader some account of him before I proceed any farther.

Spelm. *ibid.*
Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. v. 30.

*St. Dunstan's
extraction,
fortune, and
character,
for the
former part
of his life.*

Osbern de
Vit. S. Dun-
stan, Angl.
Sac. pars 11.
p. 91.

He was born in the country of the West Saxons, in the first year of king Athelstan. His father's name was Herstan, and his mother's Kynedryd. They were both persons of the first quality, and no less remarkable for their piety than condition. His birth, and the extraordinary figure he made, is said to have been predicted by a miracle. He was educated at Glassenbury, his father living in that country. At this time, as Osbern relates, there was no monastic society at Glassenbury. And as

this biographer goes on, this method of living was not then practised in England: for at that time of day, people were not willing to resign their own wills, and submit to the discipline of a cell. A convent of monks, or the name of an abbot, was scarce seen or heard of. For, as the learned publisher of the *Anglia Sacra* observes, the English monasteries, before the revolution made in them by Dunstan and King Edgar, were furnished with secular clergy, who, having large revenues, and incorporated under certain regulations, performed the service in their respective churches, lived single or married, as they thought fit, and stood in the same condition with our prebendaries. To return to Osbern, who informs us, that about this time several devout and learned Irishmen came to Glasenbury, out of respect to St. Patrick's memory. These religious strangers, wanting the encouragement of a monastery to support them, set up a sort of modern academy, taught men of quality's sons the belles-lettres, music, engraving, and such like improvements of education. Dunstan's youth was very promising, both in respect of his industry, piety, and parts. And thus having a reputation beyond the expectation of his years, Athelnus, archbishop of Canterbury, who was his uncle, sent for him. And St. Dunstan being a person of no less address than unexceptionable in his life, the archbishop recommended him to king Athelstan, acquainting the king that his nephew had the honour of being somewhat related to the royal family, and was likewise well qualified to serve his majesty at court. The king entertained him very graciously, put him into considerable posts, and gave him several marks of his esteem. Now, as Osbern and Eadmer relate, St. Dunstan, like Joseph, managed himself with great conduct, and was very successful in whatever he undertook: but the king's favour not lasting long, he left the court, having been misrepresented to Athelstan by some envious people. This ill-usage made him retire from the world, and turn monk. Upon the death of king Athelstan, his brother Edmund came to the crown, who having a great opinion of St. Dunstan, sent for him to court, and made him his confessor. But afterwards, giving credit, as it is supposed, to misinformation, discharged him. However, not long after, being satisfied about St. Dunstan's probity and behaviour, he was reconciled to him at the instance of Turketul, his chancellor. And now St. Dunstan

EDMUND,
K. of
England.
Ibid.

182.

Ingulphus,
Hist. p. 33.

ODO,
Abp. Cant.

stood firm in king Edmund's favour, and had a grant of the charter above mentioned. But it was not long before his royal patron was taken off by a lamentable accident.

*King
Edmund
murdered.*

One Leof, who had been banished by king Edmund for robbing upon the highway, returned without licence, about five or six years after the sentence. Now the king keeping St. Augustine of Canterbury's festival at Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire, this Leof had the confidence to intrude, and sit down at table next to a person of great quality. This was taken notice of by none but the king, the rest having drank to a pitch which made them less observing. His majesty being disturbed at such unprecedented insolence, rises hastily from the table, takes Leof by the hair, and throws him down. The wretch draws his dagger, and plunges it into the king's breast, upon which he immediately expired. The court seeing the king thus barbarously murdered, cut Leof in pieces, though he had the bravery to wound several of them before he was dispatched.

A. D. 946.

*King
Edred's suc-
cess against
the North-
umbrians
and Scots.*

Edred, brother to Edmund, and third son to Edward the Elder, succeeded to the crown. This was an interruption of the right line: for the late king left two sons, Edwy and Edgar: but being deep in their minority, and not grown up for the administration, they were set aside, and their uncle crowned by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury. The justice of these proceedings seems somewhat unintelligible: but Edred being a benefactor to the monks, the business is passed over without censure. Edred is described as a prince of great courage and enterprise. The first year of his reign he reduced the Northumbrians, who had lately revolted. His next expedition was against the Scots, whom he brought to terms, merely by the terror of his name, without so much as hazard- ing a battle. By the articles of the pacification, the Northumbrians and Scots were forced to take an oath of allegiance to king Edred. But this security was soon violated. For when the king was marched back to the southern part of his dominions, the Northumbrians set up Anlaf, who had formerly been banished. However, about three years after, the Northumbrians proved inconstant to their own rebellion, expelled their pretended prince Anlaf, and set up another usurper, one Huth, the son of Harald. This choice did not please them long; for in the seventh year of king Edred

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 30.
Brompton
Chron.
p. 862.
10 Scriptor.
vol. 1.
A. D. 947.

they deposed Huth, and made a voluntary submission to Edred.

During these commotions, Wulstan, archbishop of York, was taken into custody for abetting the Northumbrian rebellion. After he had been in prison for some time, king Edred set him at liberty in respect to his character. This confinement, and the disgrace of a pardon, sat hard upon the archbishop's spirits, and, as it is thought, was the occasion of his death soon after.

King Edred's chancellor, Turketul, having for some time resolved to turn religious, and fixed upon Croyland for his retirement, repaired the buildings of the abbey, and laid several manors to it: being thus far advanced in his design, he received the habit, together with the bishop's benediction, in the king's presence, who gave him a pastoral staff, and made him abbot of Croyland: upon which he resigned the monastery, with all the lands belonging to it, to the crown. The king, at the convention of the clergy and laity, returned the title deeds of the abbey back to Turketul and the monks, and gave them a charter, by which they were discharged from all services and incumbrances incident to a lay-fee. But then he refused to grant them their old privilege of sanctuary, being unwilling to protect malefactors and villains from justice, and set them, for some time at least, out of the reach of the law. In this charter, Wulstan, archbishop of York, signs before Odo of Canterbury, which is very unusual.

Turketul, being a person of quality and rank, drew a great many men of letters into the monastery with him; ten of which took the habit upon them; the rest not relishing the rigour of the institution, continued seculars. However, they lived in the monastery for the benefit of Turketul's conversation. Some of this company, as Ingulphus goes on, were priests, and others in lower orders.

As for king Edred, his conscience was in a manner entirely governed by St. Dunstan; insomuch that he submitted to great austerities and discipline at his direction. In his last sickness, he sent for his confessor, St. Dunstan, who rode to him with all speed; and as he was upon the way, as Malmesbury and the rest report, he heard a voice from the sky, pronouncing with a strong accent, that Edred was dead in the

EDRED,
K. of
England.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 30.
Brompton
Chron.
p. 862.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. l. 2.
et de Gestis
Pontif. l. 3.
Turketul,
king Edred's
chancellor,
abbot of
Croyland.

The king
refuses to
grant the
privilege of
sanctuary.
A. D. 948.
Ingulphus,
Hist. p. 39,
40.
Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 428.

Ingulphus,
ibid.
The death of
king Edred.

A. D. 955.

ODO,
Abp. Cant.

Ingulphus,
ibid.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 30.

Lord ; which, if true, was verified in the event : for when St. Dunstan came to the palace, the king had expired.

Edwy, Edred's nephew, and eldest son to king Edmund, had his right considered at last, and succeeded his uncle. This prince giving the married clergy a greater share of his favour than the monks, the historians, who were most of them religious, are resolved to be even with him, and sit hard upon his memory. Malmesbury and the rest report him a prince of licentious and unmanageable passions. He was crowned at Kingston, by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury. Now, it seems he had not temper enough to postpone his excesses, and govern his behaviour at this solemnity ; but when the appearance was full, and the great men debating the affairs of the kingdom, he slips out of the public room, and retires to two women of ill fame.

183.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 30.
et de Gestis
Pontif. l. 1.
fol. 114.

*St. Dunstan's
freedom with
king Edwy.*

This conduct gave great offence ; however, nobody was so hardy to take notice of it excepting St. Dunstan, who, going into the king's apartment, reprimanded him for his liberty, and taking him by the arm, disengaged him from the two women, and brought him to his courtiers. Here St. Dunstan's honest zeal seems to have transported him too far, and made him forget the point of decency. To apprehend his prince, and drag him away like a malefactor, was to outrage the royal character, and more without doubt than the abbot of Glassenbury could justify.

Malmesb.
ibid.
Osborn de
Vit. S. Duns.
Angl. Sacr.
pars. 2. p. 305.

*King Edwy
no friend to
the monks.*

Archbishop Odo seconded St. Dunstan, though at first in a more defensible manner, for he is said to have put the king under a lesser excommunication, and forced him to part with his favourite Elgiva. Now historians are somewhat at a loss about stating the crime ; some think the king was married to her, and that they were censured upon the score of consanguinity ; however, they are agreed that if this was not the case, she was his mistress. But Odo went farther in his correction, and pushed the point to an excess ; he ventured to brand Elgiva in the forehead, and transport her into Ireland. This was an apparent strain of the ecclesiastic authority, and by no means warrantable by the keys. The king being thus roughly treated, it is no wonder if he disrelished the monks, and shewed his resentment. Osborn relates that the lady, who had the ascendant over him, pressed him to a revenge, which

is not unlikely. And now the religious were expelled the abbeys by the king's order. The monkish historians make a tragical complaint upon this occasion; and as they represent the matter the reader would imagine they had been dispossessed of a great many monasteries; whereas, upon a closer inquiry it will appear that the monks had no more than the monasteries of Glassenbury and Abingdon in the reign of king Edwy. It is true there were many more religious houses, but then they had been a long time in the possession of the secular clergy.

When this storm fell upon the monks, St. Dunstan was banished into Flanders, where he passed his time easily enough, and was entertained with great regard.

Though Dunstan was forced to quit the kingdom, he seems to have left a considerable interest behind him; for now the Northumbrians and Mercians were so far disgusted with king Edwy's administration that they broke out into a revolt, levied an army against their prince, seized his dominions as far as the Thames, and gave them to his younger brother Edgar. The king was hard pressed, pursued by his subjects, and had nothing but the southern part of his kingdom left him; and the country being thus cantoned was almost perpetually harassed with fighting and depredations. These commotions, which were no better than downright rebellion, are passed over without censure by the monkish historians, and all the blame laid upon king Edwy's mismanagement. Nay, Osbern has the assurance to make Providence a party in the insurrection, and blasphemously affirms that our Saviour disposed the subjects to throw off their allegiance, and prove false to their prince. And what was the reason that Providence should interfere in so surprising a manner, and that God should encourage the breach of his own laws? Osbern will solve this difficulty. He lets us know it was to make way for the recalling of St. Dunstan, and to put the English once more under his conduct and protection. This looks as if there had been something of a practice and concert between St. Dunstan and the malcontents. On the other side, had this abbot so great an ascendant over the English as he pretended, why did he not employ his interest to stifle the insurrection and keep the people within the terms of duty? But none of the historians are so kind to his memory as to mention any pains taken upon

EDWY,
K. of
England.

Johan. Tinmouth. Histor. Aur. MS. l. 21. c. 47. 56. Wulstan. in Vit. Ethelwald, Angl. Sacr. pars 2. p. 91. 105. A. D. 956.

A rebellion against king Edwy.

Osbern. de Vit. S. Dunstan, p. 106

A. D. 957. Simon Dunelmensis. Malmesb. Brompton, &c.

Osbern. ibid.

ODO, this occasion. I am sorry to meet with so little proof of
 {Abp. Cant. Dunstan's inclinations lying this way. For soon after Edgar was
 set up by the revolvers he is said to have summoned a conven-
 tion, in which king Edwy's proceedings were reversed, the monks
 restored, St. Dunstan recalled from his exile, and entertained
 at the new court with greater regard than ever. Now I would
 gladly know how St. Dunstan could satisfy his conscience in
 taking these steps? That Edgar was no better than an
 usurper is very suspicious; for we do not find that Edwy his
 elder brother resigned part of his dominions. The historians
 mention no treaty between those two princes. Osbern rather
 supposes the contrary; he tells us that after the kingdom was
 divided, the country was miserably harassed for a considerable
 time; that Edgar gained upon his brother, as did David upon
 the house of Saul. This is an argument that Edwy and Edgar
 were come to no accommodation, but continued in a state
 of hostility. Now St. Cyprian, though bishop of Carthage,
 did not think fit to return from banishment without the em-
 peror's leave. Why then did not St. Dunstan stay for king
 Edwy's order? What made him come back at the invitation
 of an usurper, reside at his court, receive his favour and
 caresses, and accept the bishopric of Worcester at his im-
 portunity? In short, King Edwy was living two years after
 St. Dunstan was recalled, and yet we do not find he made any
 application or paid the least submission to his lawful sovereign.

Osbern.
 ibid.

A. D. 957. On the contrary, it is plain he lived within Edgar's division,
 and attended at his court all the time of king Edwy. This,
 184. without doubt, was an indefensible latitude, unless king Edwy
 resigned to his brother as far as the Thames, which, in charity
 to St. Dunstan, methinks I would gladly believe, if the history
 would give me leave. However, I shall determine nothing,
 but submit the case to the reader.

A. D. 958. Odo, the archbishop, beside the freedom he took with the
 king in reference to Elgiva, is said to have held on the former
 heat of his conduct, and to have hamstringed her at her
 return from Ireland. Osbern does not put this unsuitable part
 upon the archbishop, but reports she was thus used by the
 rebels, who afterwards had her executed.

Malmesb. de Gest. Pontif. Angl. 1. 1. fol. 114. Osbern. de Vit. S. Dunstan. Angl. Sac. pars 2. p. 106. This year the archbishop of Canterbury departed this life.
 Elfin, bishop of Winchester, was chosen to succeed him.
 This bishop, taking a winter journey to Rome for his pall, was

frozen to death upon the Alps, which the monkish historians interpret as a judgment for his disrespect to Odo's grave.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

In the year of our Lord 959 king Edwy died, and was buried in the new monastery at Winchester. His younger brother Edgar succeeded to his dominions, and was now possessed of the whole kingdom. As to king Edwy, though the monks represent him under all the disadvantages of licence and mal-administration, yet the archdeacon of Huntingdon, who was no party in the quarrel, gives him a handsome character, reports that the country flourished under his government, and seems to lament he lived no longer.

Malmesb.
ibid.
A. D. 959.
King Edwy dies.

Hunting.
Histor. l. 5.
fol. 204.

To return to king Edgar, for now I can give him that title. In the first year of this prince's reign, Brithelm, bishop of Sherburn, was elected to the see of Canterbury; but being thought somewhat unqualified for so great a post, he was ordered by the king to waive his election, and return to his old diocese. Upon his compliance, St. Dunstan, at the king's importunity, and by the consent of the suffragans of the province, accepted the see of Canterbury. And now being at the head of the Church, and having a great interest with king Edgar, the helm was well steered, and the nation extremely prosperous; for now, as Malmesbury reports, there was hardly a year passed without some public advantage and remarkable blessing. The English were neither disturbed with domestic broils nor foreign invasions. King Edgar was successful in all his undertakings; and particularly Kenneth, king of Scots, Malcolm, king of Cumberland, and all the Welsh princes, attended him at his court, and took an oath of homage. They met him at Chester, where he took eight princes of them into his barge, and obliged them to row him over the Dee. These successes raised the reputation of his government, insomuch that his court was frequented by foreigners; the Saxons, Flemish, and Danes taking a voyage in England to satisfy their curiosity with the sight and conversation of so great a prince; but this respect paid to king Edgar proved a misfortune to his subjects. These strangers left the vices and ill customs of their respective countries with the English; with the English, I say, who learned to be rugged and boisterous from the Saxons; to be lazy and effeminate of the Flemish; and to drink to excess of the Danes. This infection was, in a great measure, checked by the conduct of St.

Dunelm.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
p. 157. inter
10 Scriptor.
The prosperous reign of king Edgar.
Dunelm.
Malmesb.
&c.

King Edgar's character and administration.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 31.

Dunstan, who had a considerable interest at king Edgar's court, and exercised his archiepiscopal authority with great vigour and impartiality. King Edgar likewise took care that the laws were well executed, and suffered no man's quality to protect him in his misbehaviour. Notwithstanding the littleness of his stature, he is said to have been a person of extraordinary courage, of which he had given several proofs. It being told him that Kenneth, king of the Scots, had spoken some contemptuous words of him, and said, "That he wondered so large an extent of country should submit to be governed by such a dwarf." Upon this he sends for king Kenneth, and, on pretence of some private affair, walks with him into a wood. Being thus alone, he told Kenneth of the freedom he had taken in ridiculing his person; that now it was the time to put that matter to the trial; that it was dishonourable for a prince to be lavish of his tongue at an entertainment, and shrink when he is called to account for it. After this expostulation, king Edgar being provided with two swords, gives one of them to the king of Scots. King Kenneth being somewhat surprised either at the briskness of the challenge, or the discovery of his own misbehaviour, told king Edgar, "Those words were spoken in jest," and asked his pardon with great respect.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Ang.
l. 2. fol. 33.

*He sails
round the
island every
year.*

To shew the commendation of his government in a word or two more. Every year after Easter he ordered his fleet to be got ready, and divided into three squadrons, each of which used to ride at three of the cardinal points of the island. His ships being thus disposed, he cruised with the eastern squadron as far as the west of England; and then sending these back, he embarked in the western and sailed to the north. Here he went aboard the northern division, and sailed round to the east. By this means commerce and fishing had their full liberty, and the coast was secured from pirates; and in the winter it was his custom to make his progress through the whole kingdom, inquire into the management of the courts of justice, and punish the judges severely in case they misbehaved themselves in their office.

Malmesb.
ibid.
*Some ble-
mishes of his
reign.*

Notwithstanding these good qualities, king Edgar was not without some failings and inequalities in his conduct. For instance; he took one Ethelwulf, an earl and favourite, into a wood upon pretence of hunting, and killed him there with his lance. The natural son of this nobleman happening

to come in at this accident, the king asked him "How he liked the sport?" "Well enough," replies the other, "for it is my duty never to be disgusted at your majesty's pleasure." This courtly return, upon so moving an occasion, surprised the king, and gave him a strong affection for the young man ever after. The reason of his murdering the earl was because he had deceived him in a report concerning Elfrida, daughter to Ordgar, duke of Devonshire. This lady, it seems, had been commended to the king for a great beauty; and being a person of the first quality, the king sent Ethelwulf to inquire into the matter, with a design to marry her if the relation held true. Ethelwulf goes immediately to her father's house, and finding the lady answer up to her fame, conceals his message from the king, and gains her for himself. When he came back to court he told the king Elfrida had been mightily over-praised, and was, in truth, but an ordinary woman. The king believing this report, removed his fancy, and thought of her no farther. But being afterwards informed how the earl had deceived him, he took a view of the lady himself, and then revenged the affront in the tragical manner above mentioned.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.
185.

Malmesb.
ibid.

Some time after this, king Edgar fell in love with a nun, took her by force from a monastery, and kept her for some time. When St. Dunstan was informed of the king's misbehaviour, he came immediately to court, told him of his fault with an air of great freedom and authority, refused his hand, and let him know, he would not be a friend to any person to whom our Saviour was an enemy. The king's conscience being thoroughly awakened with this reprimand, he fell down at the archbishop's feet, and showed all imaginable signs of sorrow and compunction. St. Dunstan seeing the king weep, and appear thus thoroughly mortified, was extremely affected; and, after he had set forth the crime, enlarged upon the aggravation of the circumstances, and perceived the king willing to give full satisfaction to the Church, he enjoined him seven years' penance. During this term, he was obliged not to wear his crown; to fast twice a week, to give large charity to the poor, to found a nunnery, to drive the married clergy out of the convents, and furnish them with monks: and to make good laws for the government of his kingdom. He complied readily with every particular. And when the seven years were expired, St. Dunstan, at a solemn meeting of the

*He submits
to a seven
years'
penance.*

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

Osbern. de
Vit. S. Dun-
stan, Angl.
Sacr. pars 2.
p. 111.

principal clergy and laity, set the crown upon the king's head.

And now having given a brief account of king Edgar, with respect to the State; I shall return to the Church, and point out what occurs somewhat more particularly with respect to time.

A. D. 959.

*His charter
to the
church of
Canterbury.*

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 432.

In the first year of king Edgar we meet with a short charter of this prince, in favour of the see of Canterbury. By this grant, the church of Canterbury is made the mother and mistress, as the expression runs, of all other churches within the English dominions, and that she should be discharged from all burdens of the state, excepting the services of expedition, making of bridges, and building of castles. These privileges are not to be understood of spiritual jurisdiction, but civil advantage. To have gone farther, would have been a stretch of the regale, which does not seem to have been the inclination of this prince: for when any ecclesiastical jurisdiction was conveyed to any abbey, we find the pope was applied to for his confirmation, as appears by this king's charters to the monasteries of Glassenbury and Peterborough.

Ingulphus,
Hist. p. 46.
Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 31.
A. D. 969.
*St. Dunstan
receives his
pall at Rome.*

The next year, St. Dunstan took a voyage to Rome, where he received his pall from pope John XIII. Soon after his return he came to court, and begged the bishopric of Worcester for Oswald, archbishop Odo's nephew, who had been educated a monk at Fleury in France. From this, and some other instances, it appears, that the Crown had gained some ground upon the Church, and made the disposal of bishoprics part of the prerogative. Baronius complains of this interposing of the regale in France, in the ninth century: and it must be said, when the Church has not the liberty of choosing her own governors, she is not in the same state of independency in which Constantine the Great found her.

Dunelm. de
Gest. Reg.
Ang. p. 158.

Dunstan had formed a design of ejecting the secular clergy out of the monasteries and cathedrals, and settling monks in their place. Now the secular clergy had prescription on their side, and being numerous, we have reason to believe, their interest was considerable: for St. Dunstan, though backed with the countenance of the court, could never carry his point through the kingdom. For Dunelmensis reports, upon the year 1074, that there had not been so much as a monastery among the Northumbrians for two hundred years; and that

the name of a monk was scarce heard of in those northern parts.

The case standing thus, St. Dunstan must needs foresee great difficulties in the execution of his project. And therefore to make his scheme bear, he endeavours to fortify his party, by getting monks preferred to the vacant sees. King Edgar, who had been favoured by the monks in his attempt against his brother, proved a strong patron to that party, went willingly into St. Dunstan's measures, and seems to have been wholly governed by the impressions of that prelate. That the monks abetted Edgar against his elder brother, king Edwy, appears not only by St. Dunstan's coming off from his banishment at prince Edgar's invitation, and accepting the see of Worcester from him, while king Edwy lived; but likewise from the manner in which our monkish historians deliver themselves: for Osbern, as we have seen already, is so hardy as to bring Providence on the side of the revolt, and make the insurrection countenanced from heaven. And as for Dunelmensis, Westminster, Brompton, and most of the rest, they lay the whole fault of the revolution upon king Edwy; take the freedom to say, he governed foolishly, and that the Mercians and Northumbrians threw him off for his mal-administration. But this notorious breach of their allegiance, wresting the better half of the kingdom from their lawful sovereign, and bestowing it on his younger brother, has not the least censure or mark of dislike put upon it. On the contrary, they flourish strongly upon Edgar's character, call him the darling and ornament of the English nation, and seem well satisfied with these violent proceedings. Farther, that Edgar was an usurper upon his brother, appears by his seizure of his dominions as far southward as the Thames. If this was done by dint of force and insurrection, the case is plain. But if he enjoyed this part of the country by treaty and composition, it is no less evident king Edwy was forced upon this surrender by the prevalency of the rebellion: so that, being an act of mere compulsion, and extorted by duress, it does by no means justify the acquisition: besides, our historians make Edgar's reign commence but at the death of Edwy, anno 959. I should have been glad therefore to have found St. Dunstan somewhat more impartial in his discipline, and that he had put king Edgar upon penance for usurping upon his brother, no less than for debauching the

EDGAR,
K. of
England.
Dunelm. de
Gest. Reg.
Ang. p. 206.
*King Edgar
a friend to
the monks,
and why.*

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

nun. But this prince was a great encourager of the monastic clan, expelled the married clergy from their ancient seats, and built almost fifty monasteries. This was so great a merit, that the expedient for compassing the project must by no means be blamed. Blood, and honour, and justice, are sometimes all overlooked, when they stand in the way of so religious a design. And to prevent all objection, if king Edgar was thought too young for penance at his brother's death, why was not the rebellious party put under censure?

A. D. 963.

Thus we see St. Dunstan had strong encouragement to go on with his enterprize. His next advance was to get Ethelwulf, a monk of Glassenbury, promoted to the see of Winchester, now vacant by the death of Brithelm. This Ethelwulf was a vigorous champion for the religious, and immediately upon his coming into his diocese, procured an order from the king to turn the secular clergy out of the old abbey at Winchester, which was executed accordingly. And now the three prelates of Canterbury, Winchester, and Worcester, drove on their project of pretended reformation, and made a considerable progress, by having the court in their interest: however, we find no other bishops concurring in this design, excepting the three above mentioned, which looks as if the rest of that order were of another party, and abetted the secular clergy. Had they been for St. Dunstan, we had, in all likelihood, heard of them; for the monkish writers are commonly careful to record the names of their friends. Had therefore any of the other bishops assisted in their establishment, we have reason to believe the mention of them would not have been forgotten, nor their merit thus overlooked.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
l. 2.

Dunelm. de
Gest. Reg.
Ang. p. 158.

Dunelm.
ibid.
*No more
than three
bishops men-
tioned in the
design
against the
secular
clergy.*

*King
Edgar's con-
stitutions.*

In the year of our Lord 967, there were several ecclesiastical constitutions passed at a convention under king Edgar.

The first, confirms the civil privileges and immunities of the Church, and orders the tithes to be paid to the mother or principal church within the parish.

The third prescribes the time for the payment of tithes, predial and personal. And if any person refuses the payment of these dues, the bishop, the king's officer, or sheriff, and the parson of the parish, are to meet: and here restitution is to be made by force; the parson is to have the tenth; the ninth part is to be left to the person from whom the tithe was due; and the remaining eight parts are to be equally divided

between the bishop and the king's officer, or lord of the manor.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

By the fifth, the solemnity of Sunday is to begin from three o'clock on Saturday in the afternoon, and to continue till break of day on Monday: he that broke through any part of the time of this festival, was to incur the penalty of the liber judicialis, or statute-book. The other holy days likewise are to be kept upon the priest's giving notice of them. There is also an injunction for the strict observance of the fasts.†

Sir Henry
Spelman, Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 444.

Sixthly, if a church having a right of burial, or church-yard belonging to it, the lord of the manor had the liberty of paying the third part of his tithe to the curate or priest of the place; but if there was no church-yard, the tithes and dues were to go to the mother-church. This article seems to be a limitation, and allowance of latitude upon the first constitution. There is another article relating to the payment of Peter-pence, but this has been mentioned already.

King Edgar made several other constitutions for the regulation of religious houses; those ingrossed in gold letters, in a book belonging to the cathedral of Winchester, are particularly remarkable: for here, amongst other things, the king makes himself general, as we may call it, of the monks, and puts the queen in the same station of government over the nuns.

*King Edgar
general of
the English
monks.
Spelman, Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 435. et
alib.
Spelman,
p. 447.
A body of
canons said
to be made in
the reign of
King Edgar.*

After the constitutions last mentioned, sir Henry Spelman subjoins a body of canons, said to be published under king Edgar, though the precise time is not certainly known. These canons this learned antiquary translated from an old Saxon manuscript in Bennet College in Cambridge: it is not known where, or by what authority they were drawn up; but the decrees run in the plural number, and seem to be the style of a synod. I shall translate those which are most remarkable.

187.

By the first, the clergy are enjoined to be constant at their devotions, and, particularly, to pray that the people may behave themselves dutifully to their respective governors, and prove firm and loyal to their prince.

The third orders proper books and habits to be yearly provided against the meeting of every synod. There is also mention made of parchment for engrossing the constitutions. Entertainment for three days is likewise to be furnished, but it is not said by whom.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

By the fifth, if any priest receive any injury or ill usage, the complaint was to be preferred to the synod, who were to treat the case as if the whole body had actually suffered, and take care that satisfaction be made at the bishop's discretion.

Sixthly, if any person who lives disorderly proves too powerful for the discipline of the parish priest, the priest is to give the synod notice of the particulars.

The eighth forbids the priests to change their cures, and remove at their own pleasure from one parish to another.

The ninth declares against the priest's intermeddling in a foreign cure.

The eleventh enjoins every priest to learn some employment. This was to prevent indigence in case of misfortune: it was formerly the custom of the Jews of condition, and is still retained by those of the first rank among the Turks.

By the twelfth and thirteenth, a clerk of learning was not to undervalue one of less proficiency; neither, in case he was nobly descended, was he allowed to disregard another of more private extraction: for, as the canon goes on, to take things rightly, all men are of the same family and original.

The seventeenth and twenty-second order all persons to instruct their children in the Christian faith, and teach them the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; without learning of which, they were neither to be buried in consecrated ground, nor admitted to the eucharist: for, as the canon proceeds, he that is not acquainted with these solemn forms and fundamentals in religion, does not deserve the name of a Christian; he ought not to undertake for another in the sacrament of baptism, nor receive any person in confirmation from the hands of a bishop.

The twenty-fourth orders all pleadings and trials of causes to cease upon festivals and fasts.

The twenty-eighth provides against intemperance and riot, at the dedication of churches, or at the anniversary of that solemnity.

By the twenty-ninth nobody was to be buried in a church, excepting persons of known probity and religious behaviour.

By the thirty-second the priest was prohibited officiating without the service-book, for fear the trusting to his memory might make him mistake. From hence, it is plain, the clergy were tied to forms and stated service, and not left to the liberty of extemporary effusions.

By the thirty-sixth no person was to eat or drink anything before the receiving of the communion, unless in case of sickness.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

The thirty-eighth enjoins the priest to have the eucharist always ready ; that is, to have some of the consecrated bread always by him, and to take care that it did not grow stale ; but in case it should happen to be kept so long that it could not be eaten without disgusting the palate, it was then to be burnt in a clean fire, the ashes laid under the altar, and the priest that was guilty of this negligence was to undergo penance. Had the English Church been of the same belief with the modern Roman as to the point of transubstantiation,—had they believed the same body that was born of the blessed Virgin had been present under the appearance of bread, and that there had been flesh and bones, as the Trent catechism words it, under so foreign a representation,—it is hard to imagine they would have disposed of the eucharist in this manner.

The fifty-third forbids the eating of blood of any kind.

By the sixtieth it is pretty evident that those who drew up these canons did not allow of the marriage of priests.

By the sixty-fourth, hunting and hawking are declared improper diversions for a priest, who is to make his books his entertainment.

The sixty-fifth enjoins the priest to press those under his cure to confession, penance, and satisfaction. There is likewise mention made of oil, to be used in baptism, and for the anointing the sick.

Spelm. *ibid.*
p. 459.

After these canons there follows a form of confession, with directions for the confessarius. And here the priest is obliged to a thorough examination of the penitent, and to distinguish nicely upon all the circumstances of his misbehaviour. The penance must be proportioned, not only according to the common nature and degree of the crime, but likewise with regard to condition, temper, age, and capacity : for instance, a man of quality and rank ought to suffer more severity of discipline than a peasant or obscure person. The reason of this order is plain ; because such persons are supposed to sin more against light and conviction, to miscarry under a better education, and to be more infectious in their example.

*A form of
confession,
with direc-
tions to the
penitent.*

Before the penitent makes his confession he is obliged to

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.
188.

repeat the Creed ; then, putting himself in a posture of humiliation, he begins to give an account of all his misbehaviour : for instance, he mentions his intemperance in eating and drinking ; his failings with respect to covetousness, envy, detraction, lying, vanity, pride, and profuseness ; he confesses himself to have been frequently the first tempter to an ill practice, to have encouraged the motion in another, to have kept unlawful secrets, and taught others the methods and mystery of vice.

This confession is very particular as to the kinds of sin, and obliges to a discovery of the circumstances as to time and place, but without mention of the persons who may happen to be concerned.

Lastly, the penitent makes his confession to God and his confessor, and prays to our Saviour for the pardon of his sins ; but, in all the process of this penance and devotion, there is no address to the saints, no appealing to their knowledge of his misbehaviour, nor any mention made of them, unless in a petition to God that we may be admitted to the happiness of their society.

Spelman,
ibid.

*A Peniten-
tial drawn
up by ano-
ther hand.*

After this, the Penitential proceeds to state the penance, and determine the degrees of satisfaction. I shall mention some few of the injunctions.

By the third, the penitents were to repair to the cathedral on Ash Wednesday, and appear before the bishop. After they had made their confession, their confessor was to prescribe their penance. If the crime was of a heinous kind, the person was barred the privilege of coming to church ; if the fault was of a lesser guilt, and the penitent behaved himself well, and submitted to the rules of discipline, he was to appear publicly before the bishop on Maunday Thursday, and receive absolution from him.

By the sixth, murder was disciplined with seven years' fasting with bread and water, and the guilty person obliged to lament the crime between God and himself ever after.

By the twelfth, a woman that procured abortion, or murdered her child after it was born, was obliged to a ten years' fast ; three years with bread and water, and for the remaining seven she might be allowed some indulgence at the discretion of her confessor.

By the fifteenth, it appears that it was customary to pray for the dead.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

By the twentieth, adultery was put under the same penance with that mentioned in the twelfth.

By the forty-third, a fault committed when a person was drunk, was to be more severely punished than if he had been sober.

The Penitential proceeds to the other parts of discipline, and mentions something farther by way of satisfaction. And here the penitent is directed to visit the sick and those under trouble, and to assist in the burying of the dead ; to be frequently upon his knees, and prostrate himself in private ; to mortify with watching and other austerities ; and to endeavour the recovery of those who have been misled by his suggestions or example. To conclude : he is put in mind to be charitable to the poor, to disengage from the satisfactions of sense, to be vigilant against his former failings, to endeavour the recovery of his neighbours, and pass the remainder of his life with all the caution and regularity imaginable.

And provided a man found his constitution too weak for the rigours of fasting, the Penitential allows an indulgence, and proposes a method of relaxation. To be qualified for this favour, the penitent was obliged to distribute such a sum of money to the poor ; to redeem captives ; to say the Pater-noster, and the Miserere mei Deus, with hearty contrition and devotion ; and by this commutation the penance was to be shortened proportionably.

*A relaxation
in some
cases.*

And here it is somewhat remarkable, that where the Pater-noster, or Lord's Prayer, is enjoined to be said three score times in a day, there is not the least mention made of one Ave Maria ; which is an argument, that the modern applications to the blessed Virgin were unpractised by the Church in that age.

As to the penance of great men, there seems to be something of singularity in it, and not altogether consistent with the canon above-mentioned. For instance :

Such persons were equally obliged, with others, to make their confession to their confessor, without omitting any particulars ; to forgive those who had injured them ; to promise reformation, and enter upon their penance with the usual signs of sorrow and compunction. And to show they were in earnest, they were to

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

appear in a habit of mortification, not to wear a sword, nor any thing else which looked like ornament or distinction. They were obliged to go barefoot, to wear woollen or sackcloth next them, and to make use of a coarse, uneasy lodging. This discipline was to be practised during the whole course of penance, though the term of it lasted seven years. But here, a great man, that had friends and fortune, had the liberty of relieving himself; for, provided he could get company enough to fast for him, the discipline was shortened, and sometimes, in case the number would allow it, the penance was but three days, which was the utmost of the relaxation. When the rich man was thus assisted by the charity of his friends, himself and the rest were bound to fast the three days with nothing but bread and water, and raw herbs. During this time, the usual dishes of his table were to be given to the poor; the penitent was likewise to sequester himself from his worldly affairs, and spend most of his time at church. Upon the fourth day, he
189. was to wash the poor's feet, and treat them with meat and money. And lastly, he was to be restored at Divine service, and receive absolution and the eucharist. And here the clergy are put in mind to take care that the penitent performs up to the canon, and fails in no part of what he has promised.

A. D. 967.

Now, notwithstanding this abatement of rigour, shortening of penance, and allowing the favour of assistance, may seem too great an indulgence, yet, as much as the reins may appear loosened, it cannot be denied, but that the discipline is made public, the offender brought to submission, and the authority of the keys maintained.

This was the relaxation allowed the laity of the first rank, in case their friends were willing to undergo part of the burden, and do penance with them. But then, notwithstanding this mitigation, the canon concludes, that it is most advisable for every one to suffer in person, and not get any proxies to mortify for them; it being declared in Holy Scripture, that "every one shall bear his own burden."

Gal. vi. 5.
Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 472.

This Penitential speaks in the singular number, and was drawn up by a different authority from that of the canons, and seems, like archbishop Egbert's excerpctions, to have been the orders of some single prelate.

I have been the longer upon these canons and Penitential, to show the reader the forms and religious proceedings of this

age, and to acquaint him, that though we are now sunk into the latter end of the tenth century, and fallen under the greatest disadvantage of time, yet we cannot complain of any remarkable defect in the regulations above-mentioned, or that piety, sense, or discipline, was wanting in the government of the Church.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

About this time, king Edgar furnished the abbey of Rumsey, in Hantshire, with monks, and made one Merwina their abbess.

And now the reputation of the religious gained ground. The court was entirely in their interest, and St. Dunstan's project was ripe for execution. To smoothe the way, and give the matter an air of solemnity, king Edgar was prevailed on to make a speech upon the occasion; where, addressing himself to the prelates, he is very sharp and satirical upon the secular clergy. I shall translate most of it for the reader.

"Since God has pleased, most reverend Fathers, to show his goodness to us in a remarkable manner, it is most reasonable we should exert our endeavours to make a suitable return. And since he has given us so large a command, it is our duty to employ our authority to his honour, and bring our subjects to the observance of his laws. Now, as it is my office to inspect the laity; to take care that there be no stop upon justice; to punish the sacrilegious; to correct the ungovernable; to protect the weak against the mighty; and deliver the poor from him that is too strong for him;—so I am likewise concerned to promote the interest of the Church; to inquire into the behaviour of the clergy and religious; to see that they manage themselves suitably to their character; whether they are careful in the administration of their office, and constant in their instructions; whether they are moderate in their refreshments, regular in their habit, prudent and equitable in deciding the causes that come before them. And under favour, reverend Fathers, if you had looked thoroughly into these matters, we had never had the dissatisfaction of receiving so scandalous a charge against the clergy. And here, not to mention their failing in the shape of their tonsure; not to mention this, I say, what effeminacy do they discover in their habit! what haughtiness in their gesture and motion! what license in their discourse and conversation! And are not these all signs that things are terribly out of order within? Then, as to the busi-

Antiquit.
Britan. in
Dunstan.
Ethelred
Rieval. do
Geneal.
Reg. Angl.
p. 360.
*King Ed-
gar's speech
in favour of
the monks
against the
secular
clergy.*
A. D. 969.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

ness of their functions, with what negligence is the Divine service performed ! They will scarcely vouchsafe their company at the holy vigils ; and when they enter upon the most solemn parts of religion, they appear with a foreign air, and fall short of the gravity of the occasion. I am sorry to say how excessive they are in their entertainments ! how much they are governed by an intemperate appetite ! and what lengths they have taken in a libertine practice ! Thus the encouragements of religion are perverted, and the bounty of princes abused. Had our ancestors foreseen their liberality would have been squandered away thus profusely, and spent upon luxury and disorder, they would certainly have held their hand. And if all this misbehaviour had been private and unobserved, the case had been more tolerable. But, alas ! the crimes break out into public notice, and the scandal grows notorious. And yet, methinks the liberty is strangely connived at, and overlooked by the prelacy. Would not the sword of Levi, would not the zeal of Simeon be seasonably drawn, and exerted upon this occasion ? Where is the spirit of Moses, who punished the idolatry of the golden calf in his own blood and relations ? Where is Phineas's lance to pursue debauchery, and execute justice without the least delay ? And yet we see this severity of zeal, this sudden revenge was acceptable to God Almighty. What is become of St. Peter's indignation and censure against simony and covetousness ? You, that are priests of the most high God, ought to copy the proceedings, and be governed by the precedents of him you represent. It is high time to appear against those who have broke through the rules of duty and religion. I have Constantine's, and you have St. Peter's sword. Let us join our force, and unite our respective authorities, that by employing the spiritual and civil power in the same cause, and being thus assistant to each other, the lepers may be discharged the camp, the holy sanctuary may be cleansed, and the sons of Levi put into the temple ministrations ; of Levi, I say, who was governed by no partialities to his relations : ' who said unto his father, and his mother, I have not seen him, neither did he acknowledge his brethren.' Awaken your discipline, therefore, I beseech you, that we may not repent our bounty, nor be sorry for our kindness to the Church. Let the disrespect shown to the relics of the saints, let the profaning the altars with unsuitable approaches, pro-

190.

Deut.
xxxiii. 9.

voke you to animadversion ; and do not suffer the piety of your ancestors to be defeated any longer. You know how much my father, grandfather, great grandfather, &c., have lessened their royal revenues, and exhausted their exchequer in religious benefactions. Most reverend Father Dunstan, I desire you would raise your imagination upon this occasion. Pray look up to heaven a little ; fancy you see my father in his station of glory, glistening among the stars, and ready to launch himself from the sky. Imagine you hear him deliver himself to you in this language of expostulation and complaint : ‘ O venerable Father Dunstan, you used to suggest serviceable advice to me about the building of churches and monasteries ; you prompted my piety upon all opportunities, and assisted in the execution of the project ; I pitched upon you particularly for my pastor and spiritual father, for the guardian of my soul, and the inspector of my behaviour ; and did I not always comply with whatever you suggested ? Did I not always prefer your advice to patrimony and treasure ? How frankly have I laid out my fortune upon your proposals. My distributions of charity were always ready when you called for them. If land or privilege was desired for the Church, it was done as soon as mentioned. If you complained that the monks or clergy were short in their conveniences, they were immediately supplied by the court. You used to tell me, that the best use of money was to spend it upon the Church and poor ; that such liberalities would prove immortal in the benefit, help towards an atonement for our failings, and prove the greatest charities to the giver. And is it not an intolerable misapplication, that this holy revenue should be expended upon women, and misemployed for the support of vanity and unnecessary figure ? What can you answer to such a charge as this ? I am convinced (says king Edgar), most holy Father, that this is none of your fault. When you saw a thief, you consented not unto him, neither have you been partaker with the adulterers. No ; you have entreated and menaced, but all to no purpose ; and since words signify nothing, it is time to rise in your discipline and come to blows. For this purpose, you shall be sure not to want the countenance of royal authority. You have likewise Ethelwald and Oswald, the right reverend Fathers of Winchester and Worcester, to assist you. I give you three a joint commission for this purpose, and refer the management wholly

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

Ps. l. 18.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

to you. It is your part therefore to exert the episcopal authority, in conjunction with that of the crown, to expel the disorderly clergy from the monasteries, and put in such as live regularly in their place."

*Remarks
upon king
Edgar's
speech.*

This speech is raised and polished in the original much above the elocution of the tenth century; and therefore, I should have supposed Jocelin might have worked the matter he found into a brighter form; I should have supposed this, I say, had I not met with this harangue in Rievallensis, an ancient historian. As to the contents, if they are directed against the married clergy, as it is generally supposed, the charge is pushed too far. If all this tempest of rhetoric is raised against marriage, it is more than can be defended. If the satire points upon this quarter, it bears hard against the Scriptures, and contradicts the doctrine and practice of the ancient Church. This, with respect to the clergy, has been shown in some measure already, and shall be farther made good afterwards. This remark, I hope, is no failure of regard to a prince's memory. No advantage of character ought to protect a mistake; for "truth is greater than the king."

We may observe, in the second place, that none but the clergy in monasteries and cathedrals are complained of, and disturbed; and even they are only dislodged, but, as far as we can learn by the history, not obliged to part with their wives. And thus, when the monks were put in possession, the prosecutors seemed satisfied, and thought the reformation had gone far enough. However, if the monks had any legal title to these places, we must not complain of their ejecting the secular clergy; but a fair claim is more than they could make out in several places. For instance: the monastery of Ely, though first built and endowed for religious, yet it was only designed for nuns, who lived there till the place was sacked and demolished by Inguar and Hubba. After the heat of this Danish invasion was over, the secular clergy rebuilt the monastery, and held it a hundred years, till they were turned out by king Edgar's order; so that we see they had immemorial custom to plead. And besides, when they were forced to resign, it was to the monks, who had neither evidence nor predecessors to make a title. However, St. Dunstan and the bishops of Winchester and Worcester, being fortified with the king's commission, proceeded vigorously in their

*Historia
Eliensis
Angl. Sacr.
par. 1.*

*Chronic.
Brompton,
p. 868.*

design. Oswald, for his part, is said to have ejected the married clergy, out of seven monasteries in the diocese of Worcester. And to make all sure, they got the pope to appear in their cause, and confirm their proceedings. Neither was this caution any more than necessary; because, in some places they had strained the law, and broke in upon the settlement of the foundation: for instance, the cathedral of Worcester was all along furnished with secular canons till Oswald's time, as appears by the acts of the council of Worcester, held under Wulfstan, and other unquestionable authorities.

Oswald, knowing the secular clergy thus fortified in their plea, was willing to make use of stratagem, and remove them as gently as he could. For this purpose, he built a new church to the honour of the blessed Virgin in St. Peter's church-yard, and absented himself from the cathedral; and having furnished this new church with monks, he used to converse mostly with them, and officiate for their devotions. The people perceiving the bishop had left the cathedral and frequented the new church, they all ran thither for the benefit of his blessing. And now the secular clergy finding themselves deserted, submitted to the new regulation and took the monastic habit: thus the matter is reported by Eadmer and Malmesbury. But Florence of Worcester, and the monk of Ramsey, tell us the expedients were more violent. It is some few years since, as has been observed, that the monks had gained this advantage at Winchester; but here Ethelwald the bishop treated the secular clergy with more than usual compassion, and settled several farms belonging to the bishopric upon them. But, notwithstanding St. Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwald pushed their point, and carried their enterprise in most places, yet it seems they could not succeed in the church of Canterbury. That the canons of this church were secular clergy in archbishop Odo's time, appears by a bull of privilege from pope John XIII. This bull was dated but fourteen years at most, before this pretended reformation. That these canons were turned out by St. Dunstan, is more than appears; the negative is much more probable, both from the silence of history upon this occasion, and likewise from what is afterwards mentioned by Thorn, who informs us, that the secular clergy were expelled the church of Canterbury by

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

191.

Eadmer de
Vit. S. Os-
wald, Angl.
Sacr. pars 2.
p. 200.
Ibid. et An-
nal. Eccles.
Winton.
Angl. Sacr.
pars 1.
p. 290.

Angl. Sacr.
pars 1.
p. 546. et
pars 2.
p. 202.

*Oswald's
contrivance
to remove
the secular
clergy at
Worcester.*

A. D. 969.

Eadmer de
Vit. Oswald,
Angl. Sacr.
pars 2. p. 202.
Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
l. 3. fol. 153.
Angl. Sacr.
ibid.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
l. 2. fol. 139.

*Secular
clergy most
at this time.*
Chronicon.
Thorn.
p. 1778.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.
Thorn.
Chronic.
p. 1780.

*The council
of Win-
chester.
Osbern. de
Vit. S. Dun-
stan.*

*The contro-
versy between
the monks
and secular
clergy pre-
tended to be
decided by a
miracle.*

Eadmer de
Vit. S. Dun-
stan. Angl.
Sacr. pars. 2.
p. 219.

Isaiah viii.
20.
*The counte-
nance of a
prodigy not
always an
evidence of a
good cause.*

archbishop Alfrick, in the year 1005, and the monks settled in their place. And now it seems the clergy had made their complaint to the king, and petitioned him for justice against St. Dunstan. Therefore, to give a stronger colour to this innovation, and to make it the better relished, there was a council convened at Winchester either this year, or the last.

At this council, or convention, the king, the queen, and the temporal nobility were present. And now the cause was brought on, and the point debated. And here, as Eadmer will have it, St. Dunstan disarmed his adversaries, and drove them out of the field. However, it seems the king and the principal laity were not so perfectly gained, as to refuse to intercede for the secular clergy. They desired the canons might be put in possession again, and have the favour of a farther trial. This motion put St. Dunstan to a stand, and made him pause for an answer. And now, it seems there was a deep silence in the court; but before St. Dunstan declared himself, the case, as Eadmer reports, was determined by a response from heaven; for a crucifix hanging aloft in the room, pronounced with an audible voice, “Non fiet, non fiet; judicastis bene, mutaretis non bene;” that is, It shall not be done, it shall not be done: you have decided the matter well, and would be to blame if you should change. The convention being astonished with this oracle, St. Dunstan asked them what farther satisfaction they could desire; for you have heard, says he, the matter decided by God himself. The allegation being allowed, the clergy were forced to submit, and leave the monks in possession of their revenues.

I would be loth to suppose St. Dunstan used deceit to over-rule this point: however, there might be some art used without the privity of this prelate. But, granting the voice was altogether extraordinary, and the sentence delivered in a prodigy; granting this, I say, we know there are spirits that do not always speak truth. A wonder is no certain evidence of divinity. If a prophet amongst the Jews had declared against the established religion, they were not to give credit to his character. To the law, and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. To apply this remark; the miracle, we know, is vouched to censure the marriage of the clergy. Now, if this design has no countenance either from Scripture, or the primi-

tive Church, we are not bound to take notice of any proofs from prodigy to support it. I shall examine the pretended determination of the crucifix by this test: and, since the monkish historians have vouchsafed us nothing of the defence made by the married clergy, I shall give the reader a brief account from Scripture and antiquity concerning this matter.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

In representing the history of this case, I shall endeavour to show; first, that the celibacy of the clergy was not instituted either by our Saviour or his apostles.

*A defence of
the marriage
of the clergy.*

Secondly; that the imposition of it upon any order of men is unwarrantable: and,

Thirdly; that it was never universally imposed, or practised in the ancient Church.

First; that there is no law of God enjoining the celibacy of bishops or priests, is confessed by Roman Catholics themselves. They own, that under the Old Testament it was lawful for priests to marry, even after their promotion to the sacerdotal office; and that our Saviour in the New Testament, has left us no precept upon this head. Now, since marriage was not forbidden the clergy by the moral law, they must remain in the same liberty with other people, unless they are barred by a manifest prohibition in revelation. It is true, Bellarmine urges that precept of the apostle's, that a bishop should be sober and temperate; but these words do not come up to the point: they import no more, than standing clear of drunkenness and covetousness, as appears by their being opposed to not being given to wine and filthy lucre in the former verse. Or if we should, with St. Chrysostom, interpret ἐγκρατῆς, of an universal temperance; we are then to take notice, that temperance implies nothing else but moderation in the use of warrantable liberties. Or, lastly, if we should strain the words σώφρονα and ἐγκρατῆς, and confine them to the signification of chaste and continent, yet the Fathers affirm that these virtues are not inconsistent with marriage and cohabitation, as we shall prove afterwards.

192.

Tit. iii. 8.

To fortify the argument farther, we may remember St. Paul reasoned before Felix, περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας, or righteousness and temperance, and yet we cannot suppose that by any of these exhortations, St. Paul persuaded Felix to part with his wife. We shall now consider the seventh chapter of

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

Verse 6.

Verse 9.

Verse 27.

Verse 28.

the first epistle to the Corinthians, much insisted on by those who plead for celibacy : now, by a thorough consideration of this chapter, it appears first, that the apostle declares he speaks by permission, and not by commandment. Secondly, in some cases he advises marriage, without exception of any order of persons. Thirdly, he leaves it to people's choice, and allows them to manage their liberty at their own discretion. Fourthly, he recommends single life, not upon the score of merit, but convenience : because the Church was likely to fall under a state of persecution. Fifthly, we are to observe, that the apostle's advice in this chapter was not particularly directed to the clergy, but to all Christians in general. The apostle no where limits his discourse to the former, but all along applies himself to believers in common. That the celibacy of the clergy is neither of divine, nor apostolical institution, is owned by some of the greatest divines of the Church of Rome ; I shall give an instance or two besides what has been already hinted : the first shall be drawn from the canon law, which may be looked on as the sense of the Church of Rome for some ages. Thus then Gratian has it : "*Copula sacerdotalis nec legali, nec apostolica autoritate prohibetur, ecclesiastica tamen lege penitus interdicitur ;*" that is, the marriage of priests is forbidden neither by the Mosaic, nor the evangelical law. But for all that, it is by no means allowed by the constitutions of the Church.

Caus. 26.
Qu. 2. c. 1.

The second testimony is that of Johannes a Ludegna, in a speech of his at the council of Trent : here this divine proves at large, that the celibacy of the clergy is not founded upon any command, either of our Saviour or the apostles ; and therefore were it not for the restraints of ecclesiastical laws, and monastic vows, priests or monks might lawfully marry. His words are, "*Si nulla lex aut nulla essent vota monastica, liceret sacerdotibus, aut monachis nubere.*"

Concil.
tom. 14.
p. 1551.

To proceed, the apostle does not only not forbid, but even expressly permits marriage to the clergy. For laying down the qualifications of a bishop, the highest degree of the clergy, he proposes this as one, that he be "blameless, the husband of one wife." And thus, in the epistle to Titus, the text mentions of a priest, "that he be the husband of one wife, having faithful children :" and in the epistle to the Corinthians, he allows every man his own wife, without limitation or distinction.

1 Tim. iii. 2.
Tit. i. 6.

That by “the husband of one wife,” is not meant a widower, never married but once, is sufficiently evident, because this interpretation seems repugnant to the vulgar acceptance of the word “husband;” and likewise to the following precept of “ruling their houses well.” Besides, it is plainly confuted by the practice of the ancient Church, in which many persons were admitted to holy orders, who had wives living and dwelling with them. To instance, at present, only in the apostolical constitutions in which the apostles are introduced, delivering themselves in this manner: “We have ordered that a bishop, priest, or deacon, should be the husband of one wife, whether their wives be alive or dead.” Thus we see this interpretation of “the husband of one wife,” for a widower, is unsupported, and without colour. There are three other explications of *μονόγαμος*, not without reasons and authority to back them: first, the apostles seem to mean no more than that persons in holy orders, should not have two wives at the same time. Secondly, that they should not have two wives successively, the one after the other. Thirdly, that they should not have two wives living at the same time, one after the divorce of the other. The first interpretation was generally followed by the Greek, the other by the Latin Fathers; though St. Chrysostom allows both: and St. Jerome, in several places, admits all three. Which of these interpretations is the best, is of no great concern to the present business, since each of them leaves the clergy the liberty of marriage: however, it may not be improper to observe, that Theodoret declares for the first opinion, and argues, that in one case digamy, that is, marrying a second wife after the death of the first, is no manner of blemish to the character of a priest. This Father having told us he was not singular in his opinion, and proved it by several reasons, concludes thus: “They,” says he, “seem to me to be in the right, who hold that the apostle here declares that person worthy of episcopal ordination, who lives in sobriety with one only wife; not that he has herein rejected second marriages, which, in many cases, he has even commanded.” Nay, St. Jerome himself, when not overborne with the torrent of disputation, proposes a case, and inclines to the same opinion.

Having thus set aside the pretence of divine or apostolical institution, I shall proceed to observe, that this extraordinary

EDGAR,
K. of
England.
1 Cor. vii. 2.

1 Tim. iii. 4.

Chrysost.
Hom. 10. in
Prim. Ep. ad
Tim. et
Hom. 11. in
Ep. ad Tit.

193.

Theod.
Com. in Ep.
ad Tim. c. 3.
Hieron.
Com. in Ep.
ad Tit. c. 1.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

regard for a single life, seems first started by Tertullian, who, in the latter part of his time being led away with the enthusiasms of Montanus, endeavoured to refine upon the Christian religion, and strain it up to angelical perfection. This author led the way to the Latin Church, and spread the prejudice, in some measure, among the Greeks. We may likewise observe, that the excessive commendation of virginity, and the progress of ignorance, kept pace with each other; and that the reputation of celibacy was highest, when knowledge was at the lowest ebb; as will appear to any one that considers the history of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and compares them with the other periods of the Church. Whereas when the argument is impartially considered, it will be found there is no intrinsic excellence in single life, by way of comparison: and that the imputations of discredit and disadvantage, thrown upon marriage, are no better than monastic pedantry, a reflection upon the state of the creation, and the order of Providence.

That sobriety is not inconsistent with marriage, appears Heb. xiii. 4. plainly by the apostle's assuring us, "that marriage is honourable in all men, and the bed undefiled." And herein, as is most reasonable, the apostle is followed by almost all the Fathers: I shall allege some of them.

*Paphnutius
declares for
the marriage
of the clergy.*

Sozom. l. 1.
c. 23.
Socrat. Hist.
Eccles. l. 1.
c. 11.

First, The great Paphnutius, who, when in the council of Nice, the celibacy of the clergy was proposed under the pretence of promoting chastity: this holy man, I say, upon this question declared, "that cohabitation with a lawful wife was chastity," and was applauded for his sentence by the whole council. This Paphnutius, who was a bishop in Egypt, and a confessor, told the council, that "though he had lived all his life-time in celibacy, yet he did not think this restraint ought to be imposed on the clergy." This passage, though related by Socrates and Sozomen, is questioned by some of the Church of Rome: but Monsieur Du Pin has the ingenuousness to remark, that he believes they question the truth of this story, rather for fear it might prejudice the present discipline, than upon the score of any solid proof.

Vales. An-
not. in Loc.
Socrat.

Du Pin,
New Eccles.
Hist. tom. 2.
under Coun-
cil of Nice.

To go on to another testimony, Clemens Alexandrinus affirms, "that just men under the old law had children and lived in marriage with sobriety. What!" says he, "cannot people cohabit in matrimony with the character of temperance? Without all doubt: let us not therefore attempt to dissolve an

union of God's institution." And St. Ambrose tells us, "that virginity has its rewards, widowhood its merits, and that there is a regard due to conjugal sobriety." And, in the same epistle, he comes up full to the point: "the apostle," says he, "commands a bishop to be the husband of one wife: not that he excludes an unmarried man, for that is farther than the precept reaches: there is therefore no more meant by this qualification, than that by conjugal chastity he may guard his virtue, and preserve the grace given him in baptism."

EDGAR,
K. of
England.
Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 3.
Ambros.
Epist. 82 ad
Vercell.

Since then sobriety and chastity are common both to marriage and celibacy, the latter, as such, can have no intrinsic advantage in this respect above the other. Indeed the circumstances of either condition have their distinct advantages; affording peculiar opportunities for the exercise of virtues of a different kind: but these advantages are only accidental, and the living better, or more imperfectly, does not depend so much upon the states, as the persons that manage them. Besides what has been already urged in honour of marriage, we may add, that this state was instituted by God in paradise; and can any man desire to exceed the innocence, and rise above the virtues of our first parents before the fall? To argue *ad hominem*, marriage is counted a sacrament in the Church of Rome: and therefore since it is dignified in this manner, and confers grace, why should the clergy be deprived of it?

I shall now advance to the second point to be proved, and that is, since celibacy was neither instituted by Christ, nor his apostles, it is not in the power of the Church to impose it on the clergy; the succeeding Church cannot challenge a greater authority than the apostles: and their authority, as we are assured by St. Paul, was given them for "edification, and not for destruction." It is plain, therefore, it exceeds the commis- 2 Cor. x. 8.
sion of their successors to oblige any order of men to a state of temptation and hazard; and to impose laws upon them, which, by what our Saviour has said, we have reason to con-clude impracticable: to which we may add, that it is not in the power of the Church to bar any person totally from the privileges and rights of the creation, though she may restrain this liberty as to times and seasons.

Matt. xix.
11.

I shall now in the third place go on to the historical part, and prove, that the celibacy of the clergy was looked upon as a thing indifferent in the two first centuries, proposed by some

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

persons in the third; but not imposed, even at Rome, till the latter end of the fourth. And notwithstanding, at last, it gained ground in some provinces of the west, it was never imposed nor practised in the east, from the first to the present age.

194. And here we may observe, that the testimonies of the Fathers, which I shall produce for the lawfulness of marriage, are either drawn from their dogmatical tracts, where they had no occasion to declaim; or from their harangues upon single life, where the very force of truth extorted those confessions from them; whereas the authorities made use of to press celibacy upon the clergy, are, for the most part, either taken from their panegyrics upon virginity; or from their polemical renounters, where the heat of disputation was apt to carry them out to hyperbole and excess: and therefore, upon such occasions, it is no wonder if they sometimes pushed the point a little too far.

To this observation, we may add the confession of several great men of the Church of Rome, who grant celibacy neither to have been imposed, nor universally practised in the ancient Church. And here, not to mention Cassander, Erasmus, and the more moderate Roman Catholics, I shall only produce the testimony of Gratian and Mendosa; the last of whom acknowledges marriage was always allowed the clergy, and every where thought indifferent, till forbidden by the council of Illiberis, in the fourth century. The first goes farther, arguing in these words from an epistle of pope Pelagius, in the sixth age. "From this authority," says Gratian, "it appears, that priests, deacons, and subdeacons, might then lawfully marry and cohabit. And in the time of the council of Ancyra (in the fourth age) the continence of the ministers of the altar was not yet introduced."

De Confirm.
Concil.
Illiber. l. 2.
c. 66.

Dist. 28.
c. 13.

Having advanced these preliminary observations, I shall proceed to matter of fact. To begin with the precedent of the apostles, St. Basil seems to believe, that all the apostles were married: where speaking in commendation of marriage, he instances in the example of St. Peter, and the rest of the apostles. The interpolater of Ignatius's epistles, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, produces likewise the practice of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the other apostles for this point.

Serm. de
Abdicat.
Rerum post
init.

Epist. ad
Philadelph.

To proceed to succeeding ages. Clemens Alexandrinus

assures us, that every Christian in his time, “might either choose or decline marriage at his discretion.” And a little after, he continues thus: “the apostle approves a man’s being the husband of one wife, whether he be priest, deacon, or layman, provided he behaves himself regularly in this state.”

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

Strom. l. 3.

It is true, about the year 170, Pinytus, bishop of Gnosus in Crete, made an attempt to impose celibacy on his clergy, under pretence of greater perfection. The famous Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, being informed of his design, wrote a letter to him, in which he represented the injustice of the attempt, and persuaded him, “not to impose so heavy a burden as necessity of single life upon the brethren, but rather to have regard to the infirmities of the majority.” Now that the clergy are meant by the brethren in this place, appears clearly from the character which Eusebius gives of Pinytus, that he was a pious and orthodox person; whereas, had he imposed celibacy on all the faithful clergy and laity, he had been guilty of a gross heresy. That Pinytus was governed by Dionysius’s advice we are assured by Ruffinus, who tells us, that “Pinytus writing back to him, regulated his practice by his better advice.”

Eusebius,
Hist. Eccles.
l. 4. c. 23.

Ruff. Hist.
Eccles. l. 4.
c. 23.

In the third age, Origen, though a great admirer of celibacy, plainly insinuates, that once marrying was permitted to the clergy without distinction: “not only fornication,” says he, “but also second marriage, excludes from ecclesiastical dignities: for neither a bishop, nor priest, nor deacon, can be digamists.”

Hom. 17.
in Luc.

To proceed: St. Polycarp, who should have been mentioned before, expresses himself to be very sorry for Valens, presbyter of Philippi, and his wife. That Tertullian, a priest of Carthage, was married, is granted by all; that his wife and he lived separately after his taking holy orders, is a mere pretence, and may be confuted by Tertullian’s own words, “Quare facultatem continentiae quantum possumus non diligamus? Quum primum obvenerit imbibamus, ut quod in matrimonio non valemus, in viduitate sectemur. Amplectenda occasio est quæ adimit quod necessitas imperabat.” A little before Tertullian’s time, Irenæus relates, how Marcus, the arch-heretic, being entertained by a Catholic deacon in Asia, who had a handsome wife, debauched her both in principles and person, and made her elope with him. In the Decian persecution, Chæremon, bishop of Nile, in Egypt, retired to the mountains of Arabia, ἄμα τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτοῦ; that is, as Valesius rightly translates it, with

Epist. ad
Philip. prope
fin.

Ad Uxor.
l. 1.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.
Eccles. Hist.
l. 6. c. 42.
Epist. 49. ad
Cornelium.

his wife. One of the articles of impeachment, with which St. Cyprian charged Novatus, a priest of Carthage, was, that he kicked his wife when she was big with child, and made her miscarry. That St. Cyprian himself was married, and lived with his wife after receiving holy orders, we may learn from Pontius his deacon: who, mentioning his extraordinary piety, when he was only a priest, tells us, "that neither poverty, nor the persuasion of his wife, could put him upon looking after his estate, because he was afraid business might draw him off from the exercises of religion." And in the Dioclesian persecution, Phileas, bishop of Thumis in Egypt, and Philoromus, being brought before a pagan tribunal to receive the sentence of martyrdom, were advised by the bench to sacrifice, to prevent the ruin of their wives and children.

In Vit.
Cyprian.

Eusebius,
Eccles. Hist.
l. 8. c. 9.

195.

It is true, the recommending celibacy by Tertullian, St. Jerome, and other persons of learning, elocution, and character, made the reputation of marriage, especially in the clergy, lose ground both in the eastern and western Churches. However, the custom of the ancient Church, as to this point, was not strict and universal; for marriage was permitted even after the taking of orders, as shall be shown afterwards; and eventually allowed to all, provided they quitted their function, and returned to lay-communion. Secondly, if any single person desiring orders, apprehended celibacy would prove a dangerous condition, he was not only permitted, but advised by the Church, first to marry, and then receive orders; so that they frequently married when they designed to go into priest's orders. This liberty was allowed by the sixth general council, which forbids marriage after receiving any of the higher orders: "but," says the canon, "if any one who is ordained, have a mind to marry, let him do it before he be a subdeacon or priest, and then let him take orders." Thirdly, by allowing the clergy to continue married, and cohabit after ordination, they grant the defensibility of this engagement: for if there be any thing in marriage, which makes it inconsistent with the dignity and character of priesthood, this disadvantage must fall upon cohabitation; and if so, cohabitation consequent upon marriage contracted before ordination, as well as after, will be liable to this censure: for the contract itself is so far from having an exceptionable complexion, that the Church of Rome believes it a sacrament.

However, the excessive panegyrics upon celibacy, and the

pretended unsuitableness of marriage to the clergy, made some of this order part with their wives, and that sometimes without their consent. This superstitious and indiscreet conduct was censured by the Church, as appears by the apostolical canons; the fifth of which runs thus:—"Let no bishop, priest, or deacon put away his wife upon pretence of religion: if he does, let him be excommunicated, and if he continues obstinate, degraded."

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

To proceed. Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia, in Armenia, formed a new, but then plausible heresy: that holy things and sacraments ought not to be administered by the married clergy. With this doctrine he made great numbers desert into schism, and gave the Church no small disturbance. To give check to this mischief, the council of Gangra met about the year 324, who condemning this heresy, and deposing the author of it, made this canon: "If any one questions a married priest, as if it were unlawful to communicate when he officiates, let him be anathema." And when, with respect to bishops, priests, and deacons, a total sequestration from marriage was proposed in the council of Nice, all the historians represent this imposition as *νεαρός νόμος*, a new and unheard of law. The women called *συνείσακτοι* and *ἀγαπηταί*, forbidden by the council of Nice, were not clergymen's wives, as the doctors of the Church of Rome suppose, but only their housekeepers. The Latins call them *subintroductæ*, *adscititiæ*, *extraneæ*, &c. This, besides other instances, appears from the book *De Singularite Clericorum*, printed with Cyprian's works, which probably was written in the fifth age, or as some will have it, in the time of Venerable Bede. This author, speaking of these *subintroductæ*, has these remarkable words, "At quid sibi adhibuit mulierem qui ducere contempsit uxorem? Ita is qui despexit vincula nuptiarum, et aliter vinculis fœmineis obligatur," &c. "Why has he taken a housekeeper, who despised the state of marriage? At this rate, he who takes check at the engagements of marriage, retains a dangerous correspondence with women!" St. Gregory Nazianzen, speaking of these *suneisactoi*, or housekeepers, declares, he does not know whether to call them married or unmarried persons, considering their odd liberties and behaviour. St. Chrysostom speaks to the same purpose in his

Socrat. Eccles. Hist.
l. 1. c. 2.
Sozom. Hist. Eccles.
l. 1. c. 23.

Carmen. de
Virginit.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

first homily, *Contra Suneisactos*. And, lastly, St. Jerome declaims very warmly against them: "*puDET dicere proH nefas! Triste sed verum est, unde in ecclesiam agapetarum pestis introiit? Unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum, immo unde novum concubinarum genus?*" that is, "the practice is so scandalous, that I am ashamed to mention it: how did this infectious conversation of housekeepers gain ground upon the Church? This is a strange and new sort of correspondence; wives without matrimony is a thing that I never heard of!" &c. The book above mentioned, *De Singularitate Clericorum*, gives farther proof that these subintroductæ, extraneæ, &c. were housekeepers, and not wives to the clergy. The words run thus: "*qui nunc pro dimittendis fœminis alienis adhærent, quid facerent si liberos et uxores projicere jubeantur?*" &c. That is, "if the clergy are so loth to part with women unrelated to them, what would they do if they were enjoined to put away their wives and children?"

*The author-
ity of Paph-
nutius's ad-
vice farther
defended.*

The famous case of celibacy moved in the council of Nice, and overruled by Paphnutius, has been already mentioned; and the matter of fact vouched by Socrates and Sozomen: now, because the truth of the history is questioned by Baronius and Bellarmin, to fortify the testimony therefore, we may observe that Nicephorus, Cassiodorus, and Suidas report the case in much the same words: to which we may add Ivo Carnotensis, Gratian, and Blastares; not to omit Gelasius Cyzicenus, who is ancients than all of them, except the two first, and transcribed the acts of that council out of Dalmatius, bishop of Cyzicum's copy, who was present in the general council of Ephesus; so that, in short, they who question the truth of this history, may dispute whether there was such a synod as the council of Nice. Now, that by the third canon of this council, housekeepers, and not wives, are forbidden the clergy, appears,

196.

First, by the authority of all the historians last mentioned. For if the council, by this canon, had barred the clergy from having wives, the advice of Paphnutius would not have been followed, but rejected.

Secondly, I have proved already, that the *suneisactoi* were a sort of women never reckoned under the character of wives.

Thirdly, the practice of the Greek Church is a demonstra-

tion of this assertion : for they have always allowed their clergy to cohabit with their wives, from the council of Nice to this day.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

Fourthly, if the canon should not be thus interpreted, marriage would be forbidden to the lowest orders of the clergy, contrary to the practice of the universal Church in all ages. For, after the mention of bishops, priests, and deacons, the canon subjoins *μήτε ὅλως τινὶ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ*; which prohibition proves farther than the Church of Rome would have it, and comprehends the readers and acolyths, &c., who were always allowed to marry. It is granted, towards the end of the fourth century, it was not unusual for bishops, both of the eastern and western Church, to make some advances towards celibacy at their promotion. But as to priests, the business of single life was neither countenanced nor discountenanced by any public constitutions, even in the western Church : I say, not in the western Church, till the time of pope Siricius, who, in St. Jerome's opinion, had but a slender share of discretion. This pope published the first order in the west against priests and deacons cohabiting with their wives ; though, by the way, it appears by his order, they lived in this point like the laity. For, though near Rome, and in the greater Churches about Italy, the doctrines of celibacy, or something equivalent, were much practised ; yet, in many remoter places, St. Ambrose observes, “ that deacons and priests cohabited without any of these restraints, and defended their liberty by ancient custom.” Farther, Athanasius, in his epistle to Dracontius, reports, “ that bishops were married in his time, and under no other prohibitions than laymen.”

Epist. 16.
Pope Siricius the first prelate that made constitutions for the celibacy of the clergy.

In the year 357, the emperor Constantius made a law to exempt clergymen, their wives and children, from taxes and all public burdens. And in this century, those who refused the ministration of married bishops or priests, are reprimanded by St. Gregory Nazianzen. To which we may add, that in the middle of the fifth age Socrates informs us, “ that those bishops and priests who did not cohabit, came under this restraint purely by their own choice, not being obliged to it by any canon ; many of them, even after their promotion to bishoprics, having lawful issue.”

Cod. Theod.
l. 16. leg. 10.

Orat. 40. in
Baptism,
c. 25.

Socrat. Hist.
Eccles. l. 5.
c. 22.

And here it may not be improper to observe, that after

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

Syntagm.
Alphab.
1. 5. c. 2.

Novel. 3.

Canon 12.

Canon 33.

Sozom.
Hist. Eccles.
1. 1. c. 11.

Nazianz.
Carm. de
Vita sua.

Hist. Eccles.
1. 1. c. 19.
Epist. 95.

celibacy had prevailed somewhat in the eastern Church, there was a custom introduced, by virtue of which, as Blastares expresses it, "it was lawful for priests to marry any time within ten years after their ordination." This custom continued till the end of the ninth century, being then set aside by Leo, the emperor, from whose constitution it appears this custom was then general: though it must be said, this record, instead of ten years, mentions only two. As to the bishops of Afric, Lybia, and some other places, they continued married as formerly, till the end of the seventh century, when the Quinisext council obliged them to a separation for the better edification of the people, as they call it. As for the marriage of the rest of the clergy, it was so common at that time in the eastern Church, that in Armenia they had a custom to admit none into orders but the sons of the clergy. This was wrong practice, and therefore condemned by the Quinisext council.

From general authorities, we may proceed to particular instances of the marriage of the eastern clergy after the council of Nice. For instance: in that famous council, there was one Spyridion, bishop of Tremethuntis, in Cyprus, very remarkable for his piety, miracles, and gift of prophecy. This great bishop, Sozomen observes, "had wife and children, and yet upon that account was no less qualified for the administration of holy things." Soon after the council of Nice, Gregory was made bishop of Nazianzum: some little time before his promotion, he was married, and had issue Gregory Nazianzen and Cesarius after he was made bishop. Baronius pretends to argue against this testimony, and to refute it by chronology; but his exceptions are shown insufficient by Capellus, and the learned Mr. Wharton. Farther, St. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, was certainly married, and lived with his wife, Theosebia, till her death, as appears not only by the testimony of Nicephorus, but likewise from St. Nazianzen's consolatory letter to St. Gregory Nyssen; in which he takes notice, that she had lived with him all along, and calls her, "the worthy wife and companion of a bishop." To these testimonies we may add, the famous instance of Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, in Egypt: before he was invited into this station, he was married, and declared frankly, that if they would prefer him to a bishopric, he was resolved not to part with his wife, but to

cohabit with her as before. But, notwithstanding this declaration, he was consecrated bishop of Ptolemais, by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.
Epist. 105.
ad Fratrem.

As to the practice of the western Church, St. Jerome, in his tract against Jovinian, owns that a great many married men were made priests in his time. When St. Augustine wrote against Faustus, the Manichean, it is plain that celibacy was not imposed on the Church of Afric: and here, by the reasoning of Faustus, it appears, that both by the principles of the Manicheans and Catholics, a prohibition of marriage to any persons, was reckoned unlawful and impious.

197.

August.
Advers.
Faust. l. 30.

We may take notice farther, that Siricius, in imposing celibacy upon the clergy, pleads neither divine institution, nor ancient custom; but only the impropriety of that condition: and therefore Innocent I. reviving the imposition, grants, it was no part of ecclesiastical discipline before Siricius's decree: for ordering those who disobeyed that constitution to be deposed, he adds, "but if it shall be proved, that the regulation of the clergy, sent into the provinces by the bishop Siricius, came not to the knowledge of some of them, their ignorance should be pardoned, provided they abstained for the future." Now if celibacy had been long settled in the Church by ecclesiastical canons, and become the standing discipline, none could have pleaded, or deserved pardon for their ignorance.

Epist. 3. c. 1.

And thus having proved the marriage of the clergy warrantable by Scripture, practised and justified through the first five ages of the Church, I need proceed no farther in the defence of it: for though the argument might be carried on, the point made good, and the liberty maintained for several centuries farther; yet because I may have occasion to resume the subject, with respect to the Church of England, I shall stop here. By what has been said already, I hope we may be now in a condition to stand the shock of king Edgar's speech, and deal with St. Dunstan's miracle¹.

¹ The question here discussed, respecting ecclesiastical celibacy, is now happily drawing to a solution, to which Romanists and Protestants will gradually yield their assent. The very Papalists who so stoutly maintained the necessity of celibacy are now coming round to an orthodox view of the case. Before us lies a little book, written by a Roman Catholic clergyman, during the last year, entitled, "Remarks on the Celibacy of the Roman Catholic Clergy, by the Rev. —, the P. P. of —, county of —, Ireland." Its author grants the superiority of celibacy for clergymen, but insists on the lawfulness and frequent expediency of marriage. We trust that this is the commencement of a period in which Roman Catholics will throw off many errors of doctrine and

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.
*St. Dunstan
excommuni-
cates an earl
for an incestu-
ous mar-
riage.*

I shall now proceed to a much more defensible instance of St. Dunstan's zeal:—A certain earl, of great interest and figure, had married within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. St. Dunstan hearing of it, admonished him several times to disengage. The earl taking no notice of the archbishop's remonstrance, he put him under the lesser excommunication, and forbade him to enter the church. This great man, having more pride than conscience, applies to the king, charges St. Dunstan with overstraining his authority, and desires his majesty to rescue him from so tyrannical a sentence. The king, believing the petition reasonable, commands St. Dunstan to take off the censure. The archbishop was surprised at this order, and lamented the king's being so easy as to credit the earl's allegations, without farther inquiry. In the first place,

discipline, and that Protestants will no longer have so much cause to complain of them. Be this as it will, the book in question is a great advance on the Roman Catholic side to a candid examination of the doctrine of celibacy; no wonder, therefore, it was favourably received by the periodicals that reviewed it. From one of these we quote the following passages.

"This little work, entitled, 'Remarks on the Celibacy of the Roman Catholic Clergy,' is well worthy the attention of reviewers. 'Throw up a straw,' says Selden, 'and it will show you which way the wind blows.' This publication, though minute in size and somewhat playful in manner, possesses an *animus* which will not be easily crushed, and which will prepare the way for great ameliorations. It gives us pleasure to notice books of this kind proceeding from Roman Catholic clergymen. They prove there are many ecclesiastics in the Roman Church inclined to promote free inquiry and to redress grievances. We have long asserted that there exists a vigorous and stirring body of Catholic reformers, properly so called, well worthy of the title, and not to be excelled in truthfulness or philanthropy by any Protestant reformers whatever. As such we would mention the names of Ganganelli, Cassander, Fenelon, Du Pin, Geddes, Charles Butler, and their followers. Syncretists like these will always find the warmest sympathy among Protestant truth-searchers, who are no less anxious to abate the corruptions of the conformist and non-conformist Churches. We state these things admittedly, for they are true, and, as such, are entitled to utterance, whether they are liked or not. It is right that one periodical at least should show that good and evil are not confined to particular sections of the Church, but that they are extended through all. It is time to state, that not only papal Churches, but the Protestant ones too, are alike infected by that demon antichrist, Lateinos, or secularity, which would destroy them all. To confound the pope and the Roman clergy with antichrist, against whom they struggle, is as unjust as to confound Protestants with antichrist, against whom they likewise war. No Scripture is of any private interpretation. Antichrist is no partial or segregated evil; but wherever there is secularity, error, and vice, there is he. The Apocalypse has scarcely ever been explained fairly, just because its universal symbols have generally been taken in a restricted and sectarian sense. The Papalists have thus been abused by the Conformists, and these by the Dissidents: all preposterously intent on identifying themselves with the two witnesses, and their antagonists with the beast and the false prophet. We have no time to enlarge on this topic here; but we do assert, that the vulgar interpretations of the Apocalypse by party divines have done infinite mischief to the Church. Fellow-Christians have on all hands been reviling each other as incarnations of Satan: what wonder is it that they have arrived at so cordial a detestation of every religious order but their own?"

therefore, he gives the earl another reprimand, both for his continuance in the first disorder, and likewise for his misrepresentation of the case at court. But when he perceived that his reproofs made no impression, and that the earl was so far from relenting, that he threatened St. Dunstan for barring him the privilege of coming into a church: finding him, I say, thus incorrigible, he put him under the greater excommunication. This punishment heightened his resentment, and made his passion break out to a greater heat: insomuch that now he resolved to make his utmost effort to bring an odium upon St. Dunstan, and break loose from his discipline. To this purpose, he dispatches away his agents to Rome, who, by large presents and promises, prevailed with some of that court, to solicit for him. In short, the pope being gained to the cause, writes to St. Dunstan to treat the sinner, as Eadmer calls him, with lenity; together with a positive command to restore him to full communion. St. Dunstan, upon receiving the order, made this answer: "When I see the excommunicated person," says he, "penitent for his fault, I shall willingly obey his holiness's commands; but till this happens, God forbid I should do any thing that might occasion the nobleman to continue in his crime, and insult the discipline of the hierarchy. God keep me from breaking the laws which our Saviour has settled for the government of his Church. I can never stoop to such a compliance for the sake of any mortal man living."

EDGAR,
K. of
England.
A. D. 970.

*He refuses to
absolve him
at the pope's
order.*

Eadmer de
Vit. S. Dun-
stan.

Baronius takes notice of this passage, and finding St. Dunstan refused to comply with the pope's positive command, he is somewhat at a loss to make this refusal consistent with his holiness's supremacy. To reconcile this matter, he supposes the order for absolution was to be executed only upon condition of the nobleman's repentance. But, under favour, this supposition looks foreign to the case, and will do the cardinal no service: for, in the first place, this supposition leaves St. Dunstan judge of the earl's repentance, and by consequence makes him master of the contest. Secondly, if the earl had been willing to disengage from his misbehaviour, and give his ordinary satisfaction, there had been no need of any application to Rome. If he was obliged to pass through the forms of penance and submission at last, what should make him have recourse to a foreign jurisdiction? To what purpose was this unnecessary trouble? But, thirdly, it is plain the earl expected

Baron. An-
nal. tom. 10.
sect. 11.
A. D. 970.

**DUN-
STAN,**
Abp. Cant.

to have been restored without the usual satisfaction, and to have broken through the archbishop's authority : and therefore when he perceived St. Dunstan unalterably firm, and that he took no notice of the pope's order, he then began to relent : the shame of continuing longer under the excommunication, together with the apprehension of worse consequences, made him rightly sensible of his guilt : so that now he came off from his obstinacy, quitted his unlawful marriage, and took the habit of a penitent. And St. Dunstan happening to preside in a synod at this time, the count came barefoot thither, without any appearance of equipage or quality, and cast himself with tears at the archbishop's feet. This public mortification made the council compassionate his case, and softened St. Dunstan to a reconciliation. However, to preserve the Church discipline from suffering, and bring the penitent to a thorough compunction, he concealed his tenderness, and kept him in suspense for an hour ; then he melted into tears himself, and gave him absolution at the instance of the synod. This was apostolic impartiality, and right primitive conduct ! It was a noble instance of St. Dunstan's courage, and for which we ought to honour his memory.

*The earl sub-
mits, and is
restored by
St. Dunstan.*

198.

Eadmer de
Vit. S. Dun-
stan, p. 215.
Angl. Sacr.
pars 2.

A. D. 972.
*Oswald,
archbishop
of York.*

*Oswald and
St. Dunstan
pluralist
bishops.*

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
l. 3. fol. 153,
154.

Oswald, bishop of Worcester, having gained a great interest at court, by planting the monks in his cathedral, was preferred to the archbishopric of York, upon the vacancy of that see. And as St. Dunstan had formerly held the bishoprics of London and Worcester together, the same liberty was now allowed to Oswald. Malmesbury reports, he was not permitted to resign Worcester, for fear the monks, who were newly brought in, might be disturbed in his absence. This archbishop invited several learned foreigners into England, who proved very serviceable to the country. One Abbo, a monk of Fleury, was one of them. This religious wrote king Edmund's martyrdom at St. Dunstan's instance. Oswald continued upon both these sees a great while, survived St. Dunstan five years, and was mostly resident at Worcester. This plurality of sees, begun here by St. Dunstan, was an innovation upon the primitive practice : this strain against the canons was probably ventured on, because of the scarcity of fit persons to supply the vacancies ; that is, such as St. Dunstan and king Edgar thought proper to countenance the monks, and carry on their establishment. This design is spoken out plainly enough by Malmesbury ;

Fol. 153.

from whence we may conclude, the secular canons had the majority of the clergy on their side.

This year, archbishop Oswald sent twelve monks from Westbury to Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, where Ailwin, duke of the East Angles, had founded a religious house, about three years before. And in the year 974, St. Dunstan and Oswald, archbishops of Canterbury and York, consecrated the abbey-church in honour of the blessed Virgin and St. Bennet. And to perfect the foundation, king Edgar granted them a charter, by virtue of which the lands and townships conveyed to the monastery by Ailwin, St. Dunstan, Oswald, and other benefactors, were confirmed to them. This Ailwin is styled alderman in the charter, and said to be nearly related to the king. There is likewise a recital of a miracle wrought by St. Bennet, who appeared to one of Ailwin's fishermen in a dream, cured this duke of the gout, and directed to the spot of ground where the abbey was to stand. And here, amongst other privileges of the charter, that of sanctuary is one. It is likewise provided, that no bishop shall demand entertainment or service from the monks, or lay any imposition upon them. I mention this to show, that when we meet with a restraint of the bishops' jurisdiction in the abbey charters, we are not to understand it of spiritual jurisdiction, without express mention; the bishops having several privileges relating to their lordships and estates, which they might give up to religious houses, without the least diminution of their episcopal authority.

EDGAR,
K. of
England.

A. D. 972.

A. D. 974.
*The abbey of
Ramsey
founded.*
Monastic,
vol. 1, p. 231.

The next year king Edgar made a grant of Lothian to Kenneth III. of Scotland, upon condition that the king of Scots and his successors should give attendance at the English court every year at some of the solemn festivals. And that the journey might be made with the less inconvenience, the king of Scots had a grant of several seats in England upon the road; which houses, with the estates belonging to them, were possessed by the crown of Scotland till the reign of king Henry the Second.

Monast. Angl.
ad an. Grat.
p. 236.
A. D. 975.

About five years before this time, Edinburg was evacuated by the English, and left to the Scots, who continued masters of it.

This year, which was the last of king Edgar's reign, Turketul, the famous abbot of Croyland, departed this life. This abbot,

Westminst.
Flores Hist.
ad an. Grat.
975.
Usser, Britan.
Eccles. Antiquit.
p. 350. edit.
Lond. 1687.
Usser, ibid.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.
Ingulph.
Hist. fol. 51.

who had been the king's chancellor, left the monastery very rich, the money, plate, and jewels amounting to near ten thousand pounds, which was a vast sum in those times. Turketul was succeeded by Egelrick the Elder, his kinsman, a person of condition, and well qualified for business. This abbot, beside other ornamental additions, cast a ring of six bells, to all which he gave names, as Bartholomew, Bethelm, Turketul, &c. The late abbot Turketul had led the way in this fancy, by casting a great bell, which he called Guthlack. This naming of bells, together with the ceremony of benediction, by which they are supposed to be a sort of defensative against lightning and tempest, was, as Cressy confesses, begun in this age by pope John XIV. But then, on the other side, those who make these ceremonies a profanation of the sacrament of baptism, seem to exceed in their exceptions, and carry the charge too far.

The ceremonies about bells, when introduced.

Ingulph.
fol. 53.
Cressy's
Church
Hist. p. 883.

The death of king Edgar.

Dunelm.
Hist. de
Gestis Reg.
Angl.
fol. 160.
Rudburn,
Hist. Major.
Winton.
Angl. Sacr.
part 1.
p. 224.
Antiquit. in
Dunstan.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
l. 2. fol. 33.
199.

Brompton,
Chronic.
p. 877.
Knighton de
Eventibus
Ang.
fol. 2314.

The secular clergy revive their claim, and gain ground upon the monks.

Upon the death of king Edgar, there was a debate about the succession. The late king left two sons, Edward and Ethelred. He had the first by Egilfleda, daughter of duke Ordmar; and the other by Elfrida, widow of count Athelwold. King Edgar left the crown by will to his eldest son Edward. Elfrida, his mother-in-law, had made a party among the temporal nobility for her son Ethelred: but the archbishops, Dunstan and Oswald, the rest of the bishops, and other great men, stood for the right line, and crowned king Edward. It is true, the author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* starts an objection against king Edward's birth, and affirms, that his mother was not married to king Edgar: but, under favour, I do not find this objection made good by any historians. On the contrary, they declare this was only a pretence of Elfrida's to set up her son Ethelred, that she might govern in his minority. Besides, Brompton and Knighton tell us plainly, that Ethelred was "ex secundo matrimonio progenitus;" a son of the second venter.

Upon the death of king Edgar, the clergy who had been expelled the monasteries began to revive their claim; they alleged it was no less than a scandalous injustice to set aside an old title, and give away their estates to intruders; that the precedent might be of a dangerous consequence, and that by this way of defeating settlements and possession no honest man could have any security in his birthright and property.

These allegations being thought reasonable, many of the temporal nobility and others appeared in behalf of the secular clergy, told Dunstan they had been ill used, and moved for a rehearing of the cause; but Elfer, earl of Mercia, not thinking, it may be, there was any need of a new determination, applied to a more vigorous expedient, and dislodged all the monks in that province, and gave the clergy and their wives possession.

ED-
WARD,
K. of
England.

The synod of Kirtlington, or Katlage, Cambridgeshire, is supposed to have met upon this occasion, though we have nothing remaining of what was done here, excepting that the countrymen were ordered a pilgrimage to Abington. This, and the death of Sideman, bishop of Crediton, in Devonshire, is all the history of this synod.

A. D. 977.

Spelman,
Concil.

vol. 1.

p. 492.

*The synod of
Calne convened about
this controversy.*

A. D. 978.

Osbern, de
Vit. S. Dun-
stan, Angl.
Sacr. pars 2.
p. 112.

The next year there was a council, or convention, about this controversy at Calne, in Wiltshire. The secular canons being apprehensive of the interest of their adversaries, were resolved to make their utmost defence. For this purpose they sent for one Beornelm, a Scotch bishop, and a man of elocution, to plead for them. By the assistance of this prelate they debated the point very strongly, insomuch that St. Dunstan seems to have been overset with their arguments, as we may collect by the faintness of his reply. He told them their claim had been over-ruled by a miracle at the synod of Winchester; and therefore he did not think the matter ought to be disputed any farther. Besides, he was an old man, he said, and desired not to be harassed with controversy under the disadvantage of his years, but to spend the small remainder of his life in peace and quietness. He had taken pains, as he continues, while his strength lasted; but now, being disabled by age he should engage no farther, but commit the cause of the Church to the Divine protection.

One would imagine by this discourse St. Dunstan had been very old, and yet it is certain when he made this excuse he was scarcely four-and-fifty. It is plain, therefore, he was hard pressed in the controversy, and somewhat at a loss to disentangle himself. But an accident coming in seasonably to his relief, changed the fortune of the day, and gave him the advantage. For soon after he had declined disputing any more for the reasons above mentioned, the floor of the room being overloaded, broke under the company, and hurt several

*The floor
sinks under
the synod.*

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.
Eadmer de
Vit. St.
Dunst.
p. 220.

of the canons, St. Dunstan and his party receiving no harm. This casualty was interpreted as a judgment upon the secular clergy for engaging in so unreasonable a contest; and was looked upon as so clear a decision of the case, that the monks were immediately put in possession. But notwithstanding the triumphs of the monkish writers, misfortunes are not always signs of a bad cause; and therefore men ought to suspend their judgments for fear of misapplying the punishment. Henry of Huntingdon, notwithstanding his regard for St. Dunstan, makes a different construction of the accident; he tells us, "it was a presage of the nation's falling out of God's protection, and being broken by a foreign invasion, and that it foretold the punishment of their treason, and murder of their natural prince;" meaning king Edward, who was assassinated the year after.

Hunting.
Historiar.
l. 5.

*A synod at
Amesbury.*
Florent.
Wigorn. ad
an. 977.

Eadmer de
Vit. St.
Dunst.
p. 220.

The clergy rallied the cause once more, and met the monks at a synod at Amesbury, in Wiltshire. And here, though the particulars are not related, it is plain the canons were overborne; for Eadmer informs us, "That after the synod of Calne, the monks were all along undisturbed to his own time."

To this synod I shall subjoin the constitutions for the clergy of Northumberland. The learned sir Henry Spelman, who transcribed them from a Saxon copy, in Bennet College, in Cambridge, conjectures they were drawn up by archbishop Oswald with a design to bring his province to a nearer conformity with the Roman Church. I shall mention only some few of the most remarkable of these constitutions.

*The constitu-
tions of
Northum-
berland.*

By the first; every priest was to find twelve sureties to engage for his behaviour, and the regular discharge of his office.

By the sixth; a priest that did not obey the archdeacon's order was to be amerced twelve oræ, that is, about twelve times sixteen pence.

Spelman in
Glossar.

By the tenth; all children were to be baptized within nine days after their birth; and yet it is plain, as will be shown farther by and by, that the English Church used the rite of immersion. It seems they were not at all discouraged by the coldness of the climate, nor thought the primitive custom impracticable in the northern regions; and if an infant could be plunged into the water at nine days old, without receiving any

harm, how unreasonable must their scruples be who decline bringing their children to public baptism for fear of danger? How unreasonable, I say, must this scruple be when immersion is altered to sprinkling?

ED-
WARD,
K. of
England.

The thirty-fifth excommunicates a priest “qui concubinam suam dimiserit,” or who parts with his concubina and takes another. That by concubina is meant a wife is highly probable. It is well known that when the single life of the clergy was cried up, their marriage was called concubinage by the bigots of the other party. Now archbishop Oswald, whom Cressy supposes to have drawn up these canons, was a strong abettor of the monks, and had but a slender opinion of the marriage of the clergy; it is no wonder, therefore, to find him mention their wives under terms of disadvantage, and call them concubinæ, or *cwenan* as the Saxon reads it.

200.

Cressy,
Ch. Hist.
p. 885.

Farther, that by concubinæ is not meant a wench, appears by the form of the canon, which denounces an anathema against a priest that dismisses his concubina, and takes another; so that the censure seems to be levelled against the taking another; whereas had a strumpet been meant by a concubine, the discipline ought to have pointed against keeping the first, as well as entertaining the second. But about this time some of the English clergy are charged with leaving their first wives and engaging in second marriages; and it was probably against this disorder that the canon provides.

Rudborn,
Hist. Major.
Winton.
Angl. Sacr.
pars l. p. 218.

The thirty-sixth sets a fine upon a priest that fails to officiate at the usual hours, and in the service appointed.

By the forty-fourth; a priest who was absent from a synod lay under a forfeiture.

The forty-ninth prohibits all commerce and trying of causes on the Sunday.

By the fiftieth; those who broke the festivals or fasts of the Church were to forfeit twelve oræ.

By the fifty-second; marriage to the fourth degree or remove is forbidden.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 495. et
deinc.
*The murder
of king
Edward the
Martyr.*

To say something with relation to the State; king Edward, a prince of great hopes, was taken off by the ambition of Elfride, who was impatient to set her own son upon the throne; Edward was a prince of an admirable disposition, treated his mother-in-law and half-brother with great regard,

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.
*Corf Castle,
in the isle of
Purbeck.*

and therefore suspecting no foul play, went to make them a visit one day after hunting. The king, being very thirsty, out-rid his guards, and came alone to the palace. Elfride, his mother-in-law, caressed him with a great deal of tenderness and respect, but while he was eager in drinking ordered one of her servants to stab him. The king having received the wound, set spurs to his horse and made towards his own retinue; but not being able to keep his seat he hung in the stirrup by one foot, and was found dead by the track of his blood. Those who were in the plot against his life buried him privately in unconsecrated ground at Warham, in Dorset-

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. 1. 2.
c. 9. fol. 34.

shire. But, as Malmesbury reports, the place of his burial, which they designed to conceal, was miraculously discovered, for it seems there was an extraordinary blaze of light hung over his grave. This unusual appearance drew a great many people together, who quickly found the advantage of their curiosity; for here the lame were restored to their limbs, the dumb to their speech, and, in short, all sorts of patients carried a cure home with them. The fame of these miracles made a great noise, we may imagine, in the country, so that king Edward, of whom the English had a good opinion before, was now raised to the dignity of a martyr. His corpse was immediately removed and royally interred at Shaftesbury. And now queen Elfride could hold out no longer against the remorses of conscience. The murder of king Edward made all her grandeur without relish, insomuch that she retired from the court, put herself into a course of penance, wore sackcloth, slept upon the floor, and went through almost all manner of mortification. She likewise founded two nunneries by way of reparation; one at Warwel, and another at Amesbury. King Edward's martyrdom is kept on three several days—on the day he was murdered, and the two removes of his corpse. He has likewise the honour of standing in the Roman martyrology, where Baronius takes notice of a letter in pope Innocent IV.'s register for the keeping of St. Edward's festival.

Malmesb.
ibid.
Brompton,
Chron.
p. 376.
Martyr.
Angl. 13
Mart. et
Feb. et 20
Jun.
Martyr. Ro-
man. 13.
Mart.
A. D. 979.

In the year of our Lord 979, according to Malmesbury, (though Florence of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster, set it a year backwards,) Ethelred, son of Edgar and Elfride, succeeded his brother. Matthew of Westminster reports him a very handsome person, and tall of stature; but Malmesbury

West. An.
Grat. 979.

gives him an untoward character. He reports him privy and consenting to the murder of his brother; that he was of a savage temper, a coward in the field, and abandoned to sloth and pleasure. He adds, that St. Dunstan foretold the scandal of his behaviour at his baptism, for it seems when he was immersed in the font he had the same misfortune as Constantine Copronymus. This accident, which was no fault of the child, disturbed St. Dunstan to that degree that he swore he would prove a poltroon.

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

A little accident at king Ethelred's baptism.

Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Ang. l. 2. c. 10. fol. 31.

As for his being concerned in the murder of his brother, I think it is unreasonably charged upon him, for Malmesbury, Brompton, and others, confess he was but ten years old at the assassination; and that he cried so heartily at the news that his mother beat him at an unmerciful rate. However, when St. Dunstan set the crown upon his head he told him, "That since he had made his way to the throne by the death of his brother, a foreign nation would make a speedy descent upon the country and bring such calamities as had never been felt before." And to confirm this prediction, about two or three years after, the Danes landed at Southampton, ravaged the country, and destroyed or carried off most of the inhabitants; and soon after the Isle of Thanet was over-run by them. The same year the city and county of Chester was harassed by a descent of the Norwegians. The next year these privateers landed in Cornwall, set fire to the cathedral of St. Petrox, together with the bishop's palace. Upon this accident the bishop's see was removed to St. Germans, in that county, where it continued till Devonshire and Cornwall were united in one diocese, and Exeter made the place of the bishop's residence.

St. Dunstan's prophecy of the Danish invasion..

Malmesb. ibid. *Some Danish privateers land at Southampton.*

201.

Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. l. 2. fol. 34. Hoveden, Annal. fol. 245.

About this time, Gucan, a Welsh priest, was consecrated bishop of Llandaff, by St. Dunstan. This precedent was followed by his successors, who, from this time, owned the superiority of the see of Canterbury. From this instance, Cressy concludes, all the British bishops came under the jurisdiction of Canterbury, and finds fault with bishop Godwin for affirming, that the bishops of St. David's, though they wanted the ornament of the pall, always exercised archiepiscopal authority till after the Norman conquest, and that without any submission to the see of Canterbury. But bishop Godwin affirms no more than Giraldus Cambrensis had done before him.

A. D. 981. Godwin in Episc. Exon. *The bishops of Llandaff first consecrated by the archbishops of Canterbury.*

A. D. 982. Godwin in Episc. Llandav. Cressy's Church Hist. p. 983. Godwin in Episc. Menev.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

*The metro-
political see
of St. Da-
vid's contin-
ues inde-
pendent of
the English
Church.*

Giraldus
Cambrens.
de Jure et
Statu Men-
vens. Eccles.
p. 518. 541.
543, 544.
556, 557.
Angl. Sacr.
pars 2.

This Giraldus lived in the reign of king Henry II., was a Welshman born, and an author of character and learning; and being elected to the see of St. David's, made his application to the pope for restitution of jurisdiction, and proves from good records, that the bishops of St. David's had consecrated suffragans, and exercised all other branches of metro-political authority till the reign of Henry I., who upon his subduing the country, forced the Welsh churches upon a submission to the see of Canterbury. It is true, he grants they had not the flourish of the pall: this ornament, as he pretends, being carried off by Sampson when he quitted Great Britain in the sixth century, and settled at Dole, in Armorica. As for this carrying the pall to Dole, Giraldus was undoubtedly mistaken in that circumstance: the receiving the pall being a mark of submission to the see of Rome. But had the British bishops owned the pope's patriarchate in the sixth century, we have no reason to believe they would have refused subjection to archbishop Augustine, in the beginning of the seventh: this prelate being the pope's delegate, and acting by his commission.

But secondly, if the bishops of St. David's performed all the functions of the archiepiscopal character, without the use of the pall, which we have good reason to question, Cambrensis being a good authority for this point: from hence it will follow pretty plainly, that the British Churches lived independently of the see of Rome till the reign of Henry I.; and that there was no correspondence betwixt them: for, by the canons of the Roman Church, as we have seen already, an archbishop was not to enter upon any part of his metropolitical distinction, till he had received the pall.

De Marca de
Concord.
Sacerd. et
Imper. l. 6.
c. 7.
A. D. 983.
*A misunder-
standing be-
tween king
Ethelred
and Alstan
bishop of
Rochester.*

In the year 983, there happened a misunderstanding between king Ethelred, and Alstan bishop of Rochester. And though the occasion is not mentioned, the king's displeasure ran very high, as we may collect by his drawing down an army upon the city. When St. Dunstan heard Rochester was besieged, he sent to the king to persuade him to remove his forces, and not to provoke St. Andrew, the protector of that see. The king, it seems, not thinking St. Andrew would engage in the quarrel, went on with the siege. The archbishop, perceiving this sort of menaces from the other world made no impression, sent the king a hundred pounds, upon condition he would

withdraw from the town: upon the receipt of which, the army marched off. St. Dunstan was surprised at king Ethelred's covetousness, and sent him word, that since he preferred money to conscience, and valued a present more than an apostle, the calamities that God had denounced should speedily come upon him; "though I," says the archbishop, "shall have the happiness not to see it." This prediction was answered in the event: for soon after St. Dunstan's death, the Danes transported a considerable army, and harassed the country in a terrible manner.

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 34.

In the year 984, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, departed this life, and was succeeded by Elphegus. Ethelwold's character and history have been partly mentioned already. To what has been said, we may add one very commendable circumstance. While he was bishop of Winchester, there happened to be a famine in the diocese by the unseasonableness of the summer: the bishop perceiving the people hard pressed, ordered the consecrated plate to be coined, and distributed amongst them; declaring, that gold and silver had much better keep people from starving, than make a show in the churches. How great a patron this prelate was to the monks, has been already mentioned. But, it seems, his benefactions were made bold with after his death; for Malmesbury relates, that many of the monasteries founded by him were quickly pulled down, and all of them lessened in their interest.

A. D. 984.
*The death of
Ethelwold,
bishop of
Winchester.*

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
l. 2. fol. 139.

To return to king Ethelred, the misfortunes of whose reign will give the reader a prospect of the condition of the English; and by this discovery of the State, the scene of several calamities which fell upon the Church will be the better opened. And to give an entire view of the matter, the relations of time must be somewhat overlooked.

To begin. King Ethelred finding himself embarrassed by the Danes landing in several places, is thought to have taken wrong measures, and made use of an improper expedient. He submitted to purchase his peace, and gave the enemy ten thousand pounds to retire. This, in Malmesbury's opinion, was a dishonourable method of disengaging the country. That silver was the wrong metal; that the king should rather have trusted to his sword, than his exchequer: for when the Danes perceived the country rich and cowardly, they grew more insolent and demanding. As for the English, they were generally dispirited; and those who had any of the ancient

*A short de-
scription of
the misfor-
tunes in king
Ethelred's
reign.*

De Gest.
Reg. l. 2.
fol. 35.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

valour of their country, and were hardy enough to face the enemy, were either overborne by numbers, or betrayed by the desertions of their own party. One Elfric, who commanded the fleet, led the way in perfidiousness; for the night before they were to engage he went over to the enemy, having sent them intelligence several times before. This Elfric, though the king took a revenge for the falsehood, and put out the son's eyes for the father's treason, yet ventured to return to his prince's service, and then made another revolt.

To give some account of the marches of the Danes, and the various fortune of the war. After Northumberland had been overrun and plundered, the English came to a battle, and defeated the enemy: however, the Danes quickly recovered, and sat down before London; but this town being vigorously defended, they were forced to draw off. And now marching eastward, they harassed the country at discretion. The king despairing of hindering their progress by force, gave them sixteen thousand pounds to stop the ravage. And now, having bought his peace once more, he desired their king Anlaf to come to his court, and gave hostages for his security. Anlaf being thus far satisfied, pays Ethelred a visit. During his stay at the English court, he was persuaded to turn Christian: and to engage him to a firmer friendship, Ethelred was his godfather, presented him nobly, and took an oath of him, never to return into England. But this was no lasting relief, for Denmark was always pouring in new adventurers, and fresh forces. And now Devonshire felt the fury of the invasion; the country was wholly ruined, the monasteries battered down, and the city of Exeter laid in ashes. After these devastations the enemy reembarked, landed in Kent, harassed the county, burnt the city of Canterbury, and made a martyr of the archbishop Alphegus, of whom more afterwards. In short, as Malmesbury reports, sixteen of the two-and-thirty counties in England lay, in a great measure, at the enemy's mercy. As for the king, he gave himself up to his ease, and was perfectly governed by his diversions; and if he happened to shake off his lethargy a little, and prepare for defence, he made nothing of this fit of recollection, but either relapsed into his pleasures, or miscarried in the attempt. He built a great many ships, and made considerable efforts both by sea and land, but all to no purpose; for the army being

Malmesb.
ibid.

raw, and not headed by a prince of a military genius, either deserted their colours before the battle, or gave way at the first shock. To proceed, his fleet was miserably shattered by a tempest, and that part of it which escaped the storm, was destroyed by one Wulnod, an English nobleman that had been outlawed, and banished by the king. The misfortune of this prince's arms was, in a great measure, owing to the animosities and disloyalty of the great men. When they came to debate about the prosecution of the war, they were generally debauched by some private pique and interest of their own; insomuch, that they were seldom unanimous in their resolutions. And, if the prospect of danger happened to unite them in proper councils, there was always some traitor at the board, who discovered their scheme to the enemy. The false Elfric has been mentioned already; and Edric, earl of the Mercians, was another of the same perfidious practice: this man had neither birth nor probity to recommend him, and was scandalous to the last degree, both for his libertinism and insincerity: however, he had made himself considerable by his confidence and talent in speaking. To give him his due, he was not unfurnished with the rising qualities of a knave, was well practised in flattery and dissimulation; and had art enough to give a plausible colour to his own designs: he made it his business to penetrate the king's measures, and get within the secrets of the cabinet, on purpose to betray them. When he was sent to treat a peace with the enemy, it was his custom to widen the breach, and inflame the war.

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

Of all the great men, Ulkil, earl of the East Angles, was the only person of integrity and resolution. This nobleman made a bold stand in defence of his country; he charged the Danes with great bravery, and though they had the name of a victory against him, yet it was so much overbought, that they were almost undone with it.

To complete the misery of this king's reign, the war was followed with a famine: and as for the Danes, they marched and plundered almost without opposition. The English being thus distressed, endeavoured to disengage themselves by another present: and thus the Danes received four-and-twenty thousand pounds, and soon after, thirty thousand, to withdraw their forces. The reason why this reign was so embroiled, and unfortunate, is partly resolved into the king's

Malmesb.
ibid.

DUN-
STAN,
Abp. Cant.

203.

mismanagement. It seems this prince strained his royal character too far, was a person of a rugged conversation, and governed in an arbitrary manner. To instance in some particulars: it was his custom to charge his subjects with pretended crimes, make them fine for their quiet, and throw them out of their property, against justice and law. Then, as to the Danes, he broke his faith with them under the highest securities of friendship, and cut all their throats in one day. Besides this, he treated his queen unsuitably to the relation between them, and brought a blemish upon the dignity of his station, by entertaining scandalous women. This ill usage of his queen Emma, made a rupture between him and her father, Richard, duke of Normandy, which I shall mention afterwards.

Having now laid the misconduct and misfortune of this prince's reign before the reader, I shall return to the Church, and proceed in a chronological order.

A. D. 988.
Arthmael, a
Welsh
prince, ex-
communicated, &c.

In the year of our Lord 988, Arthmail, king of Gwent or Kaerwent, in Wales, murdered his brother Elisad. Gucan, bishop of Landaff, being informed of this unnatural wickedness, summoned the clergy of his diocese to meet him at Landaff. The synod being convened, he put the king under an excommunication; who, upon his being made acquainted with the censure, made his application to the bishop, and submitted to a course of penance.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 502.
St. Dun-
stan's death.

This year St. Dunstan departed this life, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. I have omitted several miracles said to be done by him, together with some remarkable passages at his death, because I am afraid they will hardly pass upon the belief of the reader. He was buried in the cathedral at Canterbury, as appears by the search made for his coffin in archbishop Warham's time, occasioned by the pretensions of the monks of Glassenbury, who made the people believe St. Dunstan was buried in their monastery. But this imposture was discovered by archbishop Warham, in the year of our Lord 1508. This prelate was advanced to the rank of a saint after his death, and stands upon the twentieth of May, in the Roman martyrology. And in London we have two churches built in honour of his memory.

Angl. Sacr.
pars 2.
p. 227.
He is ho-
noured with
the title of a
saint.
Martyr.
Romanum.
Baron.
p. 196.
Ethelgar,
archbishop of
Canterbury.

Ethelgar was St. Dunstan's successor. He was first a monk of Glassenbury, afterwards abbot of the new monastery

at Winchester; thence promoted to the see of Selsea, in Sussex; from which he was translated to the see of Canterbury, where he sat about a year and three months, and was succeeded by Siricius, who being bred a monk in Glassenbury, was, by St. Dunstan's interest, first preferred to the abbacy of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and from thence to the see of Ramesbury, in Wiltshire. This prelate is blamed by our historians for advising king Ethelred to buy his peace of the Danes, whom he ought to have repelled by force. This submission to a sort of contribution, beside the encouragement it gave the enemy, was the occasion of a very burthensome tax; which Huntingdon reports continued upon the subject to his time: "for what was first raised for the Danes out of fear, and supposed necessity, is now levied by the crown out of custom." Thus far Huntingdon.

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

A. D. 989.
Godwin in
Archiepisc.
Cantuariens.
Malmesb. et
Huntingd.

A. D. 991.

Huntingd.
Historiar.
l. 5. fol. 205.

By the laws of king Edward the Confessor, twelve pence were levied upon every hide of land all the kingdom over, under the term of Dane-gelt. The design of it was to raise forces to secure the coast from invasion. The Church, and all the estates belonging to it, were exempted from the payment of this tax: the English princes looking upon the prayers of the clergy as an equivalent. In this condition the privilege of the Church of England continued till the reign of William Rufus, who levying a tax upon the barons for the preservation of Normandy, obliged the Church to pay her proportion: it is true, when the money was collected the clergy insisted upon their ancient exemption, but to no purpose.

*The church
exempted
from Dane-
gelt.*

In the year 992, Oswald, archbishop of York, departed this life, and was buried at St. Mary's, in Worcester. He was succeeded by Adulf, abbot of Peterborough.

L. L. Ed-
vardi Con-
fes. c. 12.
Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 621.
A. D. 992.

To what has been said of Oswald, it may not be improper to give a brief account of the grant he made of several lands belonging to his Church; for by the recital of this instrument, the feudal tenure of those times will, in a great measure, be discovered. The charter is called "indiculum libertatis de Oswald's-laws-hundred:" the purport of it, in short, is this. First, he sets forth that this conveyance was made with king Edgar's consent. The conditions of the estate are these.

*The condi-
tions upon
which the
church lands
were granted
in the Saxon
times.*

First, that the tenants shall perform all the attendance and duties of those who serve on horseback.

SIRICIUS,
Abp. Cant.

That they shall be bound to all payments which belong to the privilege and customs of the Church; that is, sirisceot, toll and tacc, or swinseade, and all other dues belonging to the Church, unless the bishop shall think fit to release any part of the terms.

They are likewise obliged to swear to comply with the bishop's orders with all submission and regard.

Further, that whenever the bishop's occasion shall require, they are bound to offer their service in person; to furnish him with horses, and ride themselves.

They are likewise obliged to keep the steeple of the parish church where the estate lies in repair, and assist in the building of castles and bridges.

They are also to impale the bishops' parks, and supply him with hunting furniture.

That in many other cases, when the lord bishop shall require their attendance, either for his own service, or the king's, they shall be ready for the juncture, and obey the chief officer of the bishopric in consideration of the fee, and in proportion to the bulk of the land which every one holds.

That after the expiration of three lives, the lands shall revert to the bishopric; at which term it shall be in the power of the bishop for the time being, either to enter upon the premises, or make the tenant a new grant; provided always that the customary services due to the Church are reserved.

And, lastly, if any of the articles or conditions happen to be broken by the tenant, he shall be obliged to make satisfaction, according to the usages of the bishop's court, or else forfeit the land.

204.
Reliquæ
Spelman.
p. 41, 42.

The learned sir Henry Spelman is of opinion that this was the usual way of granting Church estates in those times; and that they were not conveyed for any longer term than life, or three lives; "for so," says he, "I find them in the abbey books." And those who had the grant of these lands were the thani episcopi and the thani ecclesiæ, mentioned in Domesday-book; and that the lands in that ancient record are usually called thane lands ecclesiæ, episcopi, et abbatis.

A. D. 995.

In the year 995, Aldun, bishop of Holy Island, to secure himself from the Danish invasion, took up the corpse of

St. Cuthbert, then buried in Chester-upon-the-Street, and removed them to Durham, where he built a cathedral, and fixed his see.

This year Siricius, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by Elfricus. He is said to have been translated from the see of Ramesbury, and has a strong commendation for his orthodoxy, abilities, and good life, from the chapter that chose him. There are several valuable tracts which go under the name of Alfrius, archbishop of Canterbury, as the Saxon Chronology, as far as the year 975: the *Sermones Catholici* were also translated into English by one Elfric, who lived in the reign of king Ethelred. There is likewise a body of canons drawn up by Elfric, when Elphegus was bishop of Winchester, which must fall between the years 983 and 1006. Whether these tracts were written by Elfric of Canterbury, and whether Elfred called the grammarian was the same with this archbishop, is made a question. Bale, Pits, Usher, and others, are of opinion there was but one Elfric. But the learned Mr. Wharton has made it appear there were two Elfrics; one of Canterbury, and another called Elfric Putta, archbishop of York; and that it is highly probable the *Sermones Catholici* were written by this latter, who had been formerly abbot of Cerne, in Dorsetshire. But not to insist upon this controversy, it is sufficient to observe, that Elfric Putta had a great character for his learning and orthodoxy, as well as the other. From which it will follow, that by whichever of them the homilies, &c., were written, the authority of them is beyond exception: that they were the doctrine of the then Church of England, has never been contested, and is sufficiently proved by their public use and reception.

Having premised this, I shall transcribe some passages out of the homily for Easter, with relation to the holy eucharist. This homily, in the beginning, proposes to instruct the people in the meaning of this holy mystery. And after having shown how this institution was typified and resembled by the paschal lamb under the law, the homily proceeds to put this question, with reference to the consecrated elements. "Some men are apt to argue with themselves in this manner: which way can a piece of bread, which is made of corn, and baked in the oven, be turned into the body of Christ? or how can the wine, which

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

Dunelm.
Hist. de
Dunelm.
Eccles.
p. 27.
Godwin. in
Archiepis.
Cantuariens.
Chronie.
Abingdon.
Cressy's
Ch. Hist.
p. 902.
Angl. Sacr.
pars l.p.130.

Spelman.
Concil.
vol. 1.
p. 583.
Two Elfrics.
The Sermo-
nes Catholici,
&c. most
probably
written by
the latter.
Angl. Sacr.
pars l.p.125.

Angl. Sacr.
pars l. from
p. 125 to
135.
Angl. Sacr.
ibid.

The sense of
the Saxon
English
Church,
with relation
to the holy
eucharist.
MS. Sermon.
Cathol. p. 5.
Beda, edit.
Wheloc.
p. 462.
et deince.

ELFRIC,
Abp. Cant.

is nothing but the juice of grape, be changed into the blood of our Lord? Is any form of consecration sufficient to produce so great an alteration? To those who make this objection, my answer is: some things are said of our Saviour by way of figure, and some literally. By the literal meaning, we are informed that Christ was born of a virgin; that he suffered a voluntary death; was buried, and rose from the dead, as upon this day. All these are matter of fact, and truths which lie upon the letter. But then he is said to be bread, a lamb, and a lion, in a figurative and emblematical sense. For instance: he is said to be bread, because he is the life and support of men, and angels: he is called a lamb for his innocence; a lion for his strength and force, by which he conquered the devil. But then, if we speak strictly according to truth, nature, and propriety, Christ is neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why, then, is the holy eucharist called the body and the blood of Christ, if it does not answer directly to the idea, and is not truly the same thing which it is called? Now the bread and wine which are consecrated by the priest, represent one thing to the exterior senses, and another to the inward apprehensions of the faithful: they seem to be bread and wine, in colour, taste, and outward appearance; and yet, after consecration, they are really the body and blood of Christ, by virtue of the divine and mystical force of the sacrament."

Per spirituale sacramentum,

That the homily does not mean transubstantiation by any of these expressions, is evident by the reasoning and illustration upon the argument.

"A heathen child," as the homily continues, "does not lose anything of its outward shape by the sacrament of baptism, though it is very much changed within: it is brought to the font full of sin and blemish, by Adam's disobedience. And here the corruptions of nature, and the original defects are washed off, though the outward figure of the child remains the same. Thus, for instance, the holy baptismal water, which is called the spring of life, is of the same appearance, and equally subject to putrefaction with common water. But when, upon the priest's invocation, the Holy Spirit descends upon this water, it is then raised to a new force and effect. By virtue of this sacramental quality, it washes off all the stains of the mind, and brings the inward man into a state of innocence. In this state of things there are two things observable: as to its real

and physical nature, it is water subject to putrefaction: but then consider it in its mystic force, and sacramental dignity, and we shall perceive it has spiritual life and salvation in it. Thus, if we consider the holy eucharist in the nature of the elements, and as they appear to our senses, we shall then perceive it to be a creature liable to change and corruption; but if we look upon it with respect to its spiritual force and efficacy, we shall then discover a quality infinitely more noble than the first idea, and plainly perceive that it gives life and immortality to those who receive it with faith, and due preparation."

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

By this comparison of the holy eucharist with the water of baptism, we may fairly infer transubstantiation was not the doctrine of the Church of England when this homily was used; for no Church pretends the water of baptism is transubstantiated, or loses its nature upon consecration. How then can these two sacraments come up to any justness of parallel, or serve for an illustration to each other? How can the change of the holy eucharist be represented by that of the baptismal water, since the consecration of one sacrament destroys the substance of the elements, and has an effect so vastly different from that of the other? Had the homily gone upon the supposition of transubstantiation, nothing could have been more improper than the comparisons above mentioned. But the homily will give us farther satisfaction in this point.

"There is a great deal of difference," as the sermon goes on, "between the invisible virtue of this holy sacrament, and what it appears to us in the qualities of its own nature. In its own nature it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine. But by virtue of the divine institution, it is truly the body and blood of Christ upon consecration, but not in a corporeal, but spiritual manner. The body, in which our Saviour suffered, and the eucharistical body, are widely different. That body in which our Saviour suffered was born of the flesh of the blessed Virgin, consisted of blood, of bones, nerves, and human limbs, animated with a rational soul; but this spiritual body which we call the eucharist, is made up of several grains of corn, and has neither blood, bone, limb, nor soul in it; we are therefore not to de- grade it to any corporeal meaning, but to understand it wholly in a spiritual sense. Whatever there is in the eucharist which repairs our nature, and recovers us to a better life, proceeds

*Non tamen
corporaliter,
sed spiritua-
liter.*

ELFRIC,
Abp. Cant.

wholly from mystic virtue and spiritual operation ; for this reason the holy eucharist is called a sacrament, because one thing appears to our senses, and another to our understanding. That which is there the object of sight has a corporeal figure, and that which is represented to our understanding has a spiritual force and efficacy. To proceed : The body of Christ, which suffered, and rose from the dead, is eternal and impassible, and no more liable to death and decay ; whereas the eucharist is by no means eternal, but corruptible : subject to the force of time, and divisible into small parts. It is ground with the teeth, and passes through the common channels of the body ; but notwithstanding this, the spiritual efficacy of it remains entire in every part. For instance : a great many persons receive this holy body, or eucharist, but the multitude of receivers does by no means weaken the force of the operation ; the spiritual advantage of the sacrament being wholly lodged in every part of what is consecrated : a less part having as much significancy as a greater, because the advantage does not work in proportion to any corporeal multitude, but in virtue of the divine institution. This sacrament is a type and earnest, but the body of Christ is the truth and reality of the representation. We are vouchsafed this pledge or earnest in a sacramental way, till we come to the truth itself, and then the pledge and the type will determine ; for, as we told you before, the holy eucharist is the body and blood of Christ, not in a corporeal, in but a spiritual meaning.——The apostle St. Paul, speaking of the Israelites, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, has these words : ‘ I would not that you should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and passed through the sea ; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud, and in the sea ; and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink ; for they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.’ That rock from whence the water flowed was not Christ in a signification of nature, and direct property : but it was a type and a representation of Christ, who made this gracious declaration to all the faithful : ‘ If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink ; and out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.’ This he spake of the Holy Ghost, which those that believed on him should receive. The apostle St. Paul declares, ‘ The children of Israel ate the same spiritual meat,

Non corporaliter, sed spiritualiter.
1 Cor. x.

John vii. 38.

and drank the same spiritual drink ;' because the manna with which they were supported for forty years together, and the water which flowed from the rock, were a type of the body and blood of Christ, which are now daily offered in the Christian Church. That manna, and water from the rock, were the same which we now offer, 'non corporaliter, sed spiritualiter.' To explain this: Christ, before his passion, consecrated the bread and wine into the sacrament of eucharist, and said, 'This is my body, and this is my blood.' And though his passion was not over when these words were pronounced, yet by a mystic efficacy and operation, he changed the bread into his own body, and the wine into his blood, even as he had done in the wilderness before his incarnation, when he turned the manna into his flesh, and the water which flowed from the rock into his own blood."

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

206.

*Quando
escam cœles-
tem in car-
nem suam, et
aquam illam
de petra flu-
entem in pro-
prium ipsius
sanguinem
mutaverat.*

Thus we see the homily affirms, our Saviour changed the consecrated bread and wine into his body and blood, in the same manner and meaning that he turned the Jews' manna, and the water from the rock, into his own flesh and blood before his incarnation. Now, neither the Church of Rome, or any other communion, ever held that the manna was transubstantiated into our Saviour's flesh, or that the water, miraculously forced out of the rock, was turned into his blood ; for how could these things be turned into our Saviour's body, when our Saviour had no body, as certainly he had not before the incarnation? And thus, it appears, this passage in the homily cannot be understood in a sense of transubstantiation.

To show the doctrine of the Church farther upon this point, the same Elfric, in one of his letters to the clergy, has these words: "Non sit tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, nec sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit ; sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis, sicut manna quod de cœlo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit ;" that is, "This sacrifice of the eucharist is not our Saviour's body, in which he suffered for us, nor his blood, which he shed upon our account ; but it is made his body and blood in a spiritual way, as the manna was which fell from the sky, and the water which flowed from the rock in the wilderness."

These Sermones Catholici, or Homilies, translated into Old English, are preserved in the Bodleian Library, and that of Bennet College, in Cambridge.

Wanleii An-
tiquæ Litera-
turæ Septen-
trionalis lib.

ELFRIC,
Abp. Cant.

CENT. XI.
A. D. 1001.
*English mis-
sionaries in
Sweden and
Norway.*

In the year of our Lord 1001, Christianity made a considerable progress in the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, by the assistance of some English priests, who, at the instance of Olaf, or Olaus, king of Sweden, were sent thither by king Ethelred. The heads of the mission were Sigefrid, archdeacon of York, Eschill, Gunichild, Rudolf, and Bernard. These holy men were very successful in the undertaking, answered the king's expectation, and made idolatry give way wherever they came.

Adam.
Brem. l. 2.
c. 40.
Olaus Mag-
nus Goth.
Hist. l. 17.
c. 20.

Sigefrid, soon after his arrival, was made bishop of Wexia, a city in the province of Smaland, in East Gothland. This prelate, after he had propagated the faith in his diocese, brought his converts to a settlement, travelled farther into West Gothland, and preached to the infidels. His nephews, whom he left to manage his diocese in his absence, were murdered by some of the pagan nobility, who both hated their religion, and were willing to get the plunder of their chalices and other things of value. Sigefrid, after having spent several years in the conversion of the country, had a smooth and natural passage into the other world, and was buried at Wexia.

Sax. Gram.
Dan. Hist.
l. 10.
Martyrol.
Angl.
10 April.

Saxo Grammaticus informs us, that Bernard, one of Sigefrid's fellow-missionaries, baptized king Olaf; and the English Martyrology commemorates the anniversary of Eschill upon the tenth of April.

To these we may add Gotebald, another English missionary in those northern parts. When king Swane turned Christian, this holy man was made a bishop in Norway, and sent by that prince to preach Christianity in Schonen, a province in South Gothland, in Sweden. I suppose he lost his life in the discharge of his mission; for he stands commemorated in the list of the saints upon the fifth of April.

Adam.
Brem. l. 2.
c. 29.
Mart. Angl.
5 April.
A. D. 1002.

In the year 1002, king Ethelred married Emma, daughter of Richard I., duke of Normandy. Being strengthened with this alliance, he ventured to relieve his kingdom by a very indefensible project, and murdered all the Danes by surprise, in the manner above mentioned.

Florent.
Wigorn.
*The pope
makes an
agreement
between king
Ethelred and
Richard
duke of
Normandy.*

Malmesbury reports, that king Ethelred misbehaved himself towards his queen, Emma, by whom he had issue Alfred and Edward. Whether this ill usage was the occasion of the rupture between her father and husband, the historian does not mention. However, it is certain they broke out into open

hostilities, and were at last reconciled by the mediation of pope John XV. It is true, Malmesbury assigns this treaty between Ethelred and Richard to the year 991; and therefore, if he is not out in his chronology, queen Emma could be no occasion of the quarrel, it being taken up, according to this computation, eleven years before her marriage with king Ethelred. Edelfin, bishop of Sherburn, was at the head of the embassy for the concluding this treaty. And here it must be said, the pope prevented the effusion of Christian blood, and made use of his patriarchal interest to very good purpose.

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. 1. 2.
fol. 36.

Malmesb.
ibid.

About this time, the Danes made a descent upon Scotland, though this is not the first time they had been troublesome to that nation. They landed in Murray, and were very successful at first; but Malcolm II. gave them a check at a battle fought at Pambride, in Angus, and following his blow, pursued them to a village called Murthlack, where he gained an entire victory, and obliged those that escaped to swear they would never attack Scotland during the reign of Malcolm and Swain, their respective kings.

To preserve the memory of this victory, the king founded a bishopric at Murthlack, and endowed it with the crown lands which lay in the neighbourhood. There was likewise this year a convention of the clergy of Perth. In this synod, where Gregory, bishop of Andrews, presided, there were several canons made for the better government of the Church.

207.

In the year of our Lord 1006, Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, and was succeeded by Elphegus. And here, before we take our leave of Elfric, it will be proper to mention the canons which go under his name. These

Spotswood's
History of
the Church
of Scotland,
book 2, p. 28.
A. D. 1006.
Elfric's
canons.

canons, as the learned Spelman observes, were drawn up by the same Elfric, who translated the homilies. This Elfric styles himself a monk in the introduction, which is written by way of letter to Wulfin, a bishop: of what see this Wulfin was bishop, is somewhat hard to discover. However, it is plain the collection was made for the use of Wulfin's diocese, and runs in the name of that prelate. "The canons begin with a recital of the Nicene council, the proceedings of which are mistaken in some instances, and particularly in the case proposed to Paphnutius. The tenth canon mentions the seven orders in the Church, under the degree of a bishop, viz. the ostiarius, the lector, the exorcista, the acolythus, the sub-

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 584.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 572.

Ibid. p. 573.

ELPHE-
GUS,
Abp. Cant.

Ibid. p. 575.

deacon, the deacon, and the priest. The ostiarius's business was to toll the bells, to open the church-doors for the faithful, and to shut them against those who were either infidels or excommunicated. The lector, or reader, was to read the lessons in the church, which the canon calls preaching the word of God to the people. The exorcist was to conjure evil spirits, and drive them out of persons they had possessed. The acolythus's office was to light up the tapers when the Gospel was read, or when the priest was going to consecrate. The subdeacon's business was to bring the chalice, the paten, and other holy furniture to the deacon. The deacon was to attend upon the priest, and to lay the offerings of the congregation upon the altar. It is likewise, as the canon goes on, within his commission, to administer baptism, and distribute the consecrated elements: [and at the conclusion it is said, that a priest without a deacon is somewhat lame in the execution of his office.]

The seventeenth canon "describes the character of a mass, or parish priest, and lays it down for a rule, that there is no difference between a priest and a bishop, excepting that the bishop has the privilege of ordination, of visiting the diocese, and managing the grand affairs of religion: and though both act within the same order, yet the nobler part of it belongs to the bishop."

This canon, though not exactly worded, may easily be explained to an orthodox meaning: for it allows the bishops the supreme government, and several branches of jurisdiction, to which the priests have no pretence: and since the powers and privileges of priests and bishops are thus different, to the advantage of the latter; the dispute, whether the distinction lies in the difference of orders or degrees, is not very material.

The nineteenth canon "orders the priests, and inferior clergy, to be at church at the seven canonical hours of prayer, pursuant to a synodical constitution. The hours are these: viz. ultsang, or prayers about four in the morning: primsang, or matins, at six: undersang, or prayers at nine: middegsang, or prayers at noon: nonsang, or divine service at three in the afternoon: æfensang, that is, vespers: nihlsang, or nocturns, which is the seventh or last hour."

By the one-and-twentieth, "Every priest, before his ordination, was obliged to be furnished with church books; that is,

with a Psalter, a book of Epistles and Gospels, a Missale, a book of Church Hymns, a Penitientiale, and a Lectionarie, or Ræding Boc. He was to take care that the copies of all these were correct, and clear from the oversights of transcribers."

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

By the three-and-twentieth, "The parish priest was obliged upon Sundays, and other holidays, to explain the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Gospel for the day, to the people in English."

By the twenty-seventh, "No priest was to set his function to sale, or to take any money for the administering of baptism, or any other part of his office."

The twenty-eighth forbids "priests removing from one parish to another, upon the score of advantage; and obliges them to continue all their life-time upon the cure to which they were first ordained."

By the thirtieth, "A priest was neither to turn merchant, soldier, nor lawyer."

The thirty-second obliges priests "to be always furnished with two sorts of consecrated oil; one for children, and another for the sick; and that the sick should be always anointed upon their beds." And here the canon, after a complaint that some people disregarded this ceremony of anointing, presses the practice from the Apostle St. James, whose words are cited as follow: "Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him." The canon proceeds to enjoin confession to the sick person before the ceremony of anointing passed upon him, and that no priest was to presume to give it till it was desired. From all which it appears, that the practice of the Saxon, and that of the present Roman Church, was different as to this point. The then Church of England anointed the sick in hopes of recovery, as appears by the canons citing the text of St. James, it supposes the sick capable of making a confession, and to be sound in mind and memory. Whereas the Church of Rome never applies this sacrament, as they call it, till life is absolutely despaired of, and the person oftentimes in no condition to know what is done to him.

ELPHE-
GUS,
Abp. Cant.

The thirty-third mentions the four general councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; and then adds, "that these four synods are to be regarded like the four Gospels. That there have been many councils held in latter ages, but these four are of the greatest authority."

Spelman,
p. 531.

*The first four
general coun-
cils prefer-
red to the
rest.*

This giving the preference to the first four general councils, and making their authority more valuable than those of lesser antiquity, is point blank against the modern doctrine of the Roman Catholics: for if the present Church is as certain a direction as the primitive, why should her decisions be less regarded? Why should the fifth, sixth, and other succeeding general councils, be received with abatement in comparison with the first four? The modern Church of Rome pays the same submission to the decrees of the council of Trent, as she does to those of Nice; and, according to the supposition of infallibility, ought to do so. But this, we see, was not the opinion of Elfricus, who drew up these canons. He makes a plain distinction between the first four general councils, and those that came after. Now Elfricus was never charged with any tincture of heterodoxy; neither have we any reason to suspect, he delivered any thing different from the sentiments of the English Church.

Elphegus, as has been observed, succeeded Elfric in the see of Canterbury. He was a person of very noble extraction, was educated to learning, and after some time retired from the world, and turned monk in the monastery of Dihurst in Gloucestershire. From hence he removed to Bath, formed a society of monks, and was made choice of for their abbot. Here, to give an example of discipline, he shut himself up in a very strait apartment, and entered upon a course of the strictest mortification. But, it seems, neither precept nor example was sufficient to govern the greatest part of his convent: for the monks, as Osbern relates, broke through the rules of their order, and lived in a libertine manner. It is true, they were so modest as to run riot only at nights, when their abbot knew nothing of the matter. Upon the death of Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, Elphegus was preferred to that see. Osbern informs us, there was a contest about the election; that the secular canons chose one, and the monks another: and that St. Dunstan coming in to Elphegus's party,

Osbern, de
Vit. S. El-
phæg. Angl.
Sacr. pars 2.
p. 123, 125.

over-balanced the other side. Here Elphegus sat about two-and-twenty years, till his translation to Canterbury. He travelled to Rome for his pall, where he was received with extraordinary respect by the pope. Upon his return, he is said to have convened several synods, amongst which, we have only those of Engsham and Haba transmitted to us: both these conventions were made up of seculars as well as ecclesiastics, and the constitutions passed there relate both to Church and State. I shall begin with the council of Engsham.

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.
A. D. 1006.
Osbern. *ibid.*
p. 130.

The second canon "enjoins the celibacy of the clergy, and makes the quality of a priest equal to that of a thane, or lord of a manor."

*The council
of Engsham.*

By the fourth canon or constitution, "All witches, necromancers, strumpets, and perjured persons were to be banished, that the country might be clear of their infection: unless therefore they gave sufficient proof of their reformation, they were to quit the kingdom forthwith."

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 515.

By the seventh, "No Christian was to die for a small crime, that justice ought to be tempered with mercy, and that a man, who was the workmanship of God, and redeemed by our blessed Saviour, ought not to be destroyed for doing a little damage."

By the eighth, "No person was to lay any incumbrance upon the Church, nor eject any of the clergy, without consulting the bishop."

By the seventeenth, "Every Friday was to be a fast, unless it fell upon a holy day."

By the eighteenth, "The administering of oaths, the ordeal trials, and the solemnizing of marriages, were to be forborne upon holy days, Ember weeks, and from Advent to the Octaves of Epiphany; and from Septuagesima to the Quinquagesima of Easter. These intervals were to be kept with a distinguishing regard, and all controversies and suits were to sleep for that time."

The twentieth "enjoins frequent confession, and that the penance imposed by the priest should be punctually performed. The people are likewise enjoined to receive the holy eucharist three times, at least, in a year."

The twenty-second "respects the state, regulates the mint, and appoints a standard for weights and measures."

By the twenty-third, "The fleet was to be ready to set sail

ELPHE-
GUS,
Abp. Cant.

immediately after Easter. By this law the damaging a ship, so far as to make her unserviceable, is high treason."

By the twenty-fourth, "Whosoever refused to serve in the army, where the king commanded in person, was to forfeit all his estate."

209.

By the twenty-fifth, "If any person guilty of homicide, or perjury, presumed to come into the king's presence before he had done penance, and made satisfaction to God and the world, he was to forfeit his quality and estate."

And thus much for this council.

*Synod of
Haba.*

The synod of Haba has nothing particular in it, excepting an article or two.

By the second, Every Christian out of his minority, was obliged to fast with bread and water and raw herbs, before the feast of St. Michael; to go to church barefoot to confession. And every parish priest, and his congregation, were to go three days in procession barefoot. Every priest was to sing thirty masses, and every deacon and clergyman under that order, thirty psalms; and every man's diet which he should have eaten in these three days, was to be provided and distributed among the poor, but without any thing of flesh: these three days all slaves were excused from labour, that they might be the better qualified to keep the fast. The days of abstinence were Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Michaelmas. If a slave broke the fast, he was to suffer corporal punishment: a freeman of mean circumstances was to forfeit thirty pence; and a king's thane, or gentleman of condition, a hundred and twenty shillings, which was all to be given to the poor."

Psalm iii.

The third "enjoins the priest at matins, to say the mass made for protection against the pagans, every day; and that at all the canonical hours of prayer, the whole congregation should prostrate themselves upon the ground, and sing the psalm, 'Domine, quid multiplicati sunt?' and the collect against the pagan invasion: and that this be done as long as the present calamity of the times continues."

By these provisions we may perceive the country was miserably harassed, and that part of the design of the council was to consult upon measures to stop the progress of the Danes.

The next remarkable occurrence is the siege of Canterbury, and the martyrdom of Elphegus. The Danes, after having over-run the west, marched into Kent, and sat down before Canterbury. Before the town was invested, the English nobility, perceiving the danger the place was in, desired the archbishop to provide for his security: they told him his death would be a public loss, and therefore it was advisable to retire. To which Elphegus made answer, "that he was resolved upon a different method, that the measures they suggested were neither suitable to his past life, nor serviceable to his expectations: you would have me," says he, "throw away a noble opportunity, and despise an offer for which I have the greatest esteem. But, God forbid that I should tarnish my character by so inglorious a practice, and be afraid to go to heaven because a violent death may occur in the passage. Immortality is so great a privilege, that a man ought to grasp at it upon any terms whatsoever: but now, since God is pleased to give us so honourable a call into the other world, who would not be in love with dying? Who would not break from the company of his best friends, to seize so glorious an advantage? God be thanked, I am not conscious of any such misbehaviour, as to give the enemy any just occasion to use me ill. It is true, I have converted several of the most considerable of them to Christianity; but if this be a fault in their opinion, I shall be happy in suffering for it. What then! have I disobliged them by ransoming some of my countrymen, and by supporting those in their captivity, whom I was in no condition to redeem? If they count this a crime, I shall be proud to be punished for it, though it were by a wound in every part of my body. But if you think the Danes are particularly enraged against me for reproving them for their immorality and injustice, I cannot help that; I am bound to these remonstrances by my commission, and unless I give a wicked man warning, his blood will be required at my hands. If this is all the provocation I have given them, I must needs think it very unbecoming my station to desert my worthy countrymen in time of danger, and make an ignoble provision for myself. What can I be less than an hireling, if, when I see the wolf ready to devour my sheep, I presently run away and leave them to shift for themselves? It is therefore my

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

A. D. 1011.
*The siege of
Canterbury
and martyr-
dom of
Elphegus.*
Osbern. de
Vit. Elp heg.
Angl. Sac.
pars 2.
p. 133. et
deinc.
Hoveden,
Annal.
fol. 247.

*Elphegus's
fortitude and
contempt of
death.*

ELPHE-
GUS,
Abp. Cant.

resolution to stand the shock, and submit to the order of Providence."

The town perceiving the archbishop thus resolved, began to project for themselves; and many of the burghers being apprehensive things might come to extremity, went over to the Danes in hopes of fair quarter, but were miserably disappointed. Things being in this posture, Elphegus called the people together, and endeavoured to animate them against the worst that might happen; he put them in mind of the fortitude of the martyrs, how they held out under torture, and triumphed over the malice of their enemies. And thus, having prepared them to suffer the utmost rather than renounce their Christianity, he gave them the holy sacrament, and recommended them to the Divine protection.

And now the town was besieged in form, battered with rams, and at last set on fire by throwing in brands and combustible matter. And while the garrison were busy in putting out the fire, and preserving their families, the enemy took advantage of this confusion, mounted the ramparts where they were thinly manned, and made their way into the city. And now the face of things was very terrible, and nothing to be seen but fire and sword, plunder and execution. The women of condition were dragged about the streets by their hair, and, at last, thrown into the flames, upon pretence that they did not fairly discover their plate and money. The little children were snatched from their mothers, tossed upon the top of a pike, or thrown in the streets for the carts to drive over them. The archbishop seeing the barbarity of the enemy, was not able to keep himself any longer at a distance; therefore, breaking from the monks in Christ's-Church, he pressed through the Danish troops, and made his way to the place of slaughter: and then turning to the enemy, he desired them to forbear, and not to blemish their manhood by destroying infants. He told them the cradle could afford no triumphs, and that it was no victory to fall upon an age which was in no condition to resist; and that when people submit, and throw down their arms, it was by no means reputable to dispatch them. If they had a mind to do something remarkable, they had better cut his throat; who, being in a post of eminence, might possibly make them be remembered. He told them he

had converted several of their troops, and made them desert from their old religion; and that he had frequently declared against the injustice of their enterprise. The archbishop talking with this freedom, was immediately seized, and used with all manner of barbarity. And now the Danes being masters of the town, put the burghers under a decimation, and destroyed nine parts in ten; and those that escaped in the decimation, were either made slaves, or forced upon hard ransom. As for Elphegus, he was laid in chains, dragged through the city, and kept in prison about seven months: at last, the principal officers of the army sent four men to him, to offer him conditions; that "in case he would pay sixty talents of silver, each of which was to weigh fifty pounds, and persuade king Ethelred to pay two hundred talents; upon these conditions, they told him there might be an accommodation concluded between the Danes and the English: but if he refused to comply with these terms, there was neither liberty nor life to be expected." The archbishop replied, "that the proposals were impracticable; that the ravage and desolation of the country had made it incapable of raising such vast sums: besides, if they thought him so mean, as to either plunder the Church for them, or persuade the king to a dishonourable peace, they were mistaken."

ETHEL-
RED;
K. of
England.

Some of his friends desired him to soften his answer a little, and give them an authority under his hand and seal, to collect money from his friends, and drain the remainder of the Church's treasure. Elphegus, who had hitherto had the credit of a charitable prelate, and a patriot of his country, told them "that he looked upon the expedient as a great wickedness, and had much rather die than disengage himself at so scandalous a rate. For what can be more unsuitable to the character of a bishop, than to make a present to the pagans of those things which are designed for the honour of religion, and the benefit of the poor? Don't you remember," says he, "how the martyr, St. Lawrence, concealed the treasures of the Church, and chose rather to die than discover them; and would you have me betray my trust, impoverish the Church, and rob the indigent? No, by the grace of God, I will never preserve myself by so great prevarication as this."

The Danes, perceiving him obstinate, as they reckoned it, resolved to dispatch him with all the torture and disgrace they

LIVIN-
GUS,
Abp. Cant.

could think of. In short, they beat and wounded him till he was half dead, and then threw him into a very offensive prison. After some few days they brought him to the place of execution, where they first knocked him down with their axes, and then stoned him. The archbishop being just upon the verge of the other world, prayed for his enemies, and recommended his Church to our Saviour's protection. And here one that had newly turned Christian, perceiving the archbishop agonizing and under torture, gave him, as he thought, the *coup de grace*, and put him out of his pain.

A. D. 1012.

Elphegus was first buried at St. Paul's, in London, and afterwards his corpse was removed to Canterbury with great solemnity, and buried in the cathedral.

Osbern. de
Vit. et
Translat.
S. Elphegi.

This archbishop had the honour of a martyr from posterity, and his day stands upon the nineteenth of April, in the Roman Martyrology.

Martyrol.
Roman.
Baron.

Laufanc, archbishop of Canterbury in the Conqueror's time, seemed somewhat at a loss why the English should make a martyr of Elphegus; seeing that he did not die for any point of faith, but because he refused the Danes the sum of money they demanded. To clear this doubt, he consulted Anselm, who told him he was very well satisfied about Elphegus's martyrdom, because he chose to die rather than do an unjust thing. And without entering any farther upon Elphegus's case, we may safely affirm, that to die in defence of justice and moral duty, is no less honourable a resignation than suffering for an article of the creed; for practice, and not speculation, is the grand design of Christianity: and to give an instance, we know St. John Baptist stands in the martyr's list, and yet it was only declaring against vice, and not any point of revealed religion, which brought him to the block.

Eadmer. in
Vit. Anselm.

A. D. 1013.
Livingus
succeeds at
Canterbury.

Livingus, bishop of Wells, succeeded Elphegus, in the year of our Lord, 1013. His fortune was not much smoother than that of his predecessor; for after having had a great share of the calamities of the country, he was taken prisoner by the Danes, confined seven months, and treated very ruggedly: and then being dismissed by the enemy, and finding the kingdom miserably embroiled, and running to ruin, he travelled beyond sea, and continued there till the times grew better.

211.

Godwin in
Archiepis.
Cantuar.

The first year Livingus sat at Canterbury, Swane, king of

Denmark, put in at Sandwich with a considerable fleet ; from whence, after a few days, he coasted the country of the East Angles, came to the Humber, and afterwards into the Trent as far as Gainsborough, where he encamped. Here the Northumbrians and Lincolnshire men made their submission, and soon after all the country North of Watling-street came in, gave hostages, and swore allegiance to him. Having advanced thus far, he put the hostages on board, and giving the command of the fleet to his son Canute, marched forward with a reinforcement of English against the Southern Mercians. And having crossed Watling-street, he ordered his troops to destroy whatever they found in the fields, to burn the towns, and plunder the churches ; to cut the throats of all the male sex without distinction, and abuse the women at their pleasure ; and, in short, to distress the country to the utmost, and do all the mischief that lay in their power. This barbarous manner of making war struck a terror into the English, and made them drop their swords in most places where the Danes appeared. Thus Swane coming before Oxford had the town surrendered to him immediately ; from hence, marching to Winchester, they opened their gates and gave him what hostages he desired. From Winchester he moved towards London, and made his utmost effort to take it ; but here king Ethelred being reinforced with Turkill, a Danish count, made so vigorous a defence that Swane was forced to raise the siege. Being thus baulked he drew off to Bath, where he made a halt to refresh his troops. Here Ailmer, Earl of Devonshire, brought in the West Saxons, and gave him hostages. Being thus successful, he was owned by almost all the English, and at last the Londoners submitted and gave him security. King Ethelred perceiving his affairs thus desperately sunk, sent off his queen Emma to Normandy. His two sons likewise, Edward and Alfred, with their preceptors, Elfun, bishop of London, and Elfus, abbot of Peterborough, quickly followed their mother. As for the king, he fell down with his little fleet from Greenwich to the Isle of Wight, and from thence set sail for Normandy, where he was honourably received at duke Richard's court.

ETHEL-
RED,
K. of
England.

Hoveden,
Annal.
fol. 248.
pars 1.

*The kingdom
terribly
harassed by
Swane, king
of Denmark.*

Thus Swane being left master of the country, lived at A. D. 1014.
discretion, and taxed the English to an intolerable degree.
And thus managing his conquest in a most arbitrary and

LIVIN-
GUS,
Abp. Cant.

tyrannical manner, he came to St. Edmundsbury, and demanded a very heavy contribution, which unless it was immediately paid, he menaced the burghers with military execution, sent them word he would lay their town in ashes, pull down their martyr's church, and dispatch the clergy with all the torture imaginable. He likewise spoke reproachfully of St. Edmund; but if our historians are not mistaken, he was quickly punished for his presumption. Hoveden reports that St. Edmund gave him a mortal wound, and struck him off his horse. Malmesbury tells the same story, though with some difference of circumstance. However it is certain Swane died about this time, and that his son Canutus, who succeeded him, paid an extraordinary regard to St. Edmund's memory, built a stately church over his corpse, founded a large abbey at Bury, and endowed it with a very considerable revenue.

Hoveden,
ibid.
*King Swane
dies.*
Malmesb.
de Gestis
Pontif. Ang.
l. 2. fol. 136.

Malmesb.
ibid.

All this expense makes it probable that there was some extraordinary motive in the case, and that king Swane's death had some remarkable circumstance in it. However, the Monasticon only takes notice that St. Edmund's memory falling under some neglect, and not being treated suitably to his merit by the secular clergy, who were possessed of the estate settled in honour of this martyr, king Canutus summoned a convention of the bishops and temporal barons to meet; at this convention St. Edmund's church and revenues were taken from the secular clergy, and the place brought under the regulation and form of a monastery.

Ex Registro
S. Benedicti
de Hulmo in
Biblioth.
Cottonian.
fol. 7, b.
Monasticon.
Angl. pars 1.
p. 286.
*Canute suc-
ceeds Swane.*

Upon the death of king Swane, the English nobility sent commissioners into Normandy to invite king Ethelred over, upon conditions of a more agreeable administration. The king sent his son Edward to give them satisfaction; and when the treaty was perfected he came over himself, and was received with great welcome and respect. Canutus had his quarters in Lincolnshire, where the country stood firm for him. Hither king Ethelred marched his forces, fought the Dane, and gave him so great a defeat that he was forced to quit the kingdom, and set sail for Denmark; but the next year he returned with a strong reinforcement, and put into Sandwich; from hence, soon after, he sailed up to the river Frome, and plundered the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Wilts. Now king Ethelred being sick, gave the command of his army to his son Edmund, who, perceiving Edric, count of Mercia, de-

signed to betray him, drew off part of his forces, and left the enemy the advantage of a farther march. This Edric soon after made an open revolt, and carried forty of the king's men of war over to the enemy.

EDMUND,
K. of
England.

Hoveden,
Annal.
fol. 248.

There were several other contests between Ethelred and Canutus, but none of them proved decisive. While the matter hung thus in suspense, and the country was in a manner ruined by the war, king Ethelred died at London, and was buried in St. Paul's. Upon the death of this prince, the greatest part of the bishops and temporal nobility declared for king Canute, and coming to articles, swore allegiance to him; Canutus swearing on his part to protect the Church and State in the rights and privileges of the constitution. But the Londoners, with the nobility then in town, set up Edmund Ironside, king Ethelred's eldest son by his first wife. Edmund being thus owned by the capital city, marched into the West, and was received with great demonstrations of loyalty. There were several great battles fought between this prince and Canutus. King Edmund had the better at Seearstan in Worcestershire, and at Octanford, in Kent, but lost the battle at Ashdon, in Essex, by the perfidiousness of earl Edric. Here the flower of the English nobility was cut off, together with Eadnoth, bishop of Lincoln, and Wulfius, an abbot, who were in the field to pray for the success of the army. This victory gave a great turn to affairs, for now London submitted, and king Canutus was solemnly crowned there. But it was not long before king Edmund rallied, and appeared at the head of a good army in Gloucestershire; and here the nobility being tired with the war, took the freedom to declare themselves in this manner:—"To what purpose should we expose ourselves for these princes any longer? Let their victories be never so great, they will not be so bountiful as to advance us to their own station; and since they are resolved to reign by themselves, let them even fight by themselves." The two kings, both brave in their persons, approved the expedient of a duel; and being encamped on each side the Severn, they pitched upon a little island in the river called Oleneige, or the Eighth. Here they met single, and began their combat in the sight of their troops. At the first shock they tilted with their lances, which being broken upon each other, they drew their swords, and came to the last decisive weapon. Here they let

*The death of
king Ethel-
red.*

212.

Hoveden,
fol. 249.
Brady's
Complete
History of
England,
p. 126.
*The perfid-
iousness of
Edric.*
Westmon.
An. Grat.
Hoveden
Annal.
fol. 249.
Huntingdon
Hist. l. 6.
Florent.
Wigorn.
Chronic.
p. 618.

*A duel be-
twixt king
Edmund
and Canutus.*

LIVIN-
GUS,
Abp. Cant.

drive at one another at a formidable rate, and distinguished themselves like heroes in romance; but at last king Edmund's blows came so thick and heavy that Canutus began to think of another method to end the controversy. However, concluding his terms would be the worse if he seemed to have the disadvantage, he exerted his utmost vigour, rose upon his sword, and charged king Edmund with extraordinary courage; upon this he fell back a few paces, made signs for a pause, and began to treat. He told king Edmund, "That formerly he was very ambitious to get his crown from him, but now he was so charmed with his bravery, that he valued his person much better than his dominions, and therefore gave him a hearty invitation to be his friend." King Edmund, though invincible against force, was easily overcome by civility. And thus the duel ending in an amicable manner, they agreed upon a division of the kingdom; the East Angles, Essex, London, and all the country south of the Thames, falling to king Edmund's share. Thus the matter is related by Huntingdon and Matthew of Westminster. But Malmesbury is somewhat different in his report. He says king Edmund gave Canutus a challenge; that this prince refused the duel, and sent him word, "That though he had no less courage than himself, yet he did not think it reasonable to venture his person against one of so gigantic a size." Thus Malmesbury. But then, as to the treaty and division of the kingdom, he agrees with the historians last mentioned.

Huntingd.
Histor.
l. 6. fol. 208.
Westm. An.
Grat. 1017.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. l. 2.
c. 10. fol. 40.

*King Ed-
mund mur-
dered.*

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. l. 2.
c. 10. fol. 40.

Huntingd.
Histor. l. 6.
fol. 208.

Soon after this treaty the brave king Edmund was murdered. Malmesbury reports that count Edric, to make his court to Canutus, bribed two of the king's bed-chamber to assassinate him. Huntingdon tells us Edric employed his own son in this execrable treason. This young nobleman concealed himself under the house of office, and when the king was upon the stool gave him two mortal stabs, and left the knife in his body. He was buried near his grandfather Edgar at Glassenbury. He left issue Edwin and Edward, who, by Edric's advice, were soon after put into the king of Sweden's hands in order to be dispatched. But this court proving more humane than was expected, the young princes had the liberty to retire into Hungary, where they were honourably entertained by king Solomon. Edwin, the eldest, died not long after his arrival; and Edward, his brother, married Agatha,

the king's sister, and daughter to the emperor Henry II. By this Agatha he had issue, Edgar Atheling, and two daughters, Margaret and Christina. But enough of this at present.

CANU-
TUS,
K. of
England.

Upon the death of king Edmund, Canutus made no difficulty to set aside his issue, and seize the whole kingdom. It is true, abating the injustice of his possession, he governed to advantage enough, and was a sort of a shining usurper. In the beginning of his reign he did an exemplary piece of justice upon those that assassinated king Edmund. These wretches had the confidence to discover themselves to Canutus, in hopes of some great reward: but this prince disappointed their expectations, and had them publicly executed. The same year the infamous Edricus shared the fate he had so often deserved. It seems he grew too bold upon the merit of his treason, and reproached the king with the neglect of his services. He told Canutus, that he had first deserted, and then murdered king Edmund to serve him. The assurance of boasting so much falsehood and barbarity, put the king in a rage: who immediately replied, "And you shall certainly die for your confession; since you have owned yourself guilty of high treason, and have murdered your natural sovereign, and a prince that was one of my allies: 'thy blood be upon thy head; for thy mouth has testified against thee, saying, I have slain the Lord's anointed.'" Having said this, he ordered him to be hanged in the room immediately, and thrown out of the window into the Thames.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. l. 2.
c. 11. fol. 41.
A. D. 1017.

*The traitor
Edric
executed.*

2 Sam. i. 16.

Malmesb.
ibid.

Canutus, as Malmesbury continues, having all England under his jurisdiction, endeavoured to make himself agreeable to the natives. To this purpose he preferred them to the bench, to the council-board, and to posts of command in the army: and, in short, gave them an equal share of his favour with the Danes. And to engage them farther, he married Emma, king Ethelred's widow; imagining the return of an old English queen might make the English forget their servitude to a foreign prince, and soften the Danish government. This queen, who was at her brother Richard's court in Normandy, complied with the offer. Malmesbury blames her extremely for being gained by Canutus: by Canutus, I say, who had attacked her husband, king Ethelred, so often, and forced her own children, Alfred and Edward, to live out of the kingdom.

213.

Malmesbur.
ibid. and
fol. 40.

AGEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

*Canutus
kind to the
Church.*

Malmesbur.
ibid. et Stubs
Actus Pon-
tif. Eborac.
p. 1700.

Canutus, notwithstanding his strains upon justice, and injury to the royal family, was very kind to the Church. For instance: he made good the damage done to the monasteries by his own or his father's troops; and in all places, where a battle had been fought, he built chapels, and settled a maintenance upon priests, to pray for the souls of those that were slain: and particularly at Ashdon, in Essex, he built a famous chantry, which was consecrated by the archbishop of York; the king, and several of the bishops and temporal nobility, being present at the solemnity.

Godwin in
Episc.
Exon. p. 452.
A. D. 1018.

A. D. 1020.

When Exeter was taken by king Swane, the monastery of St. Peter's was burnt, with the rest of the town. Canutus, being willing to make satisfaction for his father's sacrilege, rebuilt the abbey, and returned all the manors and estates belonging to it. This prince likewise confirmed the privileges of Christ's Church, in Canterbury, by granting them a new charter. His founding the monastery of St. Edmundsbury has been already mentioned.

Gervasius
Actus Pon-
tif. Cantuar.
p. 1650.

*Secular
canons at
Canterbury.*

Gervas. Do-
rober. Actus
Pontif. Can-
tuar. ibid.
*A chorepis-
copus for-
merly.*
Ibid.
A. D. 1020.

Livingus, archbishop of Canterbury, after having sat seven years, departed this life. He is said to have ornamented his cathedral with several rich presents. Agelnoth, or Egelnath, called the Good, was his successor. This prelate was son to earl Ailmer, and dean of Christ's church at his election. Gervasius Dorobernensis observes, that at this time the monks of the church of Canterbury lived with the latitude of prebendaries. They wore the religious habit, but with little observance of the rule. When Elphegus suffered martyrdom, all the convent, excepting four, were killed by the Danes. Now the clergy that were taken in to fill up the vacancy, continued in some part of their former liberty, and refused to be wholly tied up to the restraints of a monastery. They called their superior a dean, who afterwards, from archbishop Lanfranc's time, had the title of prior.

The archbishops of this see had formerly a chorepiscopus, who resided at St. Martin's in the suburbs: but this office was extinguished by Lanfranc above mentioned.

Agelnoth, upon his election, went to Rome, and received his pall from Pope Bennet VIII. Upon his return, he is said to have raised the see of Canterbury to its former dignity and lustre. He was much in Canutus's favour, and made use of his

interest to good purposes : for, as Malmesbury observes, the king was prompted to acts of piety, and restrained from excesses, by the regard he had for the archbishop.

CANUTUS,
K. of
England.

This year, one Edmund was made bishop of Durham by an odd accident. Malmesbury takes notice, that before the Norman conquest the bishops used to be chosen by the chapter, whether monks or prebendaries. Now, though it was the custom to elect a monk for the see of Durham, yet the chapter were all secular clergy. The see being now vacant by the death of Aldelm, the chapter met for a new election, but could not agree upon their man. While the matter hung thus in suspense, one Edmund, a priest, whom nobody thought of, comes into the church ; and being of a pleasant humour, desired them to take him, and make him a bishop. The chapter looking on this motion as an extraordinary impulse, took him at his word, and made him first a monk, and then a bishop, though very much against his will. His election was approved by king Canutus, and he was consecrated at Winchester by Wulfstan, archbishop of York. This Edmund was descended of a noble family, and managed his diocese to great commendation. He was a person of a primitive courage, never flattered any great man out of fear, but supported his character, and exercised the authority of his station with great resolution and impartiality.

Malmesbur.
de Gest.
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 42.

*Bishops and
abbots chosen
by the convent
and chapter.*

This method of choosing a bishop by the chapter, though less foreign than the excesses of the regale, was yet a deviation from the primitive practice. For, by the ancient canons, a bishop ought to be chosen by the metropolitan and his suffragans. And to prevent the inconvenience by the interposal of the state, the apostles' canons forbid the clergy making application to the canons for a bishopric, under the penalty of being deposed and excommunicated. This custom of making the provincial bishops the electors, continued in France till the latter end of the tenth century.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
l. 3. fol. 157.
Dunelmens.
Hist. de
Dunelmens.
Eccles. l. 3.
c. 6.

To proceed : Canutus, perceiving himself well settled in England, took a voyage to Rome : here he made large presents to several of the churches, and kept the solemnity of Easter with Pope John XIX. At his return to Denmark, he sent a letter to the English, to give them an account of his reception at Rome, and that he had procured several advantages for them. For instance, the emperor and other princes,

Theodoret.
Hist. l. 5.
c. 23.
Apost. Can.
30.
Dacher. Spicileg. tom. 8.
p. 154.
*Canutus procures some
privileges for
the English
at the court
of Rome.*

AGEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.
214.

A. D. 1031.

whose dominions lay in the way between England and Rome, had granted the English and Danes the liberty of passing and repassing, without any molestation, or paying any toll. He acquaints them, likewise, that he had complained to the pope of the excessive sums that had been demanded of the English archbishops for the pall, and that the pope had given him satisfaction upon this point. This letter, of which I have translated but a small part, was dated on shipboard, in his way to Denmark, and directed to the two archbishops, and all the rest of the nobility and commons of England. At the close of the letter, he presses the punctual payment of tithes, and other Church dues, and threatens them with the utmost rigour of law, in case of failure. And at his return into England, he ordered all the laws made under the old Saxon kings, and particularly those of king Ethelred, to be strictly put in execution.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. fol. 41.

Canutus, soon after his return, undertook an expedition against Malcolm II., king of Scots, who had made some inroads upon the English; but this rebellion, as Malmesbury calls it, was easily suppressed.

Malmesb.
ibid.

About this time, Canutus granted a charter of privileges to the abbey of Glassenbury, by virtue of which, the abbot and convent had the trial of all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, which happened within the precincts and estates of that monastery: however, this charter was only a confirmation of the munificence of former kings and popes.

A. D. 1032.
Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 2. c. 11.
fol. 42.

In this charter there is mention made of the blessed Virgin, and all the other saints: upon which the learned sir Henry Spelman observes, that the invocation of the saints was frequently practised at this time. This remark he proves from the public Litany, where, after application to the holy Trinity, this sentence follows, thrice repeated: "Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis." After this, the archangels, and a great many saints, are addressed by name.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 537. ex
Saxon. MS.
Biblioth.
Publ.
Cantab.
*No direct
invocation
of saints.*

However, in the public office of canonical hours, used by the English Saxons, and translated by Mr. Elstob, we find none of these strains. Here the blessed Virgin, and the rest of the saints are only mentioned in this remote language: "Sancta Dei genetrix, Virgo Maria, et omnes Sancti Dei intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus ad Dominum, ut mereamur ab eo adjuvari, et salvari, qui vivis et regnas Deus." Now this amounts to

no more than a general wish for the intercession of the saints, and is far from any direct application: and yet this is all we meet with upon this head in the office above mentioned. This practice of immediate address, as far as we can discover, did not prevail in England till the tenth century. At this time, in the homily of the assumption of the blessed Virgin, there is a direct prayer to the blessed Virgin to intercede for them.

CANUTUS,
K. of
England.

Letters between Dr. George Hickes and a Popish priest, in the Appendix. Dr. Hickes, *ibid.* in Prefat.

As to the canonical hours first mentioned, we may observe, that though the collects, lessons, Lord's Prayer, and Creed are in Latin, yet after every article, petition, or verse in Latin, there follows a Saxon translation, in a copious paraphrastical way; from whence it appears, the then English Church thought it proper to have the greatest part of the liturgy in the vulgar tongue.

King Canutus having a great reverence for St. Bennet, founded the abbey of Holme, in Norfolk, in honour of this saint. This abbey, standing in a morass, was afterwards so well fortified by the monks, that William the Conqueror could not take it. However, it was betrayed to him by a monk, upon condition of being made abbot: the Conqueror having possession, put the monk in the post he had articed for, and then hanged him for a traitor.

Brompton.
Chron.
p. 913.

It will be now time to say something concerning king Canutus's ecclesiastical laws. The year they were made in is uncertain; and being not very material, I shall wave the inquiry. As to the place, the preamble informs us, they were drawn up at Winchester, by the advice of the prelates and nobility. The greatest part seems nothing more than the confirmation of old laws; and therefore I shall only take notice of what appears to be new, and somewhat remarkable.

Cambden,
Britan. in
Norfolk.
*Canutus's
ecclesiastical
laws.*

By the fourth, people are put in mind to pay a regard to places and persons consecrated to religion, and that all in holy orders should be treated suitably to their character: the reason of this constitution is subjoined, viz., because the priest's function is extremely beneficial to the people. The public prayers and sacraments are effectual means for the conveyance of grace, for disappointing the attempts of evil spirits, and procuring the Divine protection.

By the fifth, if a priest was accused of any crime, he had

AGEL-
NOTH,
Abp. Cant.

the liberty of purging himself by saying mass, and receiving the holy eucharist; provided he was willing to stand the test of these solemnities.

If any married man kept a wench, he was to be denied all the privileges of Christian communion. And if any woman was convicted of adultery, she was to forfeit her settlement to her husband; and more than that, her nose and ears were to be cut off.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. I.
p. 541, 558.

The twelfth recommends celibacy to the clergy, and sets them on the same level with a thane, or lord of a manor.

The nineteenth orders a halfpenny to be levied three times a-year upon every hide of land, for the buying wax candles. These candles were to be used at Easter, at the feast of All Saints, and at the purification of the blessed Virgin.

The twentieth ordains, that at funerals the dues should immediately be paid upon the breaking up of the ground: and if any person was interred out of the bounds of his own parish, the Church dues were to be paid to the parish he belonged to.

215. The two-and-twentieth enjoins the keeping festivals and fasts with solemnity and devotion. And here the observance of the Sunday is enjoined from three o'clock on Saturday, in the afternoon, till Monday at break of day.

The twenty-third determines the vigils and times of fasting. And here the holyday eves for the blessed Virgin, the eves of the festivals of the apostles, are made days of abstinence, excepting that of St. Philip and St. James, which, because it fell between Easter and Whitsuntide, was no fast. To proceed with the constitution: every Friday, unless it were a holyday, is declared a fast; but from Easter to Whitsuntide, and from the Nativity of our Saviour to the eighth day after Epiphany, nobody was to fast, unless the priest obliged him by way of penance, or he undertook it of his own accord.

By the canons fixing the vigils at none but the apostles' festivals, and those of the blessed Virgin, it seems to follow, that the Church of England did not keep near so many holydays, as are now observed in the Church of Rome; and that, excepting the apostles and the blessed Virgin, they took none into their calendar besides the saints of their own country: for two of which, St. Edward and St. Dunstan, there is a provision made in the next article.

It is likewise decreed, that every Christian should learn the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed: and unless they were perfect in both these, they were neither allowed to stand god-father, to receive the communion, nor to have the privilege of Christian burial.

HAROLD,
K. of
England.

And to give the firmer sanction to these constitutions, the people are put in mind to be thoroughly affected with the fear of God; to remember the day of judgment, and the insupportable torments of the damned; and lastly, to consider, that the day of their death was uncertain and approaching.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 539—569.

There are several other articles relating to the payment of tithes; the times of vacation, payment of Peter-pence, against the violation of the privileges of churches; against breaking the king's peace, &c. But these, being mostly repetitions of old laws, will bear the omission.

Malmesbury takes notice, that the constitutions observed in his own time, under the name of the laws of Edward the Confessor, were passed by Canutus, and extracted from the old laws of the Saxon princes, his predecessors.

About this time there was a Welsh synod convened by Joseph, bishop of Llandaff; where Mouric, king of Glamorganshire, was excommunicated for violating the sanctuary of St. Dubritius, wounding one of the bishop's servants, and carrying off a nobleman's wife by force out of the Church. Mouric submitted to penance, and made satisfaction in open synod.

*Mouric, a
Welsh
prince,
excommuni-
cated.*

After the decease of Canutus, who died at Shaftesbury, and was buried at Winchester, the kingdom was somewhat divided about the succession. The Danish interest at London and elsewhere, declared for Harold Harefoot, son of Canutus and Elgiva of Northampton. The English disapproved this choice, and were inclined to set up Edward, son of king Ethelred; or if that point could not be carried, they desired Hardicanute, son of Canutus by queen Emma, might be the person. Edward's party was quickly found to weak to continue the competition, and at last the two Danish brothers came to the expedient of a partition. Hardicanute had all the counties which lay south of the Thames, and Harold the other.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 570.

A. D. 1036.
*Harold suc-
ceeds Canu-
tus.*

Ingulph.
Hist. p. 61.

This contest being arranged, Hardicanute set sail for Denmark, where spending too much time, and not returning at

EADSIUS, the invitation of the English, his subjects thought themselves
Abp. Cant. disengaged, and suffered Harold to seize the whole king-
 dom.

A. D. 1037.
 Ibid. et
 Florent.
 Wigorn.

And now queen Emma, Hardicanute's mother, was banished and forced to retire into Flanders, where she was honourably entertained by earl Baldwin.

Florent.
 Wigorn.
 Eadsius
 succeeds
Agelnoth in
the see of
Canterbury.
 Harpsfield,
 Hist. Eccles.
 Angl. Secul.
 11. c. 10.

Agelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, after he had sat seventeen years, departed this life, and was succeeded by Eadsius, king Harold's chaplain. This Agelnoth, as Harpsfield reports, refused to crown Harold, and told him the late king Canutus enjoined him to set the crown upon none but the issue of queen Emma; that he gave the king a promise upon this head, and was resolved to be true to his engagement. Having declared himself with this freedom, he laid the crown on the altar, with an imprecation upon those bishops that should venture to perform the ceremony. The king, we may imagine, was very chagrined at this disappointment, and is said to have tried all the methods of menacing, and large offers, but no purpose; and whether he was afterwards crowned by any other prelate, is altogether uncertain.

Agelnoth
refuses to
crown
Harold.

In the first year of this prince's reign, Alfred, eldest son to king Ethelred, being informed of Canutus's death, set sail from Normandy with a small force, in hopes the English would receive him, and landed at Sandwich in Kent. Here earl Godwin came to him, and professed himself strongly in his interest; but when Alfred's men were quartered at Guilford, Godwin had them all seized, and ordered nine out of every ten of them to be executed. As for Alfred, he was delivered up to Harold, had his eyes put out, and was sent to the monastery of Ely, where he was wretchedly used, and died in a short time. This story Malmesbury reports from common fame; but not meeting with it upon record, refuses to vouch the fact. However, Matthew of Westminster and others relate it without diffidence. Malmesbury himself goes thus far, as to affirm, that Hardicanute dispossessed Livingius, bishop of Crediton, because he was reported to have been in the plot against Alfred, and that he designed to bring earl Godwin to his trial; and that this nobleman stopped the prosecution by making the king a very large present. Knighton is positive for earl Godwin's treachery, and tells us, that he betrayed prince Alfred to make

216.

Malmesb.
 de Gestis
 Reg. Angl.
 1. 2. c. 12.

way for his ambitious projects; that he designed to marry his daughter to Edward the younger brother: for Alfred, it seems, being a prince of a high spirit, had despised the match.

HARDICANUTE,
K. of
England.

Harold, after four years' reign, departed this life at London, and was buried at Westminster. And now most of the nobility sent commissioners to Hardicanute, who was at Bruges with his mother, to give him an invitation to the crown. It is thought Hardicanute was in a condition to have made his way by force, and that the preparations advanced for an expedition were the occasion of this civility from the English. This conjecture looks probable, because upon receiving this message he set sail with sixty ships, and land forces on board them. At his arrival he was received with a general welcome, and seated on the throne. He held the government but two years, being suddenly taken off by an apoplexy at Lambeth. He was invited to a nobleman's daughter's wedding, and expired at table.

Knighton,
de Eventibus Angl.
l. 1. p. 2326.
Hardicanute succeeds Harold.

A. D. 1040.
Florent.
Wigorn.

A. D. 1042.

Upon the death of Hardicanute, who had suffered the Danes to swagger over the English, these latter were resolved to have no more princes of that nation. It seems the insolence of the Danes was intolerable in the latter reign. For instance, if a Dane had met an Englishman upon a bridge, the latter was not to stir a foot, till the Dane had passed over; and unless the English made a profound reverence, they were certain of being well caned: the Danes therefore having lost their prince, the English took the advantage of the juncture and expelled them the country; where they never had the fortune to get footing afterwards.

The Danes insolent, and expelled by the English.

The country being thus cleared, the English nobility sent into Normandy to Edward, called the Confessor, to invite him to the government. Malmesbury observes, that part of the English were in another interest. I suppose he means that of Edward, father of Edgar Atheling; for this prince was the next in the right line. But this claim was quickly overruled by earl Godwin, who being of active person, of great interest, and a plausible tongue, brought the majority into his own scheme, and secured the government for Edward, son to king Ethelred. It is said, that before he made this prince's way to the throne, he obliged him to articles; that he should prefer his sons to the chief place of honour and profit, and marry his daughter Egitha.

Brompton,
Chron.
p. 934.
Edward the Confessor succeeds Hardicanute.

Malmesb.
de Gestis
Reg Angl.
l. 2. c. 13.

EADSIUS, *Abp. Cant.* Things being thus prepared, Edward was invited over, with this proviso, that he should bring but a few Normans with him. At his arrival he was received with great signs of satisfaction, and crowned at Winchester by archbishop Eadsius. *Knigh-ton, de Eventibus Ang. l. i. c. 8.*

A. D. 1043.

This prelate, the next year, happening to grow disabled in his health, committed the administration of the province to one Siward, abbot of Abingdon. Malmesbury reports, that Eadsius instructed king Edward, at his first coming, in the measures of government, and that this prince was very careful to pursue his directions: and to make good his articles to earl Godwin, it was not long before he married his daughter Egitha.

Ingulph. Histor. p. 62.

This lady, as Ingulphus relates, who lived at king Edward's court, was a very fine person, and made an extraordinary progress in letters: he adds, that she was of an excellent disposition, and unexceptionable as to her virtue and conduct; and that she had nothing of the treachery and ill nature of the rest of her family.

Malmesb. ibid. Ailred Rival, de Vit. et Mirac. Edward. Confess. p. 378. Norman customs taken up by the English.

King Edward, who seems to have been somewhat overgrown with monastic fancies, married this lady only to keep his word, and satisfy the importunity of the people; for he never cohabited with her. Malmesbury, though living near that time, is somewhat at a loss about this singularity, and does not know whether it is to be resolved into an aversion to her family, or that it proceeded from principles of chastity, as he calls it. But Rivallensis makes a better defence for this prince, and reports, they lived thus by consent.

Ingulph. Hist. p. 62.

King Edward being of an easy temper, gave too much countenance to the Normans he brought with him, and bestowed the preferments in Church and State over liberally upon them; at least, the English were not pleased with this distribution of his bounty: for instance, he made one Robert, a monk of Jumiege, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and promoted William and Wulfhelm, his chaplains, to the sees of London and Dorchester. Ingulph observes, that under this prince, the customs of Normandy grew very fashionable, and that the nobility looked upon it as a mark of breeding and quality, to speak French. They likewise put their deeds and instruments of law into the French form, and began to grow ashamed of the usages of their own country.

Malmesbury informs us, that the English in his time, averred,

that Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, with the rest of the Norman courtiers, misrepresented earl Godwin and his sons to the king, who, notwithstanding, were very brave men, true patriots, and the great supporters of the kingdom. It is true, it is no wonder if they were somewhat displeased to see upstarts and foreigners preferred before them. However, they kept their resentments within the terms of decency, and never let fall any rugged expressions, or undutiful complaints against the king. On the other side, the Normans alleged in their own defence, that Godwin and his sons treated the king, and those he had a regard for, with great arrogance and presumption: that they set themselves upon the same level with their sovereign in the administration, disparaged his understanding, and broke bold jests upon him: that the Normans could not endure these liberties and encroachments upon the crown, but did what they could to check their power, and put a stop to their misbehaviour. And it was not long before there happened an accident which seconded the Normans' project, and brought Godwin and his sons into the king's disfavour; which, because it may serve to give a light into some part of the Church history, I shall briefly lay before the reader.

The occasion was this: Eustace, earl of Bologne, and father of the famous Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, married Goda, king Edward's sister. This earl, having some business with king Edward, took a voyage into England, and landed at Dover, where the court was then kept. Having dispatched his affairs, and returning by the way of Canterbury, one of his harbingers happened to affront an innkeeper, and wound him, and lost his own life in the quarrel. Earl Eustace hearing of this, resolved to revenge his servant, and entering the town with all his retinue, killed the innkeeper with eighteen more which stood by him. Upon this the burghers immediately drew up in a body, killed one-and-twenty of Eustace's train, wounded a great many more, and pressed the earl so hard, that he had much ado to escape. Being disengaged, he immediately goes to court, makes a tragical report, and exasperates the king against the English. Godwin, being earl of Kent, was immediately sent for, ordered to draw the posse of the county down to Canterbury, and correct the insolence of the burghers. But this earl having only heard the complaint of one side, and willing to be kind to his countrymen, ventured to disobey the king's order,

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

217.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
Angl. 1. 2.
c. 13. fol. 45.
*The reason
of the rup-
ture between
king Edward
and earl
Godwin.*

EADSIUS,
Abp. Cant.

and stop the execution; thinking it more reasonable the criminals should be tried in the king's courts, and heard in their own defence. Things standing thus, all the nobility were summoned to meet at Gloucester, for a farther inquiry into the matter. This summons was obeyed, according to form, by the earls Syward, Leofric, and all the great men. Only Godwin and his sons, knowing themselves to stand ill at court, refused to come without the protection of a strong guard. Thus they marched towards Gloucester, at the head of a considerable body. Their pretence of raising forces was the suppressing the incursions of the Welsh, who were troublesome at that time. In short, the meeting at Gloucester proving ineffectual, there was another summoned to London; and now Swane, one of Godwin's sons, was commanded to depart the kingdom: Godwin and his other son, Harold, were ordered to appear at the convention immediately, without any military pomp, and with no more than twelve men in their train, and to deliver up the forces they had raised into the king's hands. On the other side, these noblemen remonstrated against these terms, and declared they did not think it advisable to appear before so powerful a faction without hostages and security; however, they were willing to resign up their troops to their sovereign, and to obey him in every thing excepting where life and reputation were concerned. Now, if they came disarmed to the convention, they had reason to apprehend danger to their persons; and in case they came attended with a small retinue, their honour must suffer by the appearance. The king, being resolved not to capitulate, ordered them, by proclamation, to depart the kingdom within five days; upon which, Godwin and Swane set sail for Flanders, and Harold embarked for Ireland.

Malmesb.
ibid. et
fol. 46.

The king's displeasure went through earl Godwin's family, and reached the queen, who had all her estate taken from her, and was sent off to the nunnery of Warwell, where the king's sister was abbess.

About a year after, all the exiles got some shipping together, made a piratic war upon the coast, and sometimes landed and plundered the country. The king fitted out sixty men of war against them, and went sometimes on board himself; but when the two fleets were in sight, and ready to bear down upon each other, a mist fell, and prevented the engagement. Not long after, Earl Godwin and his party returned into England, and

coming to London, cast themselves at the king's feet, and had their pardon. The old earl, being a man of great character and elocution, put such strong colours upon the cause, that the king was satisfied with his defence; and in a short time he revived his interest to that degree, as to procure a restitution of title and fortune to himself and family, to bring all the Normans under disgrace, and oblige them to quit the kingdom. Particularly, he procured a judgment against Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, and his party: by virtue of which, they were declared disturbers of the kingdom; that they had alienated the king's affection from the natives, and provoked him to methods of rigour. But archbishop Robert withdrew before the matter came to extremity, and going to Rome, made his appeal to the pope.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

Malmesb.
ibid.

Thus I have laid these things together, to show the revolutions at court; from whence we may be the better able to guess the reasons of some alterations which happened in the Church.

I shall now go somewhat backwards, and proceed by the order of time.

About the year 1043, one William, an Englishman, who had formerly attended king Canutus into Denmark, where he officiated in the king's chapel, and was made his secretary of state;—this William, being very remarkable for his parts and piety, was preferred to the bishopric of Roschild, in Denmark. After the death of Canutus, his eldest son, Swane, who had Norway left him by his father's will, made a conquest of Denmark; this prince, being a person of licence, engaged in an incestuous marriage. Bishop William admonished him to part with his queen, and excommunicated him upon his refusal. However, not long after, the king's conscience revived, and he submitted to the discipline of the Church. At another time, when this king had executed several of his subjects without form of law, the bishop, being informed of this violence, stood with his crosier at the church-door, and when the king came, refused him entrance till he made satisfaction for his sanguinary and unjust proceedings. The king was surprised with this freedom, and some of the courtiers drew their swords to revenge the affront; upon this, the bishop presented his neck, declaring he was willing to lose his life to maintain the authority of the Church, and guard it against profanation. This Christian for-

A. D. 1043.
*William, an
English
bishop in
Denmark,
excommunicates king
Swane.*

218.

Saxo-
Grammat.
Crantzius.
l. 4. c. 33.

EADSIUS, ^{Abp. Cant.} titude brought the king to recollection and remorse ; and thus, like the great Theodosius, he retired, submitted to the penance enjoined, and was afterwards led into the church by the bishop, for whom he had a great regard ever after.

Leofric and Godiva great benefactors to the monasteries.

Malmesb. de Gest. Pontif. Angl. l. 4. fol. 164.

About this time, Leofric, earl of Mercia, and his lady Godiva, founded a monastery at Coventry, and gave a prodigious deal of silver and gold plate to the abbey church. They likewise founded the monasteries of Leone, near Hereford, and that of Wenlock, besides what they expended in reparations, and endowments of several others. This lady Godiva was a great benefactress to the town of Coventry ; she persuaded her husband to discharge that place of the burden of a servile tenure, (as Dugdale supposes) upon condition of her riding naked through the town. The lady having the advantage of very long hair, complied with the terms, and had the privileges agreed for made good to the corporation.

Dugdale, Baron. vol. l. p. 9.

Brompton, Chronic. p. 949. A. D. 1044. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. l. 2.

The next year, Elfward, bishop of London, departed this life, and was succeeded by Robert, the Norman above-mentioned.

In the year 1045, Brithwald, bishop of Wilton, or Ramsbury, departed this life, and was succeeded by Herman, a Fleming, and chaplain to king Edward. He complained to the king that the revenues of his see were too scanty for his station, and therefore desired the abbey of Malmesbury, now vacant by the death of the abbot, might be annexed to his bishopric. The king, whose good nature was his governing quality, dissolved the abbey, and conveyed it to Herman's see. But the monks, hearing their house was disposed of, made application to earl Godwin, and got the grant reversed. Herman being thrown out, before he was well settled, left England in discontent, and turned monk at St. Bertine's. But not relishing the austerities of a monastic life, he returned into England not long after ; and upon the death of Alwald, bishop of Sherburn, got that see annexed to his own diocese, where he continued till William the Conqueror, in whose reign the see was removed to Salisbury.

Malmesb. de Gest. Pontif. l. 2. fol. 142. *Emma, the queen mother, and Alwin, bishop of Winchester, wrongfully charged with a scandalous correspondence.*

King Edward, though a good-natured prince in other respects, was very rigorous to queen Emma, his mother. It seems this princess had disobliged him by her second marriage with Canutus, who drove him and his father, king Ethelred, out of the kingdom. She is likewise said not to have taken any

care to furnish her son Edward during his banishment in Normandy. The king there standing upon terms of disaffection towards her, Robert, bishop of London, made use of the opportunity. This prelate, as Rudburn reports, had so great an ascendant over the king, that he governed every thing at pleasure; and having a pique against Alwin, bishop of Winchester, who refused to submit to all his arbitrary orders, he resolved upon a revenge. To this purpose, he charges Alwin and Emma, the queen mother, with a scandalous correspondence. The king, who was over credulous, made the queen a sudden visit, and seized her money and estate, pretending she had enriched herself by avarice and injustice. Being thus ruggedly used, she went to the bishop of Winchester, her relation; but this gave her enemies occasion to put a stronger colour upon the calumny. In short, the king was imposed on, and obliged his mother to purge herself by undergoing the trial of fire ordeal. And now Robert, lately promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, being a great enemy of the queen's, impeached her upon three articles, the last of which was a joint charge upon Alwin of Winchester. First, that she consented to the death of her son Alfred; second, that she endeavoured to hinder Edward's coming to the crown; and thirdly, that she maintained an infamous commerce with bishop Alwin. These complaints being preferred against her, the archbishop, by the king's direction, convened a synod to inquire into the matter; and here the archbishop reporting the resolution of the synod, enjoined Emma, the queen-mother, to go on her bare feet over nine plough-shares, heated red hot, in the cathedral at Winchester; and if she received no harm by this trial, she was to be reputed innocent; but if otherwise, to undergo a greater punishment. She spent the night before the ordeal in prayer, at St. Swithin's tomb, in the church above-mentioned. The next day, all the preparatory ceremonies being gone through, she walked over the nine heated plough-shares unhurt, in the presence of the king and the nobility. She was dressed like an ordinary person, naked to the knee, and had her eyes constantly fixed upwards. The fire was so far from making any impression upon her, that after she had walked out of the church, and trod upon all the hot iron, she asked when they designed to bring her to the test; and understanding the danger was all over, she returned God thanks for giving so full a testimony to

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

*She passes
the test
unhurt.*

EADSIUS,
Abp. Cant.

her innocence. Upon this, king Edward, her son, fell upon his knees, and asked her pardon, and was willing to make reparation to her majesty and the bishop of Winchester, by submitting to discipline. The shares, to preserve the memory of the miracle, were buried in the cloister of Winchester, and one-and-twenty manors settled upon the bishopric and church of Winchester; three of them given by the king, nine by queen Emma, and nine by the bishop.

Rudburn,
Hist. Major.
Winton.
Angl. Sacr.
pars 1.
p. 233—235.
*The story of
the purgation
highly
improbable.*

Rudburn,
ibid.
Polychron.
l. 6.

Malmesb. de
Gestis Reg.
Angl. l. 2.
c. 13.

Huntingd.
Historiar.
l. 6. fol. 209.
Hoveden,
Annal. pars
prior.
fol. 252.
Westminst.
An. Grat.
1047, 1052.

Notwithstanding the story is thus roundly reported by Rudburn, there are insuperable objections against the truth of it. First, Florence of Worcester, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Hoveden, and Westminster, mention not a word of this miraculous purgation. Now most of these historians lived near king Edward's time, and would not have omitted so remarkable an occurrence. Secondly, Rudburn and Higden inform us, that immediately after the queen was thus acquitted, Robert of Canterbury, who was apprehensive of being called to an account for his impeachment, retired into Normandy, where he continued till his peace was made with the king, the queen-mother, and Alwin, bishop of Winchester. But Malmesbury, who lived long before either of these historians, relates, that this retirement of Robert was upon another account, and that it did not happen till after earl Godwin's restitution; that then Robert, being afraid of the prosecution of this earl, went beyond sea, and appealed to the pope. Now Godwin and his sons were not restored till the year 1054, at which time queen Emma had been dead two years, and Alwin, bishop of Winchester, seven. Thirdly, Higden and Rudburn, one of which lived in the fourteenth, and the other in the fifteenth century; these historians, I say, call Robert, who impeached Emma and Alwin, archbishop of Canterbury: but it is evident from the Saxon chronology, from Florence of Worcester, Hoveden, the chronicle of Melross, and Matthew of Westminster, that Eadsius, archbishop of Canterbury, did not die till the latter end of the year 1050, which was three years after the death of Alwin, bishop of Winchester; who, according to Rudburn and Higden, is supposed living at the trial ordeal, and to have given nine manors to the Church of Winchester, in thankfulness for his deliverance. It is true, Rudburn mentioning Robert's quitting the kingdom, calls him the archbishop's vicar: but then, first,

he contradicts himself, for a little before, he had plainly asserted him archbishop of Canterbury. Secondly, he mistakes the matter of fact, in his last report; for, according to the concurrent testimony of our historians, Syward, abbot of Abingdon, and not Robert, was archbishop Eadsius's vicar, or chorepiscopus.

In the year of our Lord 1047, Alwin, bishop of Winchester, as has been observed, departed this life, and was succeeded by Stigand. This Stigand was promoted to the see of Helmam in Norfolk by king Edward, and had a great deal of disturbance given him by one Grinkettle, who, by making large presents, and prepossessing the courtiers, got Stigand ejected: thus bishop Godwin. But Malmesbury reports the matter with some little difference: he tells us, that Grinkettle, after he had procured the deprivation of Stigand, held the two sees of Helmam and Selcey; that in a short time Stigand recovered, and procured the see of Selcey for himself, and that of the East Angles for Ethelmar his brother: but let this be as it will, it is certain he succeeded Alwin in the bishopric of Winchester; where we shall leave him till the remaining revolutions of his fortune bring him farther upon the history.

The next year the see of Kirton in Devonshire was removed to Exeter. Leofric was the first that sat there: he was a Burgundian, nobly descended, and no less remarkable for his learning and conduct, than for his quality. Leofric being preferred to this see, displaced the monks of the monastery of St. Peter's, and brought prebendaries into their room. It is said the king took this prelate by the right hand, and the queen by the left, and leading him up to his throne, placed him there. Having procured the grant of several manors, and privileges from the crown, he drew up a body of statutes for the government of the chapter; amongst which Malmesbury reports, that he superseded the English customs, and introduced those of Lorrain. For instance: he obliged the prebendaries to eat all at one table, and to sleep together in one room. This regulation continued for some time, though with some allowances for liberty. The prebendaries had likewise a steward appointed by the bishop, who was to furnish the expense of their table, and provide them the conveniency of clothes: thus far Malmesbury. But, as bishop Godwin observes, there is no appearance of any such constitution at

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

Rudburn,
Hist. Major.
Winton.

Angl. Sacr.
pars 1.

p. 233, compared
with
p. 233.

Malmesb.
de Gestis

Pontif. Ang.
l. 1. fol. 116.

Huntingd.
Historiar.

l. 6. fol. 209.

Westmonas.
An. Grat.

1050.

A. D. 1047.
In Episc.
Winton.

Malmesb.
de Gestis

Pont. Angl.

l. 2. fol. 135.

*The bishop's
see removed
from Kirton
to Exeter.*

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.

Angl. l. 2.
fol. 145.

EADSIUS, present; for now the residentiary canons have each of them a large house assigned for their accommodation.

Abp. Cant.
Godwin, in
Episcop.
Exoniensis.

As for the monks displaced, they were removed to Westminster, and it was not long before they had a noble revenue settled upon their monastery.

King Edward made a vow of pilgrimage to Rome.

220.

For king Edward, who had emerged under great difficulties, and been preserved from several dangers which threatened the kingdom, began to recollect himself of a vow which he had formerly made, of taking a pilgrimage to Rome. To this purpose he convened the bishops and temporal nobility, "And put them in mind to what a low condition he had formerly been reduced: that he was forced to give way to the usurpation of the Danes, to quit his country, and live an exile in Normandy: and that, in all human prospect, there was no return of prosperity to be expected. However, not despairing of a recovery, he resigned himself to the goodness of Providence, and vowed a pilgrimage to Rome, in honour of the holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul: Now God," says he, "of his mercy has been pleased to hear my prayers, 'to take away my reproach,' and restore me to the kingdom of my ancestors, and has also blessed me with wealth, and a reputable administration: he has protected me against the attempts of revolt and invasion, and made all things settle into peace and security. God forbid, therefore, we should prove ungrateful to the bounty of heaven. 'Let us,' as the psalmist speaks, 'promise to the Lord our God, and keep it.' And since we are 'delivered from the hands of our enemies, let us serve him in righteousness and truth.' I desire therefore you would fix upon a scheme for the government of the kingdom in my absence, and acquaint me who you think proper to represent me in the administration, to command in the garrisons, and to be set at the head of justice."

Ailred. Ric-
val. de Vit.
et Mirac.
Edward.
Confess.
p. 379.

The nobility were much dissatisfied at the king's resolution, being apprehensive the Danes might take hold of the opportunity, and make a descent. As for the common people, when they heard the king designed a voyage, they thought themselves undone, broke out into all the indications of grief, so that the island seemed to be all in tears. In short, the king was so strongly importuned by all ranks of people, that he condescended to defer his voyage, and send an embassy to the pope, to try if he could be excused.

He is dissuaded from leaving the kingdom.

Pursuant to this resolution, Aldred, bishop of Worcester, and several other persons of figure, both of the clergy and laity, were pitched upon for the negociation. When they came to Rome, they found pope Leo IX. presiding in a synod. Being introduced into the council, they represented the impracticableness of the king's vow, that it could not be performed without great danger to the kingdom, and that the people were extremely disturbed with the thoughts of so long a voyage, and therefore desired his holiness, there might be a method found out to satisfy the king's conscience, without exposing the country to hazard, and making the subjects uneasy.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

*And sends
an embassy
to Rome.*

This request being thought reasonable, the pope and synod agreed to disentangle the king's conscience, and absolve him from his vow by way of commutation. To this purpose, the pope, in his letter to the king, acquaints him, that in consideration of the damage his kingdom might suffer by his absence, he, in conjunction with the holy synod, absolved him from the sin of not performing his vow, and from all his other negligences and misbehaviour. After this he enjoins him, upon his obedience, and as part of the penance he was to undergo, that all the expense of his voyage to Rome should be distributed to the poor; and that he should either found a new, or make himself a benefactor to an old monastery in honour of St. Peter. And whatever privileges the king thought fit to grant upon this occasion, the pope confirms all with the usual imprecations upon those that should break in upon them.

*The pope
dispenses
with the
king's vow.*

At the ambassadors' return, there was a synod or convention at London, where, making the report of their embassy, they gave great satisfaction. The king complied cheerfully with the conditions, and over and above discharged the subjects of the burden of Dane-gelt; a tax paid to the Danes, by way of tribute, in his father's reign; and after the kingdom was clear of that enemy, the money used to be levied and brought into the exchequer.

As for that part of the commutation, relating to the endowing a monastery, the king pitched on Westminster for the place: but of this more afterwards.

About this time, pope Leo above mentioned took a journey into France, and held a synod at Rheims. At this council,

A. D. 1049.
Ailred Rie-
val, de Vit.
et Mirac.
Edvard.
Confess.
p. 381—383.

ROBERT, Alwin, abbot of Ramsey, and the abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, were present by the king's direction.

Abp. Cant.

A. D. 1050.

The next year, the pope held a council at Verceilles, where Ulf, bishop of Dorchester, discovered his insufficiency to that degree, that he had been deprived of his jurisdiction, had not his pocket been well furnished, and made his peace.

Huntingd.
Histor.

l. 6. fol. 29.

Robert succeeds

Eadsius.

This year Eadsius, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life. This prelate, as has been observed, being seized with a distemper, and incapable of executing his function, made one Siward, abbot of Abingdon, his chorepiscopus. This Siward, having the revenue of the archbishopric put into his hands, proved so sordid and ungrateful to his patron, as not to allow him necessaries. At last, it seems, he was touched with remorse for his misbehaviour, fell into a deep melancholy, and

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
fol. 116.

Angl. Sacr.

pars 1.

p. 107.

died at Abingdon some few months before the archbishop. From hence it appears, that this Siward was never bishop of Rochester, as is commonly supposed: for Siward, bishop of Rochester, was living in the year 1070, and present at Lanfranc's consecration.

Angl. Sacr.
ibid.

Robert, already mentioned, succeeded Eadsius in the see of Canterbury. The see of London being vacant by this promotion, Spearfoc, abbot of Abingdon, was elected; but the king refusing to consent to the consecration, he was set aside, and one William, a Norman, preferred by the court.

Diceto. Ab-
brev. Chron.

p. 475.

Ingulph.

Hist. p. 63.

Abp. Cant.

221.

Upon this occasion it may not be improper to relate the complaint of Ingulphus. This historian, mentioning the death of Brietmer, abbot of Croyland, takes notice that the pastoral staff was immediately carried to London by the prior, and two other monks, and delivered into the king's hands. From the time of this prince's father, as he continues, the abbots began to be known at court, where those that were ambitious used to bribe the favourites to get themselves preferred. For the freedom of elections had been overruled for many years, and all bishoprics and abbacies were now disposed of at the pleasure of the court; and possession was given by the delivery of the ring and crosier. However, that this custom was not very ancient, besides the hint of this author, appears from Malmesbury, who tells us, that the clergy and monks used to choose their bishops and abbots under the Saxon government.

The investiture of the ring and crosier, no ancient custom in England.

Malmesb. de

Gest. Pontif.

l. 3. fol. 157.

The English were much disgusted with this promotion of

foreigners to the highest stations of the church : and therefore, EDWARD
 upon the next turn at court, when earl Godwin and his sons CONFESSOR,
 were restored to favour, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, K. of
 William of London, and Ulf of Dorchester, were forced to England.
 quit the kingdom. However, William, being a prelate of Florent.
 admirable qualities, and of an obliging behaviour, was recalled Wigorn.
 to his see in a short time, and proved a great benefactor to the
 city of London : but of this more afterwards.

Somewhat before this time, Elfrick Puttack, archbishop of York, departed this life : he has been mentioned already, and therefore I shall only add, that he was buried at Peterborough, and succeeded by Kinsius, king Edward's chaplain. This Kinsius ordained one Magsues, bishop of Glasgow, and John his successor, and received an acknowledgement of his metropolitical jurisdiction from him in writing ; but this instrument, with a great many other records, was lost soon after the Conquest, when York was stormed, and set on fire by the Normans.

Upon Robert's retiring beyond sea, Stigand, bishop of Winchester, who had formerly been the king's chaplain, seized the opportunity, and got himself preferred to the see of Canterbury. This Stigand had good natural parts, and was a person of great courage and activity. It is true, his learning was not great ; but that may be partly excused upon the score of the age he lived in. His holding the sees of Winchester and Canterbury, while Robert was living, may likewise admit of some defence, because he was not then secure of continuing at Canterbury ; but his keeping both these sees, and several abbacies over and above, after Robert's decease, can be interpreted to nothing but covetousness. This prelate ventured to go on in his metropolitical jurisdiction, without making any application to Rome for the pall. Malmesbury wonders at this omission, considering the ascendant of money at that court. He seems to impute it to his ignorance, as if he was unacquainted with this usual submission to the pope : but this conjecture is quite without colour. For how is it possible that Stigand, who had passed through the sees of Helmam and Winchester, could be ignorant of so notorious a practice, that he should not know anything of the custom of fortifying his character with the pall, which several archbishops in his own time had received from Rome ? It is plain, even from Malnes-

Stubs, Act.
 Pontif.
 Eborac.
 p. 1700.

A. D. 1054.

Malmesb. de
 Gest. Pontif.
 l. 3. fol. 116.
*Stigand
 succeeds
 Robert, and
 acts without
 a new pall.*

STIGAND, bury, that Stigand was not so unpractised in business as this comes to ; for, about four or five years after, he procured a pall from the antipope, Bennet. However, in the mean time he made no difficulty to act without this authority ; and, which is more, we do not find him in the least disowned by the English Church.

Abp. Cant.
Malmesb.
ibid.

To proceed. The incursions of the Welsh were very troublesome in this king's reign. In one of their sallies, they took Hereford by storm, and burnt it : and here Leovegar, the bishop, lost his life. He was an admirable governor, protected orphans and widows from oppression, and was remarkably charitable.

Matth.
Westm.
A. D. 1056.

This year, Egelric, who, by earl Godwin's interest had been promoted to the see of Durham, resigned his bishopric to his brother Egelwin, and retired to the monastery of Peterborough, where he was first entered. This prelate built a church in Chester-upon-the-Street, in honour of St. Cuthbert, whose corpse had rested there for about a hundred and thirteen years. In digging the foundation, the workmen found a vast mass of treasure. The bishop, being thus unexpectedly enriched, resigned, and went off to Peterborough. He was a great benefactor to the neighbourhood ; for he made a fine causeway across a vast forest and a deep morass from Deeping to Spalding, in Lincolnshire, which from him is called Elriche road.

Ingulph.
Hist. p. 64.
Godwin in
Epist.
Dunelm.

About this time, Malcolm III. of Scotland, being reinforced with ten thousand English by king Edward, routed the usurper Macbeth, and killed him in the pursuit. Upon this victory, Malcolm was declared king, and crowned at Scone, April 25th, 1057. Soon after his coronation, he convened the estates at Forfar, where he made several good regulations, and repealed that libertine constitution of Eugenius III. ; by virtue of which, the bride for the first night was consigned over to the lord of the manor ; but by Malcolm's law, the husband had the liberty of buying off this scandalous custom by the payment of half a mark in silver. Before this convention, the bishops exercised their functions and authority at large, and were in their diocese wherever they travelled. But now their administration was thrown into precincts, and they had limits assigned them for their jurisdiction. Fife, Lothian, Merse, Stirlingshire, Angus, and Mernes, were made the diocese of

A. D. 1057.

the bishop of St. Andrews. The government of the west parts and borders were annexed to the see of Glasgow: the bishop of Galloway had the country which still goes by that name; and Murthlack, all that which belongs now to the diocese of Aberdeen. Besides these, Murray and Caithness were likewise erected into two bishoprics, the king endowing them with an honourable revenue.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.
222.

King Edward growing old, and having no issue, sent to the king of Hungary to give his brother's son, and all his family, leave to come into England. Aldred, bishop of Worcester, was likewise sent ambassador to the emperor, to desire his imperial majesty to use his interest with the court of Hungary, that the princes above-mentioned might have the liberty to retire. King Edward sent for them to secure their hereditary right to the crown.

Spotswood's
History of
the Church
of Scotland,
p. 29.
*King Ed-
ward sends
for Edward,
son of Ed-
mund Iron-
side, and his
children.*

The king of Hungary dismissed these princes at the Confessor's request; but Edward the father died soon after his coming to London, leaving issue Edgar Atheling, who, after Harold fell in the field, was owned as king by a part of the English; but being a prince of a soft unenterprising temper, he presently sunk in the competition with William, duke of Normandy, to whom at last he submitted, and resigned his claim. And when Malmesbury wrote, he lived obscurely in the country: besides Edgar Atheling, Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, had two daughters, Christiana, abbess of Ramsnay, and Margaret, married to Malcolm III., king of Scotland.

A. D. 1053.

Mat. Paris.
Hist. Ang.
p. 6.

But by the way, as far as it appears, Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, and after his death, Edgar Atheling, had a prior title to Edward the Confessor: for Edmund Ironside was son to king Ethelred by the first venter, and Edward the Confessor by the second. To reconcile, therefore, Edward the Confessor's taking the crown before the eldest branch to the rest of his character, we must either suppose this prince wanted penetration to look into the defect of his title: for by the way, it is agreed on all hands, that his honesty was much better than his understanding: we must either suppose this, I say, or else that Edward, son to Edmund Ironside, and his children were contented to acquiesce for the present, and resign their right during the life of the Confessor. That this was the case, seems probable by their coming over at the

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
l. 2. fol. 52.
*Edgar
Atheling
right heir to
the crown.*

STIGAND, Confessor's invitation, and living upon terms of friendship in the kingdom with him. And if, as archbishop Spotswood affirms, the Confessor proffered to resign the crown to Edgar Atheling, his defence is still clearer. But then Malmesbury has represented the matter to disadvantage; for this historian informs us, that after the death of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, the Confessor settled the succession upon William, duke of Normandy. Thus we see, when princes are easy, unpenetrating, and resign themselves up to the conduct of their ministers, they are sometimes carried into unjustifiable measures.

The story of St. Peter's consecrating Westminster Abbey Church considered.

King Edward, as has been observed, pitched upon Westminster, for the place of the religious house he designed to endow. The reason was this: there was a common tradition, fortified by some records, that when Mellitus, who came over from Rome with Augustine the archbishop; when this Mellitus, I say, was bishop of London, Sebert, king of the East Saxons, founded a monastery on the west side of the city, and designed to dedicate it in honour of St. Peter. The night before the consecration, when all things were prepared for the solemnity, St. Peter is said to have appeared to a fisherman on the Thames, and ordered him to tell the bishop, that he need not consecrate the church; for that this apostle intended to perform this ceremony that night himself. When Mellitus came the next morning with a great deal of company to perform this office, the fisherman told him that the ceremony was over, that he was an eye-witness of the solemnity; that after St. Peter had discoursed with him, he saw him go into the church, upon which it was all over illuminated; that he had been entertained from thence with heavenly music, and the most fragrant perfumes; that at his order, he made a throw in the river, and brought up a net full of fish, with one of which he was commanded to present the bishop.

Ailred Rieval. de Vit. et Mirac. Edvard. Confess. Malmesb. de Pontif. fol. 133.

Mellitus, much surprised at this relation, opened the Church doors, and saw the marks of a solemn consecration. It seems there were wax candles, crosses, holy water, and some oil sprinkled in several places. And thus, finding the fisherman's report vouched by matter of fact, he found the business was over, and declined proceeding any farther.

Now, though it cannot be denied, that the saints in glory may entertain a commerce with this world, and appear upon

extraordinary occasions; yet this story has a legendary air, and is much to be suspected: one thing which shakes the credit of this relation, is the silence of Bede. It is somewhat strange this historian, who mentions a miracle wrought by Mellitus, how he stopped a fire at Canterbury by the prevalence of his prayers; it is somewhat strange, I say, he should omit so remarkable a visit made by St. Peter, and how he prevented Mellitus in the consecration of a new church. It is granted, this story is mentioned by Malmesbury, but then it is qualified with an "ut fertur," or, as "they say;" which is a sign, he did not rely much upon the certainty of the tradition; which probably is the reason Matthew of Westminster leaves it quite out, though he is not over sparing in giving us miracles upon other occasions. To this we may add, that pope Nicholas, in his bull to king Edward, does not think it prudential to vouch for this consecration by St. Peter, but touches upon the relation, with the caution of Malmesbury's "ut fertur." But besides this defect in authorities, it seems to have a suspicious complexion upon other accounts. To mention only one. Methinks, if St. Peter had condescended to a visit at Westminster, and done part of Mellitus's office, he would have given better evidence of his employment, and not have rested the proof of the point upon the testimony of a poor fisherman. For, as for the marks of consecration, the tapers, &c., if there were any such thing, they might be conveyed thither out of a pious fraud, by some people, who had less sense than superstition.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

Bede, Hist.
Eccles. l. 2.
c. 7.

Ailred Rie-
val. p. 338.

223.

I have been the longer upon this matter, because it is mentioned in the Confessor's charter, and Harpsfield, an author of parts and learning, seems confident of the truth of the story, and charges his margin with a great many authorities to make it good.

King Edward having resolved upon Westminster for his foundation, pulled down the remains of the old monastery, and rebuilt it. The abbey church was particularly magnificent, and much exceeded the buildings of that age. And having granted a charter of lands and privileges, he sent to Rome for the pope's confirmation. The ambassadors for this purpose were Aldred, archbishop of York, Tosti, earl of Northumberland, with two other bishops elect, Giso of Wells and Walter of Hereford. Nicholas II. was then pope, and

Harpsfield,
Hist. Eccles.
Ang. Undec.
Sæc. c. 16.
*King Ed-
ward's se-
cond embassy
to Rome.*

A. D. 1060.

STIGAND, held a synod in the Lateran palace. His holiness was particularly obliging to earl Tosti, took him into the synod, and seated him by his side: Giso and Walter were likewise well treated, and received their consecration: but archbishop Aldred being taxed with simony, and not making a satisfactory defence, was stripped of his jurisdiction and character: but of this more by and by. To return, therefore, to the business of the voyage. The ambassadors, at their first audience, presented the king's letter, which begins thus: "Summo universalis ecclesiæ patri Nicholao, Edvardus, gratiâ Dei Anglorum rex debitam subjectionem et obedientiam," &c. And towards the latter end of this letter, he desires the pope to confirm the privileges of the monastery of Westminster. I

Sir Edward Coke's instance for the king's supremacy inconclusive.

Spelm. Concil. vol. 1. p. 622.
Lambert Archaionom. c. 17. p. 142.

Coke Report, part 5. fol. 10.

Pope Nicholas grants the abbey an exemption from episcopal visitation.

mention this, to show the mistake of sir Edward Coke, in the fifth part of his reports, who endeavouring to prove the king's supremacy in things purely spiritual—for that he carries the supremacy to this extent, is sufficiently evident—endeavouring to prove this, I say, he fetches an instance from the reign of Edward the Confessor: I shall cite the words in sir Edward's translation:—

“The king, who is the vicar of the highest King, is ordained to this end, that he should govern and rule the people of the land, and above all things the holy Church, and that he defend the same from wrong-doers, and root out workers of mischief.” From hence this learned lawyer would infer, that the king is the supreme ordinary, and has a direct authority, with respect to the functions and commissions of the clergy. But that this prince did not pretend to any supremacy in spirituals, appears clearly from the tenor of this letter; it appears, I say, from his profession of obedience to the pope, and desiring the privileges granted by himself to Westminster abbey, might be confirmed by his holiness. Therefore, his governing the holy Church in the law above cited, must be interpreted in the sense of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions; that is to say, that he was king of the clergy, as well as the laity, and was to govern them in all things relating to the civil society.

This appears farther by the bull of pope Nicholas in answer to the king's letter: where, amongst other things, his holiness allows and confirms the king's design of making Westminster abbey a place for the solemnity of the coronation of princes,

a repository of the regalia, and a perpetual mansion for the monks of St. Bennet's order, who are to be subject to none but royal jurisdiction. The pope goes on with his favours, and discharges the abbey from all jurisdiction, superiority, or claim of service to be made by the ordinary; and that no bishop shall have the liberty of entering the place to order or command anything, unless by the consent, and at the request of the abbots and monks; and that the place should have a sufficient compass or proportion of ground for a burying-place, free from all duties and payments, to be demanded by the diocesan upon any account whatsoever. The pope proceeds farther, and stretches his authority to matters of property, upon the score of its being annexed to a religious house: and here he undertakes to confirm all the estates or charters given by the king or any of his predecessors to the monastery aforesaid: and, lastly, his holiness grants the king the patronage and guardianship of the abbey. This bull was received with great satisfaction at the king's court, without any exception to the contents. From all which, it appears evidently, that the kings of England, at this time of day, did not act independently in ecclesiastical affairs, nor pretend to grant exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

The ambassadors that brought this bull met with a misadventure in their return: for before they travelled out of Italy, they were set upon by thieves, and robbed of all their money and equipage. This misfortune proved lucky for archbishop Aldred, and recovered him his dignity and station: for earl Tosti going back to Rome to furnish himself for his journey, ruffled the pope, and talked so resolutely, that he brought him to a milder determination with respect to the archbishop. He told him that his holiness's excommunication would be little regarded at a remote distance, since a few highwaymen seemed to despise his character almost at his palace-gates: but he perceived his holiness's method was to appear rugged and formidable to those who approached him with submission: but as to the punishing of thieves and banditti, he did not find his authority so very significant. He expostulated still farther, and gave the pope to understand, that unless he had his effects restored to him, for the loss of which he might thank his holiness, he was resolved to represent the case to the king his master, and procure the stoppage of the Peter-pence.

Ailred, Rie-
val. p. 383.
*The pope
grants the
pull to arch-
bishop
Aldred.*

STIGAND,
Abp. Cant.

The court of Rome, being frightened with these menaces, persuaded the pope to comply so far as to confirm Aldred in his archbishopric, and grant him the pall: they suggested to his holiness, that it would be a scandalous and inhuman sort of treatment to send home a churchman of Aldred's figure in such a condition of disadvantage; and suffer him to lose both his money and character. The pope consented to the motion, and took off the rigour of the former sentence, only with this proviso, that Aldred should quit his pluralities, and resign his bishopric of Worcester. Aldred consenting to this agreement, Wulfstan was ordained bishop of Worcester by the pope's legates, who travelled with the king's ambassadors into England for this purpose. For Stigand, as Malmesbury reports, was little better than a pretended archbishop of Canterbury, neither would any good man receive consecration from him, because he did not enter by the door into the sheepfold: and notwithstanding he was frequently summoned to Rome, he either threw in delays, or stopped the prosecution with presents; and thus nothing was done against him till the reign of William the Conqueror. But though Malmesbury seems to object against Stigand's authority, it is plain he was owned in his metropolitical character by the English Church: for this purpose, one instance may suffice. When Edward the Confessor granted his third and last charter to the abbey of Westminster, he summoned a convention of the bishops and temporal nobility to London: at the passing of this charter, it was subscribed by twelve bishops, several abbots, and other great men. And here Stigand signs archbishop of Canterbury next to the queen, and before Aldred, archbishop of York, who had lately received his pall from pope Nicholas II.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Pontif.
l. 3. fol. 154.

Malmesb.
ibid.

*Stigand signs
archbishop of
Canterbury,
notwith-
standing the
censure he
lay under
from Rome.
Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 635.
Wulfstan
made bishop
of Wor-
cester.
Somewhat of
his life and
character.*

Wulfstan, lately promoted to the see of Worcester, being a person of an extraordinary character, it will be expected I should relate his history somewhat more at large.

To begin with him, Wulfstan was born in Warwickshire: his father's name was Eatstan, and his mother's Wulgeouc. They were both of them very remarkable for their piety and devotion, and according to the opinion of that age, looking upon the life of a recluse more serviceable to their future state, they parted from each other by consent, and retired to a monastery. Wulfstan, who was educated in the abbey of

Burgh, had a strong inclination to follow the precedent of his parents, took the habit at Worcester, and was ordained deacon and priest by Briteage, bishop of that see. And here, Wulfstan set vigorously forward in an exemplary practice, was very remarkable for his fasting and devotion, and all the parts of a rigorous and self-denying discipline. Upon the death of Agelwin, he was made prior of the convent by bishop Aldred. In this preferment he did not relax in the least towards indulgence; but held up to his former austerities; and in all respects managed to great commendation.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.
Florent.
Wigorn. ad
an. 1062.

When Aldred was translated from Worcester to York, the king let the regale, lately set up, sleep upon this occasion, and left the election free. The clergy being thus at their liberty, pitched unanimously on Wulfstan for their bishop. Pope Alexander II.'s legates, who were sent to England to treat about some affairs with the king, were now at Worcester, and very forward in Wulfstan's promotion: this holy man was so humble and diffident of himself, that he could by no means be persuaded to accept the choice. He told them with great seriousness and solemnity, that he could never venture upon so eminent a station, and had rather have his head cut off than that a mitre should be put upon it. At last, he was persuaded to yield by one Wulfius, a hermit, who reproved him sharply for his obstinacy and incomppliance. The authority of this holy man, together with some supernatural warning, frightened Wulfstan, and made him yield. He was consecrated by Aldred, archbishop of York, because Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was suspended by pope Alexander, for intruding into the see of Canterbury, when Robert, his predecessor, was living. But notwithstanding this suspension, related by Florence of Worcester, bishop Wulfstan was obliged to make his profession of canonical obedience to archbishop Stigand, and not to archbishop Aldred, by whom he was ordained. And, besides, archbishop Aldred, at Stigand's instance and demand, declared publicly before the king, and the great men of the realm, that he would never make any claim upon Wulfstan, or demand any submissions or duties from him, either civil or religious, upon the score of his being consecrated by him, or because he had been a monk in Aldred's diocese before his consecration. From all which we may conclude, that the English Church did not lay any mighty stress

A. D. 1062.

*He makes a
profession of
canonical
obedience to
archbishop
Stigand.*

STIGAND, upon the pope's suspension; and that they were by no means of opinion the privileges of their primate lay purely at the pope's mercy, and might be all laid asleep by a censure from Rome. This must be allowed even by Cressy, who grants the last charter of king Edward was dated on Innocent's day, 1066, which charter, though dated four years after Stigand's suspension, was subscribed by him: and though Cressy pretends Wulfstan made his submission to the see of Canterbury at his consecration, as much as to say he did not do it to Stigand, upon the score of that prelate's being disabled; but this is to misreport the matter: for Florence of Worcester, Dunelmensis, and Brompton, tell us expressly, that Wulfstan made his profession of obedience to the person of the archbishop. From whence it follows plainly, that he continued in the exercise of his jurisdiction, notwithstanding his suspension by the pope.

Cressy's
Church
History,
p. 991.
Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 636.
Cressy,
p. 984.
225.

Florent.
Wigorn. ad
An. 1062.
Dunelm. de
Gest. Reg.
p. 191.
Brompton
Chronic.
952.

About the year of our Lord 1063, Egelsin, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, was sent upon an embassy to Rome; and though Thorn can give no account of the business he was sent upon, yet he takes notice that he was very honourably received by Alexander II.; that this pope granted Egelsin and his successors the distinction of a mitre and sandals. Thus far they had the privilege of wearing the episcopal habit. The favour was granted in honour of St. Augustine of Canterbury, the English apostle, as the pope calls him. Egelsin made use of this privilege for some time; but after he quitted the kingdom, for fear of harsh treatment from the Conqueror, his successors sunk their dignity for some time, either for want of management, or because they were overawed by the archbishops. This diminution continued till the time of abbot Roger; of whom more afterwards.

Thorn.
Chronic.
1758.

*The great
privileges of
the charter
to the abbey
of Westmin-
ster.*

To proceed: By virtue of the king's charter, confirmed by the pope, the abbey of Westminster had all the advantage of tenure, privilege, and jurisdiction imaginable. These Benedictine monks, for that was their order, had the power of trying causes within themselves; were exempt from episcopal authority; had their house made a sanctuary, and no jurisdiction, neither ecclesiastical nor civil, was allowed to break in upon them. And to make the charter impregnable and proof against the invasions of sacrilege, the usual imprecations are added in the close; and those who should be so hardy as to defeat the

settlement, and overthrow the design of the grant, are con- EDWARD
signed to have their portion with the traitor Judas, unless CONFESSOR,
they repent in time, and make satisfaction for their encroach- K. of
ment. England.

This charter was signed by the king, the queen, the two
archbishops, ten bishops, six great abbots, several earls, toge- Spelman.
ther with the principal officers of state and justice. Concl.
vol. 1. p. 634,
635.

The grant being passed, and the church magnificently built,
the king proceeded to the dedication. And here, like Constan- Spelm. ibid.
tine the Great, he had the bishops and nobility to grace the *The dedica-*
solemnity; and thus the ceremony was performed on Innocents' *tion of the*
day with all the splendour of appearance and religious pomp *abbey*
imaginable. Christmas was probably pitched upon for the *church.*
time, because it was customary for the great men to appear at Theod. Hist.
court at that festival. This was the last public act of that l. 1. c. 31.
good prince, who immediately fell sick, and died five days after. Sozom. l. 2.
The people were extremely afflicted at the loss of their king, c. 26.
and seemed to lament as if they had some presages of the
approaching calamity, and that the happiness of the kingdom
expired with him.

To add something farther of him by way of character. He Ailred.
was a prince, says Malmesbury, not much furnished with king- Rieval. de
craft, and governing talents; but his integrity and devotion Vit. et Mirac.
were such, that he seems to have been the particular care of Edward.
Providence, and was signally blest in his reign. He was never Confess.
attacked by any foreign invasion; and as for those disturbances p. 398.
that happened at home, they were quickly suppressed. God, A. D. 1066.
as this historian goes on, guarded his person and government, *King Ed-*
and made him esteemed by his subjects, and dreaded by princes ward dies.
abroad. And though he may seem to be inactive, and wanting Rieval. ibid.
in personal capacity, he had several earls who made a great p. 399.
figure in the State, and kept up the credit of the government. *A farther*
For instance: Siward, earl of Northumberland, commanded *account of*
his forces against Macbeth, of Scotland, defeated and killed *his reign and*
this usurper, and set up Malcolm III. Leofric, earl of Mercia, *character.*
was likewise a brave man, and very loyal. He screened the Malmesb. de
crown from the insults of earl Godwin; who, being haughty Gestis Reg.
upon the score of his services, treated the king with too much l. 2. fol. 44.
neglect. Harold, Godwin's son, who had the government of
the West Saxons, was another very serviceable subject;
checked the incursions of the Welsh, and brought their country

STIGAND, to submission and homage. It is true, the hard usage of his
 { Abp. Cant.
 Malmesb.
 ibid.

mother, and seizing her estate, looks like a blemish upon his reign; but it is probable he might be betrayed into this rigour by the advice of his ministers.

To proceed: He was a compassionate prince, and very tender in taxing his subjects. He had nothing of luxury or excess in his palate, but was remarkably temperate at table; and though he did not decline appearing like a prince in his habit, especially upon collar days, yet he was always superior to ceremony, and far from being proud of the pomp and grandeur of his station. From the prosperity of his reign, the prophetic spirit with which he is said to be endowed, and the miracles he wrought, we may make this remark, that God prefers the heart to the head, piety to parts and capacity, and is much better pleased with the right use of the will, than the advantage of the understanding.

Malmesb. de
 Gest. Reg.
 l. 2. fol. 51.
 Ailred Rie-
 val. p. 390.
 226.
*The king's
 evil first
 cured by
 this prince.*

That this prince cured the king's evil, is beyond dispute; and since the credit of this miracle is unquestionable, I see no reason why we should scruple believing the rest. The first person cured by the king was a young woman; the manner was by stroking the affected place with his hand. Upon this operation, the patient grew sensibly better, and the cure was perfected in a week's time. The king's evil is a schirrous tumour, which commonly settles in the neck and face, and sometimes in other glandulous parts of the body. The cause of this distemper is supposed to be a vicious humour impregnated with acid particles; which by discharging itself by large quantities into the pores and ductuses of the small glands, coagulates, and grows hard by degrees, and so produces this sort of tumour, or imposthumation. If this lymph, or humour, happens to grow more sharp and corroding, it will rise to the malignity of a cancer; and then, if it falls upon the bones it makes them turn black, and mortified.

King Edward the Confessor was the first that cured this distemper, and from him it has descended as an hereditary miracle upon all his successors. To dispute the matter of fact, is to go to the excesses of scepticism, to deny our senses, and be incredulous even to ridiculousness. And here it may not be improper to relate a story of a Roman Catholic in queen Elizabeth's time. This person, who was very firm in his com-

munion, happened to be thrown into prison, probably upon the score of his recusancy. Being thrown into prison, I say, he grew terribly afflicted there with the king's evil; and having applied himself to physicians, and gone through a long fatigue of pain and expense, without the least success, at last he was touched by the queen, and perfectly cured. And being asked how the matter stood with him, his answer was, "he was now satisfied, by experimental proof, that the pope's excommunication of her majesty signified nothing, since she still continued blest with so miraculous a quality."

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

G. Tucker
in *Charisma-*
te. c. 6. p. 92.

To attribute this supernatural privilege entailed upon the English crown to the strength of imagination, has little better colour than the other objection, which denies the fact; for infants, who have no apprehension of the case, who are under no prepossessions of expectation, nor grown up to any force of fancy, are as frequently cured as others.

That infants are cured as well as others, beside common experience, may be proved from Dr. Heylin, who was an eye-witness. "I have seen," says he, "some children brought before the king by the hanging-sleeves, some hanging at their mothers' breasts, and others in the arms of the nurses, all touched and cured without the help of a serviceable imagination."

Heylin on
Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
p. 47.

And because Mr. Fuller mentions some objections (I do not say they are his own) against the ceremonies and service used at the healing, I shall set down the whole form, as it stands in Dr. Heylin's *Animadversions*.

"The first gospel is exactly the same with that on Ascension day. At the touching of every infirm person, these words are repeated, 'They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.'

"The second gospel begins the first of St. John, and ends at these words, 'Full of grace and truth.' At the putting the angel (or gold) about their necks, are repeated, 'That light was the true light, which lights every man that comes into the world.'

"Lord, have mercy upon us.

"Christ, have mercy upon us.

"Lord, have mercy upon us.

STIGAND, "Our Father which art in heaven; hallowed be thy
 {Abp. Cant.} name, &c.

Minist. "O Lord, save thy servants,

Ans. "Which put their trust in thee.

Minist. "Send unto them help from above,

Ans. "And evermore mightily defend them.

Minist. "Help us, O God, our Saviour,

Ans. "And for the glory of thy name's sake deliver us;
 be merciful unto us sinners, for thy name's sake.

Minist. "O Lord, hear our prayer,

Ans. "And let our cry come unto thee.

"THE COLLECT.

"Almighty God, the eternal health of all such as put their trust in thee, hear us, we beseech thee, on the behalf of these thy servants, for whom we call for thy merciful help; that they receiving health, may give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"The peace of God," &c.

And thus I have given the reader the whole form. As to the sign of the cross, made by the royal hands on the place infected, as Fuller speaks, it is a mistake; for there is no such ceremony used at the healing, the king only gently drawing both his hands over the sore at the reading of the first gospel. Besides, if the sign of the cross had been used, it might have been abundantly justified by primitive practice. But enough of this.

Fuller's Ch.
Hist. 145.

Thus, we see, the kings of England are miraculously distinguished, not only from their subjects, but from all the princes of Christendom, excepting those of France, who have a share with them in this extraordinary privilege. Thus Laurentius reports, that when Francis I. was prisoner in Spain, he cured abundance of people of this disease; which gave occasion to the following epigram:

*Hispanos inter sanat rex Choeradas, estque
 Captivus, superis gratus ut ante fuit.*

That is, this sanative virtue was annexed to his person, and did not determine with the loss of his liberty. Thus far Laurentius is right. But then, when in compliment to Henry IV., to whom he was physician in ordinary; when, in compliment, I say, to this prince, he appropriates the miracle to the crown of France, he contradicts matter of fact, and forfeits the character of impartiality. However, to be even with him, Dr. Tucker, in his treatise upon this subject, makes the kings of France cure this disease only in virtue of their alliance to the English blood, or some derivative privilege conveyed from that crown. But though both these authors run into extremes, and strain too far for their respective patrons, yet it is certain the antiquity of the miracle lies on the English side; for, according to the French historians, Louis the Godly, or at most Philip I., were the first French princes that pretended to cure the king's evil. Now the ancientest of these lived near two hundred years after the death of our Edward the Confessor¹.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

227.

*This disease
cured by the
kings of
England
almost two
hundred
years before
the kings of
France.*
Lawrent. de
Mirabili
Strumarum
curatione,
c. 2.
In Charis-
mate, c. 6.
p. 84.
*Per propa-
ginem.*
Du Chesne
et Duplex
in Canonizat.
S. Ludovic.

¹ It is amusing enough to observe the pertinacity of Collier's faith—or, shall we call it credulity?—in the miraculous power of kings. Something of this confidence, whether true or false, very naturally followed from the view the Nonjurors entertained of the divine character and prerogatives of national monarchs. It appeared to them probable, *à priori*, that thaumaturgy and miraculous gifts had not entirely ceased in the Church; and they were doubtless predisposed to magnify every thing that seemed to countenance that probability. No wonder, therefore, that certain cases of the sudden removal of scrofula (the king's evil), after the monarch's interference, were imputed to the special interposition of Providence. It is not for us to deny that this might have been the fact; and that such conspicuous instances of faith, on the side of the prince and the subject, might have elicited some supernatural blessing from heaven. We do not approve of the tendency of our times to reject all evidence in favour of such miraculous cures: we do not like the extravagant pyrrhonism which laughs at all that demands a devout, a learned, and a patient investigation. If, however, the cases instanced by Collier were correct,—if our kings could thus perform miracles of therapeutics because they *believed* they could,—if, by a prayer and a manipulation, they removed that dreadful disease of scrofula, so fatal in this country,—it would still remain a question, whether the cure was most owing to the supernatural or the natural power of faith. This, perhaps, is a distinction without a difference: we only make it for the sake of the sceptical. Many a *savant*, who will not admit that faith works wonders supernaturally, will allow that it works wonders naturally. Such philosophers merely term it a prerogative instance of the *power of mind over matter*: that is their phrase. They will tell you, that if you can but firmly and powerfully believe and will any given change in the physical system, that your belief and will can produce that change. Thus, according to them, the state of mind predominant in the mother will affect the child that quickens within her: thus, according to them, the manly spirit which resolutely battles with a disease, invincible by the skill of physicians, will throw it off. To this metaphysical force of mental volition they impute all anomalous cases of this kind that are apt to puzzle us: such, for instance, as the departure of warts, after having been crossed by a charmer. We believe, at the risk of being termed superstitious, that there is something more in these phenomena than is dreamed of by our philosophy. There is a mysterious point of co-operation between

STIGAND,
Abp. Cant.
King
Edicard
canonized.
Martyrol.
Roman.
Baron.
Januar. 5.

This prince, about two hundred years after his death, was canonized by pope Alexander III. There was likewise a bull of pope Innocent IV. to fix the anniversary and order the solemnity of the festival.

I shall now proceed to some of king Edward's laws, made for the benefit and protection of the Church: though, to speak properly, as sir Henry Spelman observes, they were rather provisions extracted from the laws of his predecessors, than any constitutions of his own.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 625.

His laws.

To begin with them. First, all clergymen and scholars were to enjoy the privileges of their order and character; to be under the protection of the Church, and be unmolested in their functions and estates: to be unmolested, I say, as far as the privileges of the Church extended.

*Pax Dei at-
que ecclesiæ
per omne
regnum.*

Secondly, from Advent to the octaves of Epiphany, all law suits and prosecutions were to cease, and the whole kingdom was, as it were, a large sanctuary. The same privilege commenced from Septuagesima to the octaves of Easter, and from Ascension-day to the octaves of Whitsuntide; all the three days in Ember weeks; all Saturdays, from three o'clock in the afternoon till Monday morning; upon the vigils of the blessed Virgin, St. Michael, St. John Baptist, all the apostles and other saints, whose holy days are given notice of by the priest on Sundays: upon all these vigils, I say, from three o'clock in the afternoon till the subsequent holy day was over, all people had the liberty of their motion, and were privileged from disturbance and arrests. The anniversary of the consecration of churches, and the holy day of the saint that related more particularly to the parish, were likewise under this protection; and if any person travelled, out of devotion, to pay a religious regard to any saint, he was not to be disturbed, either going, during his stay, or in his return. All Christians, likewise, that went to Church to say their prayers, were to be unmolested, both going and coming. Thus, if any person went

the systems of grace and nature, to which Malebranche, Arnauld, Pascal, and Leibnitz approximated, without attaining it. That point lies between the theory of Collier and his antagonists, and reconciles what is true in both, without contracting the errors of either. (Those who wish to examine the question, as to how far miraculous powers have continued in the Church, may consult Fitzherbert, Stillingfleet, Lavington, More, Butler, Boys, Jung-Stilling, Young, Middleton, and his antagonists.)

to assist at the consecration of a church, if he had occasion to travel to a synod, or appear at the bishop's consistory, nobody was to meddle with him. And, lastly, in case a man under excommunication repaired to the bishop for absolution, his person was not to be seized in any part of his journey; and, if any one broke in upon his protection and gave any disturbance, he was to answer for the injury or misdemeanour in the bishop's court; and, in case he refused to make reparation, and submit to the bishop's sentence, the contumacy was to be certified to the king, who was to force the injurious person to fine and make satisfaction, first to the bishop and then to himself. And thus there were two swords for the execution of justice, and the authorities of Church and State were assistant to each other.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

Thirdly, Wherever the king's courts sit, or pleas relating to property are held, if the bishop's proctor appears there, and the Church has any business, those causes are to be tried first; for it is very reasonable that God and religion should always have the preference.

Fourthly, Those who hold any thing of the Church, or dwell upon any part of the Church lands, shall not be obliged to answer any plea, or action of trespass, &c., excepting in the ecclesiastical court, unless, which God forbid, that court should fail in doing justice.

Fifthly, A malefactor that flies to the church for a protection, in case he could reach the church-yard, was not to be apprehended by any person, unless by the bishop or his servants. And in case the malefactor could gain the priest's house, or his court-yard, he was under the same security and safeguard; provided the priest's house and court-yard are part of the estate and endowment of the Church. And here, if the person under sanctuary was a thief, or highwayman, he was obliged to restore the owner what he had taken from him, provided the goods were not embezzled; and if they were, restitution was to be made out of his own estate. But if the malefactor happened to repeat his injustice, and made a practice of stealing, robbing, and getting into sanctuary: in this case, he was not only obliged to restitution, but to abjure the county, and renounce the right of sanctuary within that precinct. And if he happened to return, no person was to receive or entertain him, without special license from the king.

STIGAND,
Abp. Cant.
228.

By the sixth, If any person broke into the privileges of the Church, and injured the clergy in their persons or estates, the bishop was to take cognizance of the cause. And here, if the person that did the injury either refused to appear in court, or slighted the sentence, he was to be prosecuted in the king's courts; the judges were to take bail of him; neither was he to be discharged till his submission to penance. Besides which, he was to make satisfaction, by way of fine, to the king and the Church; and in case neither his friends nor the officers of the court could make him forthcoming within one-and-thirty days, the king himself was to declare him outlawed; and if he was found and seized after this proclamation, he was to be delivered up alive into the king's hand; and if he made resistance, it was lawful to kill him, and bring his head; for, from the first day of his outlawry, "*caput gerit lupinum*," i. e., he was looked upon as a beast of prey, and any person might lawfully dispatch him.

*Ut legabatur
eum rex ver-
bo oris sui.*

Seventhly, The tenth sheaf of all corn is declared due to God, or the Church, and therefore ought to be paid. And if any person had a stud of mares, he was to pay the tenth foal for tithe; but if his mares brought him under the number of ten, he was then to pay a penny for every foal. The provision was the same with respect to calves. Farther, those that kept a dairy were either to give the parson the tenth cheese, or the tenth day's milk. And thus the Church was likewise to receive the tenth in lambs, pigs, fleeces, and butter.

The next article goes upon the same matter of tithes; and orders that the tenth of the profit of bees, of underwood, and meadow, of parks, warrens, fish-ponds, and mills, of gardens, and the advantage of trade, be duly paid; which proportion was to run through all other parts of the blessing of Providence; it being highly reasonable that God, who has given us the whole, should have the tenth returned him as an acknowledgment. Whoever therefore detained the tithe, was to be compelled to payment by the bishop; and if the bishop's jurisdiction was slighted, the person was to be sued in the king's courts. This duty of paying tithes, as the article goes on, was preached by St. Augustine, at Canterbury. This revenue has likewise been granted to the Church by the king, by the nobility, and the commons. But afterwards, the devil got the ascendant so far as to make a great many refuse the payment of tithes;

*A rege, a
baronibus,
et populo.*

and besides, this disorder gained ground, because some rich and negligent parsons of parishes declined the trouble of recovering their tithes, because they were otherwise provided with a sufficient maintenance. And in the close it is added, that now there are three or four churches within the precinct where formerly there was but one. And thus the parochial tithes growing less by being cantoned, there was the greater necessity of their being punctually paid.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

The ninth determines some of the circumstances relating to the trial ordeal. Upon the day on which the test was to be gone through, the bishop's official and some of his clergy were to be present; the king's judges, likewise, and some of the most considerable persons of the county were to appear, to see that the whole process was fairly carried on. And here, those whom God was pleased to preserve from the imputations of guilt, were to be discharged from any farther prosecution; but those who failed in the trial, and sunk under their conscience, were to be put into the hands of justice. And those barons who had the privilege of keeping courts within their respective jurisdictions are admonished to manage unexceptionably, both with regard to God and the king; and if the trial ordeal is to pass in their courts upon persons that belong to a foreign jurisdiction, the king's judges must be present; for without them the proceedings are unwarrantable. And in case any barons have no privilege of holding courts in the hundred where the suit is commenced, then the trial is to be undergone in the next church, under the inspection of king's justices.

As to the circumstances and design of this trial ordeal, I shall explain it farther to the reader by and by.

The tenth and eleventh relate to the payment of Peter-pence, and Dane-gelt; but these I shall pass over, having mentioned them both already.

The twelfth settles the fine of manbote. By the way, manbote was a consideration paid to the lord, for killing any of his slaves, or tenants. The king and the archbishop's manbote are fixed at the same proportion; and they were to receive three marks of those that killed any of their tenants. The bishop of the diocese and the earl of the county were to receive twenty shillings, and the inferior barons ten shillings, upon the same forfeiture.

By the thirteenth, all treasure-trove belongs to the king.

STIGAND, unless it is found in a church, or church-yard. If this happens
 {Abp. Cant.} to be the place, the gold is all the king's; but if it is silver, the crown has one moiety and the Church the other.

By the twenty-second, all Jews in the kingdom are declared to be under the protection and guardianship of the crown; neither is it lawful for any of that nation to make himself a homager, or dependant to any great man, without the king's leave; for the Jews, and all that belong to them, are as it were parcel of the crown: and therefore, if any one detains their persons or effects, the king may recover them at pleasure.

229. And thus I have given the reader a view of king Edward's ecclesiastical constitutions. And here we may observe, from the eighth law, or the ninth, as it stands in sir Henry Spelman's collection, that the number of parish churches was very much increased, "there being three or four in many places where formerly there was but one."

The division of parishes, when settled. From the mention of this law, it will not be unserviceable to give a brief account of the settlement and division of parishes in the ancient Saxon or English Church. And to make the inquiry more perfect and intelligible, it will be necessary to touch now and then upon something we have already met with.

Can. 41. To begin. When Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury, came over to England to preach the Gospel, king Ethelbert gave him a large revenue in land, for the maintenance of himself and his clergy: the management and distribution of the profits of these estates being entirely left to the archbishop. And thus afterwards, when the same king founded the cathedrals of Rochester and London, by Augustine's direction, he settled considerable estates upon them; the disposal of the issues remaining, as before, in the hands of the respective bishops. This was all primitive practice, and going upon the plan of the first ages of the Church; as appears, amongst other instances, by the apostles' canons. By one of which, all the offerings, which were then the whole revenues of the Church, were to be lodged in the bishop's hands. Thus Augustine of Canterbury, desiring directions from Gregory the Great, how the bishops ought to manage themselves with respect to their clergy; and particularly, what distribution ought to be made

of the effects and revenues of the Church; the pope returns this answer, that they were to be divided into four portions, one of which was to be distributed for the maintenance of the inferior clergy, who, as it appears from Bede, lived together with the bishop at the cathedral church. The bishops and clergy living in this manner in common, was the custom of the Scotch clergy in England, no less than of the Roman: thus, for instance, Aidan, bishop of the Northumbrians, lived with his clergy, as we have already seen in Bede's Ecclesiastical History.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

Bed. Hist.
Eccles. l. 1.
c. 27.

Soon after the conversion of the English Saxons, there were several churches erected in the respective dioceses: to these places the converts, who lived remote from the cathedral, repaired, and made their offerings. Thus Bede informs us, that Birinus, first bishop of the West Saxons, built and consecrated several churches in his diocese of Dorchester.

Hist. Eccles.
l. 3. c. 7.

We may observe farther, that the oblations and other revenues belonging to these churches of later erection, were wholly at the bishop's disposal; at the bishop's disposal, I say, who assigned what proportion he pleased to the clergy within his government. As for those of this order, who were sent by the bishop to preach in the remoter parts of the diocese, they were obliged at their return to bring the offerings made at the auxiliary churches, and put them into the bishop's hands. For at this time there were none but itinerant preachers, or priests sent by the bishop from the cathedral, to administer the offices of religion in the country churches. These priests, when they had executed their commission, returned to the bishop, who sent others to perform the same functions when he thought it convenient. That the Church was thus governed, and the instruction of the people thus provided for, towards the latter end of the seventh century, is sufficiently evident from Bede; who tells us, as has been already observed, that when a clergyman happened to come into a village, the people gathered about him immediately to hear him preach: for, as this historian goes on, the clergy had no other business for travelling to any village, excepting to preach and baptize, and discharge the functions of their character. I might repeat more of him to the same purpose; but from what has been said, it is evident enough, that the clergy were not fixed upon any parochial divisions, but lived with the bishop at the cathedral.

Wharton's
Defence of
Pluralities,
p. 74.

Bed. Hist.
Eccles.
c. 26. l. 3.

Hist. Eccles.
l. 4. c. 27.

STIGAND, Abp. Cant. And that the same custom was practised, at least, in the northern dioceses of England in the beginning of the eighth century, is plain from several places of the historian above mentioned.

Thus we see the bishops had their clergy then about them, whom they sent abroad, as they saw cause, to those places where they had the best prospect of success. But as yet there was no such thing as fixed cures or titles; all the first titles being nothing else than an entry of the clergy upon the bishop's register. And when the priest stood upon record, and the relation was thus fixed, he had not the liberty of discharging himself, and removing to another diocese without the bishop's consent.

Stillington,
Eccles.
Cases, &c.
Preface.

And as for the rural churches, they were not as yet thrown into any parochial distinction, but served only for the convenience of the neighbouring converts, who lived at too great a distance from the cathedral. To speak strictly therefore, these country churches were no more than chapels of ease to the cathedral church.

We may observe farther, that in the first foundations of bishoprics among the Saxons, the dioceses, excepting in Kent, had the same limits with the kingdoms. The first subdivision was made in the diocese of York by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury.

230.

Now, as kings founded cathedrals for the benefit of their whole dominions, so afterwards great men founded parochial churches for the convenience of themselves and their dependants. For at that time, the great men held large proportions in the country: within the compass of which, the bulk of the people were little better than their servants. Upon the spreading of Christianity therefore, many laymen of great estates provided for the constant residence of some priest among them; that by this means, the devotion of the neighbourhood might be encouraged, and themselves and their tenants assisted with the better convenience. To this purpose, chapels and churches were erected, and a maintenance settled for the incumbent; the bounds of the parochial division being commonly the same with those of the founder's jurisdiction. Some foundations of this kind were as early as Justinian the emperor. They are likewise mentioned by Bede about the year 700.

Novel. 126.
c. 18.
Hist. Eccles.
l. 4. c. 5.
l. 5. c. 4.

But here we are to take notice, that not only the bishop's

consecration was to precede the use of these rural churches, but his consent likewise was necessary to their erection. The bishop's approbation was likewise to be obtained in the choice of a priest, who was to officiate: and as he could not be admitted, so neither could he be ejected without the consent of the diocesan.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 323.
vol. 2.
p. 22. 41.
Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 464.

The bishop's power in these new foundations went still farther, and extended to the revenues, tithes, and oblations with which they were endowed: for the sole power of all the ecclesiastical revenues being originally lodged in the bishops, they did not at first think it proper to part with any branch of it, to any particular foundation. Afterwards in some places, the bishops reserved the fourth part only of these rural churches to themselves, resigning the remainder to the parish priest, but still with a direction about the use and management.

Wharton's
Defence of
Pluralities,
p. 30.

Wharton,
p. 81.

To proceed: none of these auxiliary churches were allowed to be built before the settlement of a sufficient endowment for the maintenance of a priest. The endowments of those times consisted generally in a certain portion of land; in slaves to till the glebe; and in oblations made by the tenants within the precinct of the parish.

All these revenues settled upon cathedral or parochial churches, were granted "in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam;" not in the nature of alms, as some ignorant or disaffected people pretend; but with all the advantage of a frank and independent tenure, the church lands being granted without any burden or reserved rent upon them; whereas all grants of estates made to laymen were clogged with some service, either military or base, to be performed by the tenant: or at least, there was some quit-rent, or mark of acknowledgment reserved in the grant. To return: Christianity going forward with great success, these private oratories became very numerous; almost every great man, upon his conversion, building or endowing one for the convenience of himself or tenants. Before the year 800 they seem to have been founded in all parts of the nation, though not in the same number. Thus, by the canons made about that time, we may collect the settlement of parochial cures in most places: for instance, in the constitutions of Egbert, archbishop of York, every priest is enjoined to use his utmost endeavours for the building his parish church, from whence we may collect by the way, that the lay

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 258.

STIGAND, patrons in many places did not build the church, though they
 {Abp. Cant.} endowed the living : this being often done by the priest out of the offerings, and other large contributions of the neighbourhood. To go on : by the second of Egbert's constitutions, all priests are enjoined to ring the bells of their churches at the usual hours of divine service. This parochial division is likewise supposed in the first and second synods of Calcuith ; the first of which, as we have seen already, was held in the latter end of the eighth, and the other in the beginning of the ninth century. And as these parochial foundations grew more numerous, the necessity of sending itinerant priests decreased ; and at last this custom was wholly laid aside. This provision for the country was not only carried on by the laity, but the bishops likewise, in proportion as they grew wealthy, built parochial churches within their manors and demesnes, assigning the profits of them to their respective incumbents.

And thus, most of the inferior clergy were settled in the country, the bishops and their canons residing at the cathedral church, the revenues of which were all received by the bishop, and part of them distributed among the canons. For the prebend, or maintenance of the canons or monks, seems not to have been divided from the bishop's share, till after the Norman conquest.

Wharton,
 ibid. p. 92.

When the dioceses were, in some measure, broken into parishes, the subdivisions were but few in comparison of their present condition. For though the great lords might be possessed of a large compass of ground, yet they commonly built but one church within their estate and territories. Afterwards, when converts grew more numerous, they found it necessary to erect several new churches, it may be one in every manor ; or probably the multiplication of churches was occasioned by the grant or alienation of part of the estates of these great lords, the grantees or purchasers building new churches within their own jurisdiction : thus every parish was cantoned into several, and these new ones in process of time grew up to distinct and independent partitions ; and so by gradual advances, the present parochial division was settled. To point out the progress of this matter ; in the constitutions of Egbert, and in the reigns of Edgar and Canutus, we find the distinction of the mother-churches, which had the original settlement of tithes, and of later churches built by the lords of manors

Spelm. Con-
 cil. vol. 1.
 p. 260.
 231.

upon their own lands, to which they could only apply a third part of the tithes. It is true, for some time these churches of later erection were but chapels of ease to the other. During which period, the church of the old foundation reserved the sole right of baptism and burial to herself, and received all the tithes and profits which were due before the second foundations: but to encourage the building and endowing of churches, and to make the better provision for the convenience of the people, the bishops found it necessary to relax, to proceed upon new measures, and bring the later foundations up to an equality of privilege with the first: this they did by consecrating the church-yards, and by granting them the right of baptism and burial. By the conveyance of this right they were made distinct parishes, and disengaged from any dependence upon the mother-churches. However, at first, as has been observed, no more than a third of the tithes were passed to the churches of the later erections.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 444, 445.

To proceed: before the reign of Edward the Confessor, the parochial divisions were so far advanced, that every person might be traced to the parish to which he belonged: this appears from the canons, published in the time of Edgar and Canutus.

Spelm. Con-
cil. vol. 1.
p. 448, et
544, 545.

To come towards a conclusion: the distinction of parishes as they now stand, appears to have been settled before the Norman conquest; for in several charters of the latter Saxon kings, the villages of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, &c. are set down under the same names by which they go at present; and of this the reader may be farther satisfied from Domesday-book, in which the parishes agree very near to the modern division.

Monast.
Angl. pars 1.
under Ely,
Croyland,
&c.

Lastly, about the time of Edward the Confessor, most of the churches of the later foundations seem to have been made entire, and independent of the churches of the first erection, and to have received the whole tithe within their respective limits: and thus the privileges and jurisdiction of the old churches sunk by degrees, and lost their dependencies, either by the negligence of the mother-churches, or, which is more probable, by contracts and compositions between the patron and incumbents, confirmed by the bishop; who was willing to set aside the ancient custom, and consent to the transferring

STIGAND, of title and privilege for the benefit of religion, and public
Abp. Cant. convenience.

The tenth law of king Edward, as it stands in sir Henry Spelman's councils, touches upon the trial ordeal. Now because this test was frequently made use of by the English Saxons, and several other European nations, I shall give the reader a brief account of the original process and circumstances of this matter.

*The different
kinds and
manner of
the trial
ordeal.*
 Strabo.
 Geogr. l. 5.
 Plin. Nat.
 Hist. l. 7. c. 2.

As to the original, it seems to have been a heathen custom. Strabo and Pliny mention something of this kind in use among the Romans. The first of the authors reports, that near the mountain Soracte, about twenty miles from Rome, there was a grove consecrated to Feronia, and that when sacrifices were offered in this place, those who were under the enthusiastic impressions of this pretended deity, used to walk barefoot upon heaps of burning coals without the least hurt: and here Strabo adds, that the extraordinariness of this spectacle drew great numbers of people to the anniversary solemnity. Pliny relatês much the same thing concerning the Hirpii.

The learned sir Henry Spelman seems to think that this custom of the trial ordeal was taken up by the Christians in imitation of the Jews. This people, we know, had their waters of jealousy, and their casting of lots, to discover hidden crimes, and bring the guilty to punishment. The first Christian we hear of that endeavoured to clear himself this way was Briceius, St. Martin's deacon, and afterwards bishop of Tours. This prelate, being charged with entertaining an infamous commerce with women, took up a considerable quantity of live coals in his coat, and then clapping it close to his body, ran to St. Martin's tomb with a great crowd after him, and throwing down the coals by the grave, showed them his limbs and his clothes, which had received no manner of damage: however, the people misimputing the miracle to a confederacy with evil spirits, expelled him the town: but upon a farther inquiry into the matter, he had justice done him, and was restored to his see by the pope. Bede, in his Martyrology, mentions a resembling case with reference to St. Bridget, who being questioned about her virtue, was cleared by a miraculous evidence: for, upon her touching the wood of the altar, it immediately appeared green and growing.

Gregor.
 Turon. l. 2.
 c. 1.

Martyrol.
 D. Cal. Feb.

Among the Saxons and Normans, for to these I shall confine the discourse, if any person was charged with theft, adultery, murder, treason, perjury, &c. in these cases, if the person neither pleaded guilty, nor could be convicted by legal evidence, it was either in the prosecutor's or judge's power to put him upon the trial ordeal; and provided he passed through this test unhurt, he was discharged; otherwise he was put into the hands of justice to be punished as the law directed in case he had been cast by the ordinary forms of prosecution. For we are to observe, that this trial ordeal was not designed for the whole punishment of those that miscarried; the intention of it was rather to clear the truth, where it could not be otherwise discovered, and make way for the execution of the law.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

There were several sorts of this inquiry: the trial was sometimes made by cold, and sometimes by scalding water; sometimes by plough-shares, or bars of iron, heated burning hot: sometimes they purged their innocence by receiving the sacrament; and sometimes by eating a piece of barley bread called the corsned.

232.

In the trial by cold water, the persons suspected were thrown naked into a pond, or river: if they sunk they were acquitted, but if they floated upon the surface without any swimming postures, it was taken for an evidence of guilt.

Antiquit.
Britan. p. 99.
et deinc.
Spelman and
Somner in
Glossar.

When scalding water was the test, they were to plunge their arm in a tub, or kettle, up to the elbow: if this was done without any signs of pain, or marks of scalding, the person was discharged; but if there was the least complaint under the operation, or any scar or impression to be seen, it was taken for proof against him. Slaves, peasants, and people of mean condition, were put upon this water ordeal.

Persons of figure and quality were generally tried by the burning iron. This ordeal had different circumstances in proportion to the crimes objected. If the person was only impeached for a single crime, the iron was to weigh but one pound; but if he was prosecuted upon several articles, the weight of the iron was to increase proportionably: and here the person impeached was either to hold a burning ball of iron in his hand, and move with it to a certain distance; or else to walk barefoot upon heated plough-shares, placed about a yard from each other. If after this trial his hands and feet were

STIGAND, untouched, and he discovered no signs of feeling any pain, he
Abp. Cant. was discharged by the court: but if the matter fell out otherwise, he was remitted to the punishment of the law.

Before the person accused was brought to the ordeal, he was obliged to swear his innocence, and sometimes receive the holy eucharist.

Athelstan.
 c. 23.
 Antiquit.
 Britan.
 p. 103.

The Christians of this age had a strong reliance upon this way of trial, not in the least doubting but that God would suspend the force of nature, and clear the truth by a supernatural interposition. If we may believe the records of those times, we shall find that innocent persons were frequently rescued in a surprising manner.

To proceed to some of the preliminaries of the ordeal; after the charge was legally brought in, the person impeached was to spend three days in fasting and prayer. At the day of the trial, which was made in the church, the priest appearing in the habit of his function, took up the iron which lay before the altar, and repeating the hymn of the Three Children, put it into the fire. This being done, he proceeded to some forms of benediction over the fire and iron; after which, he sprinkled the iron with holy water, and made the sign of the cross in the name of the blessed Trinity: upon which, the person accused passed through the test.

The ceremony of the scalding water ordeal was much the same. But when the trial was to be made by cold water, the three days' fast, and the other religious circumstances being premised, the person suspected drank a draught of holy water, to which the priest added an imprecation in case he was guilty: then the water, into which the presumed criminal was to be thrown, had a sort of exorcising form of prayer said over it; by which the element was, as it were, conjured by the most solemn expressions, to detect the guilty and discover the truth.

The bread called the corsned was another way of trial. The person prosecuted took an ounce of it fasting, or sometimes the same quantity in cheese; and sometimes the holy eucharist. Immediately before this was done, the priest read the Litany proper to the occasion; and then proceeded to another prayer, in which he desired, that God would please to bring the truth of the matter in question to light, and that the evil spirits might have no power to perplex the inquiry, and prevent the

discovery: that if the person was guilty, the morsel might stick in his throat and find no passage; that his face might turn pale, his limbs be convulsed, and an horrible alteration appear in his whole body: but if innocent, he desired, that which the party received might make its way easily into his stomach, and turn to health and nourishment.

EDWARD
CONFESSOR,
K. of
England.

Notwithstanding the commonness of this custom in England and other parts of Christendom, it began to be disliked at last, and fell several times under the censure of the Church and State: thus Lewis, and Lotharius his successor, emperors of Germany, positively forbade the ordeal by cold water. The trial likewise by scalding water, and burning iron, was condemned by pope Stephen V. It is probable they might think it a rash way of proceeding, and a tempting of God; and that it was unreasonable to put innocence upon supernatural proof, and pronounce a man guilty, unless he had a miracle to acquit him. The first public discountenance from the state we meet with in England, was in the third year of king Henry III. Most of the judges in their circuits received an order from the king and council not to put any person upon the trial ordeal, in regard it was prohibited by the court of Rome. This order of the king and council, sir Edward Coke, as sir Henry Spelman observes, mistakes for an act of parliament. It is true, as that learned antiquary goes on, at that time of day, a public regulation passed in council, and sealed with the king's seal, had the force of a law. However, it must be said, this prohibition does not run to the judges of all the circuits; but it may be, the rest of the justices might receive the same instructions another way. And though we meet with no express law afterwards to this purpose, yet this method of trial standing condemned by the canons, languished by degrees, and at last grew quite out of practice¹.

Antiquit.
Britan.
p. 104.

Coke's
Reports,
part 5.

Spelman.
Glossar.
p. 326.

233.

¹ Though there are many instances of Collier's tendency to what the Germans term *überglauhe*,—overbelief, (we will not call it superstition,)—there is little of this defect in his account of the ordeals. On this subject he indulges us with a curious *overmuchness* of learning, delivered in his usual quaint and savoury style. To our taste this is far more entertaining and pleasing than the polished elegance of some later historians of the Church. Mosheim, however, seems to have thought otherwise; for, in a note attached to his seventh century, he prefers Warner to Collier. Perhaps Mosheim's Low Church views had something to do with his preference. The note, which is sufficiently severe against our author, runs as follows: "Dr. Warner's Ecclesiastical History of England deserves the highest applause, on account of that noble spirit of liberty, candour, and moderation, that seems to have guided the pen of the judicious author. It were, at the

STIGAND,
Abp. Cant.

*The ceremonies of
knighthood
under the
Saxon
government.*

Before I take leave of the Saxon period, it may not be amiss just to mention the ceremony of knighthood, especially since this honour passed through the hands of the clergy; under the Saxon government, knights were frequently made by bishops, abbots, or priests. The custom was this. The person to be knighted was to go the evening before to the bishop, abbot, or some parish priest; and here he was first to make his confession, to receive absolution, and to stay all night in the church at his devotions. The next morning after the communion service, he offered his sword upon the altar; which, after the reading of the gospel, was blessed by the priest, and put over the knight's shoulders; and then they received the holy eucharist together. These solemn circumstances took in the whole legal form, and completed the honour of knighthood. Thus the noble Herwardus, who gave the Normans so strong a repulse, was knighted by his uncle, then abbot of Burgh. This religious conveyance was disliked by the Normans, who used to receive that honour from their prince; though, by the way, William Rufus was not knighted by king William his father, but by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, as both Malmesbury and Matthew Paris inform us.

Ingulphus,
Hist. p. 70.

*Harold
usurps the
crown.*

*This gives an
occasion to
the conquest
of the
kingdom.*

Upon the death of king Edward the Confessor, part of the English were for setting up Edgar Atheling, who was undoubtedly the right heir to the crown; but this honest party was but small. And Harold being a person of an ambitious and enterprising temper, and having a great interest with the military men, was chosen without opposition. The English thus deserting their duty, and overlooking the right line, gave occasion to the Norman conquest: for if Edgar Atheling had been seated on the throne, this prince's title would have been so clear, that in all likelihood, the duke of Normandy would never have set up any pretensions against him. But Harold, being foreign to the blood royal, and under pre-engagements to duke William, gave this latter a colour to invade and con-

same time, to be wished that this elegant historian had less avoided citing authorities, and been a little more lavish of that erudition which he is known to possess: for then, after having surpassed Collier in all other respects, he would have equalled him in that *depth* and *learning* which are the only meritorious circumstances of his partial and disagreeable history." Here is Mosheim's unwilling confession of the superior *depth* and *learning* of Collier. As to the prejudicial portion of the remarks, we quote them frankly, without a single misgiving. The judgment of the public is of rather more consequence than Mosheim's; and, in that judgment, Collier has been steadily rising, which is more than can be said of his rival.

quer the kingdom. The English, to justify their electing HAROLD, Harold, pretended that Edward the Confessor bequeathed the crown to him; but, as Malmesbury observes, it is very unlikely king Edward should disinherit his family, and settle the government upon a person he never relished. As for Harold, during his short usurpation, he governed agreeably enough, and wanted neither conduct nor courage. The first disturbance he received was from his brother Tosti, who, being reinforced by Harold Halfagar, king of Norway, entered the Humber, made a descent upon Yorkshire, defeated the earls Edwin and Morcar, who commanded there, and forced them to retreat into York. Harold, receiving advice of this invasion, drew down his forces, and met the enemy at Stamford-bridge; where, after a short dispute, the Norwegians were entirely routed, king Harold Halfagar and Tosti killed upon the spot; and those that escaped, glad of the permission to depart the kingdom.

HAROLD,
K. of
England.

Malmesb. de
Gest. Reg.
1. 2. fol. 52.

Upon this victory, Harold thinking himself secure, disobliged the army, by not giving them a share in the plunder: he was soon sensible of the ill effects of this management; for before he came out of the north, he received intelligence, that William, duke of Normandy, was landed with a vast army upon the coast of Sussex. And now a great part of Harold's troops being balked in their expectations of plunder, deserted, and refused to assist him against the Normans.

Duke William, some time before his expedition, had sent an embassy into England to expostulate with Harold upon the breach of articles; for in the late reign, Harold, being at duke William's court, had promised upon oath to marry his daughter, and do his utmost to secure him the kingdom upon the death of king Edward. Harold being reminded of these engagements, told the ambassadors, that since their master's daughter was dead, he was no longer bound by his promise: and as for his swearing to secure the kingdom to that duke, it was a rash engagement, and related to a matter which was out of his power. In short, Harold having seized the government, and held it against Edgar Atheling, was resolved not to quit it to the remoter title of William, duke of Normandy.

William,
duke of Nor-
mandy, sends
to Harold,
and demands
the perform-
ance of
articles.

It is true, that duke pretended, over and above, that king Edward, by the advice of archbishop Stigand, of Godwin, and Siward, earls of Kent and Northumberland, had settled the

STIGAND
Abp. Cant.

crown upon him after his decease ; and that Godwin's son and nephew were sent into Normandy as hostages upon this score. This, together with Harold's engagements, William insisted upon, and sent him word, that if any part of the premises were denied, he was willing to refer the matter to the pope.

Malmesb.
fol. 56.

He is encouraged in his expedition against Harold, by the pope.

By the way, William, before he undertook the expedition, took care to send ambassadors to Rome, to Alexander II., where flourishing upon the justice of their master's cause, they brought the pope into his interest ; who, to encourage the undertaking, made him a present of a standard. As for Harold, he made no applications to Rome, either out of stiffness of humour, or because he distrusted the success ; or it may be, because he was apprehensive the passage was not open for his ambassadors. However, Alexander thinking himself neglected, went over to duke William's interest ; and, as Alford words it, " was extremely displeased with the perfidiousness of Harold, who took the liberty to break through the constitution, and presumed to take the crown upon him, without so much as consulting his holiness." The pope therefore encouraged William in his expedition, enjoining him withal, to prosecute his title in such a manner, that the dignity of the see of Rome might be maintained, which had lately suffered by Harold's presumption.

Alford. An-
nal. Eccles.
Angl. vol. 4.
p. 4.

William being thus fortified, and receiving no satisfaction from the English court, landed, as has been said, in Sussex. Harold receiving intelligence of the invasion, marches speedily down against him, without giving his troops any time to refresh themselves. The English spent the night before the battle in drinking and diversion, whereas the Normans denied themselves their rest, to much better purpose ; passed the time in confession, and received the holy eucharist in the morning. The battle, which was fought on the fourteenth of October, was obstinate and bloody, and lasted from nine in the morning, till the dusk of the evening. The English, though they lost the day, yet if Harold had not been slain, it is probable would have quickly rallied, and given the Conqueror a farther repulse. Harold's body was delivered to his mother by duke William, and buried at Waltham Cross, in Essex, where he had founded a religious house for secular canons. After this victory at Hastings, the Conqueror marched his army into Kent, where, according to some of our historians,

The battle at Hastings, where the English lose the day.

he met an unexpected opposition. The case was this : Stigand being in this county, persuaded the Kentish men to defend their liberty, and not to submit to the Conqueror ; upon which advice, they stood upon the defensive, and sent no submission. Stigand calling Egelsin, the abbot of St. Augustine's, to his assistance (the archbishop and abbot being at that time the two principal persons in Kent), summoned a meeting of the whole county. When the people were met, the archbishop set forth the miserable slavery their neighbours had fallen under by the Norman invasion ; and that unless they exerted themselves, the same misfortune would quickly be their own. The Kentish men, being made sensible of their circumstances, resolved rather to lose their lives than their liberty : being therefore ordered to rendezvous at Swanscomb, a town in Kent, Stigand and Egelsin undertook the command of the army. And to make their preparation the more formidable and unexpected, they ordered the passes to be secured, and that every soldier should take a bough in his hand, big enough to cover him. The next day when William, duke of Normandy, marched to Swanscomb, he perceived a body of Kentish men moving towards him, but could not distinguish them from a wood, till within a small distance. The stratagem having thus succeeded, and the duke in a manner inclosed, the Kentish men threw down their boughs, and putting themselves in order of battle, sounded a charge. This unexpected attack surprised the duke and his army, who imagined the late victory in Sussex would have proved the decisive stroke, and given them the kingdom without farther trouble : being therefore solicitous about the event of a battle, they desired a parley. This motion being agreed to, Stigand and Egelsin, the Kentish generals, were commissioned by their troops to treat with the enemy ; who coming into duke William's camp, delivered themselves to this purpose :

HAROLD,
K. of
England.
*Archbishop
Stigand
makes a
stand
against the
Normans in
Kent, and
brings them
to articles.*

“ Sir, the Kentish men are your friends, and are willing to be your subjects too, provided your highness will be pleased to allow them reasonable terms : for, to deal clearly, they are a people born to liberty, and therefore are resolved to preserve the laws and customs of their country. Slavery is a thing that they are perfect strangers to ; neither are they willing to submit to any abatements of privilege : for though they can

STIGAND, Abp. Cant. relish kingly government well enough, yet absolute and arbitrary rule is a thing they can never digest. The Kentish men are therefore ready to submit to your highness, if you please to receive them on the foot of the constitution. But they had rather run the risk of a battle, and lose their lives in the field, than give up their liberties, and live under the oppression of an arbitrary government: for though the rest of English should stoop to servitude, yet liberty will always be the inclination of Kent."

The duke being somewhat startled at the freedom and resolution of this speech, called a council of war, where the uncertain issue of a battle, and the infamy and loss of a defeat, being duly weighed, he granted the Kentish men their conditions; and the treaty being finished, there were hostages given on each side: and thus the old laws and customs were preserved to the Kentish men by the courage and conduct of Stigand and Egelsin.

Antiquit.
Britan. from
T. Spott, in
Stigand.
Thorn.
Chron.
p. 1786.

This being an extraordinary service to the Kentish men, and carried on chiefly by the archbishop, I have set down the story more at large from Thorn, and the author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, who vouches the matter of fact by the authority of Thomas Spott, and other ancient records and usages of the county. I mention this, because other historians take no notice of this formal treaty between the Conqueror and the Kentish men. Gulielmus Pictaviensis, who lived in the Conqueror's reign, mentions that prince's marching into Kent, after the battle at Hastings, and that the Kentish men submitted to him; but says nothing of the army they had raised to stop his passage, and bring him to articles. It is true, Pictaviensis takes notice, that Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, and some other great men, made a stand with a body of troops not far from London: that they designed to set up Edgar Atheling; and that the Londoners seemed to have been in the same interest. But that, upon the approach of the Norman forces, the courage of the English failed; Stigand deserted Edgar Atheling, and went over to duke William; the Londoners also submitted, and gave hostages.

Pictaven.
p. 204, 205.

Gemiticens.
de Duc.
Norman.
p. 666.

Malmesbury relates the story much to the same purpose: he reports, that when the Conqueror came up to London, Stigand and Aldred, the archbishops, together with others of

the nobility, persuaded the citizens to open their gates. It is possible the historians who lived in or near king William's time, might omit the relation of the Kentish exploit, in compliment to that prince and his successors: for the mention of a capitulation with a single county, would have looked like a check upon the conquest, and lessened the glory of the achievement. To proceed: some few days before his entering into London, the earls Edwin and Morcar, hearing of the death of Harold, tried their interest with the Londoners, to make one of them king; and that, being disappointed in their project, these two brothers quitted the city, and retired into Northumberland. Malmesbury adds, that the rest of the nobility, if the bishops had stood by them, would have owned Edgar Atheling; but for want of unanimity and fortitude, this royal resolve came to nothing. And to give the Conqueror a clearer title, Edgar Atheling himself resigned up his claim, and made his submission.

HAROLD,
K. of
England.

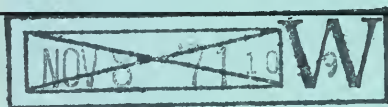
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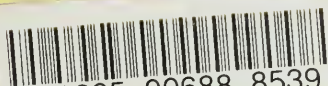


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